

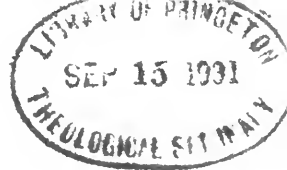
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Section

THE LIFE, TIMES,
ETC. OF THE
REV. ISAAC WATTS, D.D.





THE
LIFE,
TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
REV. ISAAC WATTS, D.D.

BY THE
REV. THOMAS MILNER, M.A.

AUTHOR OF "THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA."

Ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε.

LONDON:
SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL;

THOMAS RICHARDSON, DERBY.

1834.



TO THE
MINISTERS, CHURCHES, AND CONGREGATIONS,
IN GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND, AND AMERICA,
IN WHOSE PUBLIC AND SOCIAL WORSHIP
THE PSALMS AND HYMNS OF DR. WATTS ARE USED,
THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS OF THE CHRISTIAN
PSALMIST ARE INSCRIBED,
BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE following pages are devoted to the personal history, ministerial character, and literary labours of DR. ISAAC WATTS. Few names in the annals of English nonconformity, are more widely known or more deservedly honoured — the instructor of our early years, the guide of our youth, and the sweet singer of the modern Israel. “Of Watts,” says the Rev. Dr. Dibdin, “it is impossible to speak without veneration and respect. His Hymns are the charm of our early youth; his Logic the well-known theme of school-boy study; and his Sermons, Essays, and other theological compositions, are a source of never-failing gratification in the advance, maturity, and decline of life. The man at four-score may remember with gratitude, the advantage of

having committed the hymns of this pious man to his infantile memory.” A character so admirable and holy, truly *ἐν κόποις περισσotέρως* for the good of mankind upwards of half a century, ought not to be without a biographical record. Yet it has long been a subject of surprise and regret, not only with the dissenting churches, but with the pious and enlightened of every communion, that no lengthened notice of the Christian Psalmist has been compiled.

The individual best qualified for such a work, by personal knowledge and frequent correspondence, was the incomparable Doddridge; and soon after the doctor’s decease, he engaged, at the joint request of Nathaniel Neal, Esq., and Lady Abney, to write memoirs of his friend. But either an unfounded apprehension that sufficient materials could not be procured, or the appearance of that “pale consumption” which soon brought him to the tomb, prevented the execution of the design. Mr. Neal observes to him in a private letter, “This morning I was with Lady Abney on the subject of your writing Dr. Watts’s life; and am now to acquaint you with her senti-

ments in concurrence with my own, which are, that very few materials are likely to be found, and those that may be must not be communicated to you immediately; Dr. Jennings having declined writing the life, merely, or principally, for want of materials, which he has inquired for, particularly of Lady Abney. The booksellers, therefore, must have patience, or they will precipitate us into a crude and imprudent conduct. In the meantime be assured we shall not be unmindful of assisting you; and propose you should take an opportunity of letting Dr. Jennings know in a letter, that being informed he and Mr. Price have declined it, you have agreed to undertake it, provided you can be furnished with any materials proper for the purpose; and the rather, as you have been solicited on this head by some of your friends in foreign countries." Apart as Dr. Watts's life was from the busy world, owing to a natural love of retirement, and the frequency of affliction, and devoid as it, therefore, might be of striking incident, yet sufficient information might have been obtained from his large circle of friends and extensive correspondence, to have formed an

interesting and instructive narrative. It may be unjust, at this distance of time, to blame, though it is difficult to exonerate from it, the Doctor's immediate friends, that they allowed a scantiness of material to hinder the contemplated tribute to his memory from the pen of one so eminently fitted for the task.

The subsequent accounts of Dr. Watts that have appeared, are desultory and brief. In noticing these I prefer adopting the language of my excellent friend, the Rev. John Blackburn, of Claremont Chapel, Pentonville, from the "Congregational Magazine," Feb. 1832 :

"The most considerable account of Dr. Watts appeared in 1780, from the pen of his friend, Dr. Thomas Gibbons, entitled 'Memoirs of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D.' This octavo volume contains information enough to have secured a most interesting memorial ; but biography was certainly not Dr. Gibbons's forte, for he has thrown into his notes what should have formed the text, and burdened his narrative with long papers and dry criticisms, which, if published at all, should have formed an appendix, or appeared in the notes.

"The Life of Watts, by the great Dr. John-

son, which, considering the prepossessions of the author, is written with unusual candour, and in his most beautiful and finished style, is better adapted to his *poetical* than his *ministerial* character. In 1791, the Rev. S. Palmer, of Hackney, published Dr. Johnson's Life, 'with notes containing animadversions and additions, relating to Dr. Watts's character, writings, and sentiments, particularly on the trinity.' This also was an unhappy effort, as the notes were occasionally extremely fastidious, and were written in a style which caused them to appear to great disadvantage beneath the brilliant Johnsonian pages they were penned to censure. At a later period Mr. Palmer did the memory of Dr. Watts more justice, by the publication of a pamphlet, entitled '*Dr. Watts no Socinian: a refutation of the testimony of Dr. Lardner, as brought forward in the Rev. T. Belsham's Memoirs of the late Rev. T. Lindsey;*' and which for ever sets at rest the question respecting Dr. Watts's opinion on that momentous controversy.

"Perhaps it may be desirable to notice the only other biographical sketches of Dr. Watts of which we have any knowledge. About

1779 there appeared two octavo volumes, entitled ‘The Posthumous Works of the late reverend and learned Isaac Watts, D. D. : compiled from papers in possession of his immediate successors, and adjusted and published by a gentleman of the University of Cambridge.’ This work, Dr. Gibbons says, is principally made up of pieces written by the doctor’s father, and here attributed to his more gifted son, merely to answer the purposes of trade ; and may be, therefore, regarded as ‘a shameful attempt to impose upon the public.’ The ‘Protestant Dissenters’ Magazine,’ for February, 1795, contains a brief sketch of the doctor’s life, which does not, however, supply much additional information to that previously known.”

An interesting relic of Dr. Watts was recently discovered, which throws some light upon the early part of his useful career. This is a MS. in his own hand-writing, entitled “Memorable Affairs in my Life.” It consists of ten small pages, containing *Memoranda* concerning himself on the right page, and *Coincidents* relating to contemporaneous events on the opposite page. This register is frequently

cited in this work, and it is a subject of deep regret that it is only brought down to the year 1710.

I now come to notice the present performance. Of the success which has attended my endeavours to do justice to the character and labours of one so universally esteemed, it becomes not me to speak : freely and frankly do I acknowledge that the best on my part has been done ; and, with reference to the result, sincerely do I say, “would that it were worthier.” The works of my predecessors have of course materially assisted me ; private sources have also supplied me with information ; and several literary friends have contributed important hints. To JOSHUA WILSON, ESQ., of Highbury Place, and the REV. JOHN BLACKBURN, of Pentonville, London, I am particularly indebted for the loan of books : to PROFESSOR PARTINGTON my obligations are due for admission to the library of the London Institution : to the late SIR EDMUND CRADOCK HARTOPP, of Four-oaks Hall, Warwickshire, to EDWARD SMITH, ESQ., of Finsbury Square, and to the TRUSTEES of the Red-cross-street Library, my thanks are

tendered. At the commencement of this work the writer laboured under an impression, sanctioned by all his friends, that but few materials could be found for it: this apprehension proved to be unfounded: but it led him to dwell, perhaps, too largely upon Dr. Watts's early career, which rendered it necessary that some valuable letters and papers should be omitted at the close, lest the size of the volume should be increased. Should a second edition be called for this error will be corrected. It may also be necessary to add, that the appearance of this Memoir has been delayed by the frequent recurrence of sickness, which at one period rendered it probable that the present publication would be posthumous: this statement may be a sufficient apology for some trivial errors that have escaped correction: the confinement of a sick chamber is not favourable to literary exactness.

The portrait of Dr. Watts, prefixed to this work, is engraved from an original painting in the possession of Edward Smith, Esq., of Finsbury Square, London. It was formerly in the possession of Sir Thomas Abney, and

has been pronounced by competent judges a production of Sir Peter Lely's. Dr. Gibbons, in the preface to his *Life of Watts*, refers to an "original painting of him lately become the possession of Mrs. Elizabeth Abney" — "this painting," he remarks, "gave me the best likeness of him I had ever before seen." From Mrs. E. Abney it passed into the possession of the family of Dr. Gibbons, who bequeathed it to the Rev. Josiah Lewis. He left it by will to his wife during her life, and at her death to Mr. B. Button, from whom it was purchased by Mr. Smith, the present proprietor. To this gentleman I am obliged for this information, as well as for the use of the picture.

The writer may be allowed to express a hope, that the example of sanctified talent he has endeavoured to depict will be of some little use — to himself he trusts his labour has not been in vain — nor will it to the reader, if he is led to imitate the subject of these pages in faith, in patience, and in devotion,

"Who bravely suffer'd, and who nobly dy'd."

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF DR. WATTS'S WORKS, WITH REFERENCES TO THE PAGES OF THIS VOLUME IN WHICH AN ACCOUNT OF THEM IS GIVEN.

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2. 1707. Essay against Uncharitableness, wherein the secret springs of that Vice are traced, and the mischievous effects of it briefly surveyed 212—214
3. 1707. A Sermon preached at Salter's Hall to the Societies for Reformation of Manners in the cities of London and Westminster 214—216
4. 1707. Hymns and Spiritual Songs, in three books 255—289
5. 1716. A Guide to Prayer; or, a free and rational Account of the gift, grace, and spirit of Prayer; with plain Directions how every Christian may attain them 314—318
6. 1718. The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and applied to the Christian State and Worship .. 334—359
7. 1720. Divine Songs attempted in easy language, for the use of Children 372—377
8. 1720. The Art of Reading and Writing English 378
9. 1721. Sermons on Various Subjects, vol. I. 378—380
10. 1721. The Christian Doctrine of the Trinity; or, Father, Son, and Spirit, Three Persons and one God asserted and proved; with their divine rights and honours vindicated by plain evidence of scripture, without the aid or incumbrance of human schemes 380, 583
11. 1722. Death and Heaven, or the last Enemy conquered, and separate Spirits made perfect, attempted in two Funeral Discourses, in Memory of Sir John Hartopp, Baronet, and his Lady 382—385

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20. 1727. The Religious Improvement of Public Events, a Sermon preached at Bury Street, on occasion of the death of George I., and the peaceful succession of George II.419, 420
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22. 1728. An Essay towards the Encouragement of Charity-schools, particularly those which are supported by Protestant Dissenters, for teaching the children of the poor to Read and Work; together with some Apology for those Schools which instruct them to write a Plain Hand and fit them for Service, or for the meaner Trades and Labours of Life; to which is prefixed an Address to the Supporters of those Schools 429—432
23. 1728. A Book of Catechisms, complete: containing (1.) A Discourse of Catechisms, how to write and judge of them; (2.) The First Set of Catechisms and Prayers for young Children of Four or Five Years of Age; (3.) The Second Set of Catechisms and Prayers for Children of Eight or Nine Years of Age; (4.) The Assembly's Catechism, with

- Notes for Children of Ten or Twelve Years of Age; (5.) A Preservative from the Sins and Follies of Childhood and Youth, written by Way of Question and Answer; to which is added a large Catalogue of Remarkable Scripture Names, collected for the use of Children..... 433—435
24. 1729. A Caveat against Infidelity, or the Danger of Apostacy from the Christian Faith; with an Answer to some Queries concerning the Salvation of the Heathens, and the Hope of the modern Deists upon Pretences to Sincerity.436—438
25. 1729. The Doctrine of the Passions explained and improved; or, a brief and comprehensive Scheme of the natural Affections of Mankind, and an Account of their Names, Nature, Appearances, Effects, and different Uses in Human Life; to which are subjoined Moral and Divine Rules for the regulation or government of them...439—441
26. 1729. Discourses on the Love of God, and the Use and Abuse of the Passions in Religion; with a devout Meditation annexed to each Discourse.440, 441
27. 1730. A Short View of the whole Scripture History, with a Continuation of the Jewish Affairs, from the end of the Old Testament to the coming of Christ; illustrated with various Remarks on the Laws, Government, Sects, Customs, and Writings of the Jews, and adorned with figures 441
28. 1731. An Humble Attempt towards the Revival of Practical Religion among Christians, and particularly the Protestant Dissenters, by a serious Address to Ministers and People, in some occasional Discourses. 475, 476
29. 1731. The Strength and Weakness of Human Reason; or, the important Question about the Sufficiency of Reason to conduct Mankind to Religion and Future Happiness, argued between an Inquiring Deist and a Christian Divine, and the Debate compromised and determined to the satisfaction of both.476—478
30. 1732. Philosophical Essays on Various Subjects: namely, Space, Substance, Body, Spirit; the Operations of the Soul in Union with the Body; Innate Ideas; Perpetual Consciousness; Place and Motions of Spirits; the Departing Soul; the Resurrection of the Body; the Production and Operation of Plants and Animals; with some Remarks on Mr. Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding. To which is subjoined a Brief Scheme of Ontology, or the science of Being in General, with its Affections.478—480

31. 1733. Several Sermons in the Bury-street Collection of Discourses by eminent ministers. 482—486
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36. 1739. The World to Come; or, Discourses on the Joys and Sorrows of departed souls at Death, and the Glory or Terror of the Resurrection; to which is prefixed an Essay towards the proof of a Separate State of Souls after Death. vol. I. 608
37. 1739. An Essay on Civil Power in Things Sacred; or, an Inquiry after an established Religion consistent with the just Liberties of Mankind, and practicable under every Form of Civil Government 610
38. 1739. Self-love and Virtue reconciled only by Religion; or, an Essay to prove that the only effectual obligation of mankind to practise Virtue depends on the existence and will of God; together with an occasional proof of the Necessity of Revelation. 612
39. 1740. The Ruin and Recovery of Mankind; or, an Attempt to vindicate the Scriptural Account of these great Events upon the plain Principles of Reason; with an Answer to various Difficulties relating to Original Sin, the Universal Depravation of Nature, and the over-spreading Curse of Death; general Offers of Grace to all Men, and the certain Salvation of some; the Case of the Heathen Nations, and the State of Dying Infants. To which are subjoined three short Essays 613
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42. 1742. The Harmony of all the Religions which God ever prescribed, containing a Brief Survey of the several public Dispensations of God towards Man, or his appointment of different Forms of Religion in successive ages624
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45. 1746. Useful and Important Questions concerning Jesus the Son of God freely proposed; with an humble Attempt to answer them according to Scripture593
46. 1746. The Glory of Christ as God-Man displayed in Three Discourses. (1.) A Survey of the Visible Appearances of Christ as God before his Incarnation, with some Observations on the Texts of the Old Testament applied to Christ. (2.) An Inquiry into the extensive Powers of the Human Nature of Christ in its present glorified State, with several Testimonies annexed. (3.) An Argument tracing out the early Existence of the Human Soul of Christ, even before the Creation of the World. With an Appendix containing an Abridgment of Doctor Thomas Goodwin's Discourse of the "Glories and Royalties of Christ," in his Works in folio, vol. ii. b. 3.598
47. 1746. An Essay on the Freedom of the Will in God and in Creatures, and on various Subjects connected therewith: namely, The Ideas of Liberty and Necessity; the Causes of the Determination of the Will; the Use of the Understanding to direct, not determine it; the Liberty of God as a Creator, a Governor, and a Benefactor; the Doctrine of Fatality; the Spring of Moral Good and Evil; the Difference between Moral and Positive Laws; the Sin and Fall of Man, and the Free Grace of God; the Rewardableness of Faith in the Gospel, and the criminal Nature of Infidelity.....681
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CHAPTER I.

MR. ISAAC WATTS, SEN.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.—FAMILY OF WATTS.—MR. THOS. WATTS.—
MRS. M. WATTS:—ODE ON HER DEATH.—MR. ISAAC WATTS.—EJECTED
MINISTERS IN SOUTHAMPTON.—SAY FAMILY—PERSECUTED.—PLAGUE
AT SOUTHAMPTON.—LICENSE FOR PREACHING.—MR. I. WATTS PER-
SECUTED, IMPRISONED, AND OBLIGED TO LEAVE HIS FAMILY:—
WRITES FROM LONDON TO HIS CHILDREN:—ZEAL AGAINST POPERY.
—WRITINGS OF THE NONCONFORMISTS AGAINST THE PAPISTS.—
RETURNS TO SOUTHAMPTON.—SINGULAR DREAM OF A STONEMASON.
—POETRY, “THE SOUL’S DESIRE OF REMOVE,”—“CEREMONIES,”—
“DIVINE WORSHIP,”—LINES WRITTEN IN HIS SEVENTY-FIRST YEAR.—
DEATH OF MR. WATTS.—LETTER FROM HIS SON.—FUNERAL SERMON.

“We carry wisdom,” says one of the fathers, “not in the external habit, but in the mind ; we do not utter great things, but we live them.”* This declaration, which its author advanced to check the arrogant assumptions of a vain philosophy, and to describe the character and conduct of the early Christians, is equally true with reference to their successors in modern times. The majority of those who have ornamented the faith, have been strangers to the “pomp and circumstance” which captivates the observation of man ; the beauty of holiness has been generally unfolded in the privacies of domestic life ; and the noblest struggles and the most impressive triumphs of Christian virtue, have transpired where no mortal eye can penetrate, in the retirement of the human bosom. There have, however, been those connected with the history of the church, who have lived great things as well as uttered them ; who have associated the influence of religion with the highest intellectual excellence and mental grandeur ; and

* Minucius Felix.

whose names are deservedly honoured as well for the efforts of genius, as for the more unobtrusive exercises of piety.

To the greatest minds it has been an object of ambition, to live in the esteem and admiration of posterity; to be spoken and thought of when the sepulchre shall have closed over their remains; and thus to travel down the stream of time, to receive the homage of succeeding ages. "Nothing I confess," says Pliny to his friend Capito, "so strongly stimulates my breast, as the desire of acquiring a lasting name — a passion highly worthy of the human heart, especially of his, who, not being conscious of any ill, is not afraid of being known to posterity. It is the continued subject, therefore, of my thoughts,

By what fair deed I too a name may raise."*

But in estimating the characters of individuals, and in apportioning the honours of immortality, the world is too often guided by maxims directly opposed to those which the "wisdom from above" sanctions. The admiration of mankind is in general attracted by outward show and pompous ceremonial; and he who has contrived to surround himself with the elements of earthly grandeur, however unworthy his actions, and disastrous his existence may have been to others, is often distinguished by a memorial and an eulogy. The pen of the historian, the song of the poet, and the chisel of the sculptor, hence, have been employed to preserve the memory of those, who have alone surpassed their fellows by a career of splendid crime and desolating power. The distinctions, however, conferred upon such candidates for fame, are but short-lived; for though the record of their names may exist, yet posterity consigns them to merited neglect, or only refers to their story to illustrate the scorn and execration which an ill-spent life deserves.

A far stronger claim upon the notice of a future age, have they who attempt to secure it by literary eminence; who

* Lib. v. Epist. viii.

distinguish themselves by the productions of genius—who explore the secrets of nature to decorate the temple of science—or, gifted with a sublime capacity for thought, seek to enrich others from their own intellectual stores. The names of such are not allowed to perish; being “dead” they yet “speak” with an immortal voice; they are placed by posterity among the benefactors of their race; and their example is held up to excite the emulation and stimulate the energies of kindred spirits. The distinction thus conferred by mental superiority, is in general far more permanent than that which is obtained by wealth or station, the inroads of war, or the imposing attitude of victory. Empires wide in extent and eminent for power and civilization, have been blotted from the map of nations; cities which gathered the commerce of the earth to their gates have gone to decay, and are no longer to be distinguished from the surrounding deserts; monuments which were erected to guard the ashes and register the deeds of monarchs, have crumbled into dust, or remain only in ruins to tell a tale of baffled pride to the passing visiter: but the thoughts, aspirations, and communings of lofty minds, embalmed in song or embodied in philosophy, have triumphed over the sweep of ages, and survived the vicissitudes which in their lapse have been witnessed. The rhapsodies of Homer and the imaginings of Plato, have outlived the conquests of Alexander and the riches of Cræsus.

But intellectual endowments must give place in the order of true greatness to moral worth; and the attempt to expand and cultivate the mind, commendable as it is, can bear no comparison, in point of importance, with the effort to improve and renovate the heart. Mental greatness seeks the improvement of man in time, but moral greatness aims at his preparation for eternity; the one has the sphere of its influence confined to the present state, but the other enters in behind the “vail,” and penetrates into the “holiest place.” The object which it contemplates is, to inspire our fallen

nature with the love of virtue and religion ; to restrain the passions, purify the thoughts, and regulate the conduct ; and thus direct the footsteps of mankind from the paths of vice and error, to the highway of holiness and truth. It is in the prosecution of a design so magnificent, that the noblest kind of renown is won, the highest grade of honour attained ; and to such distinction it is the peculiar province of Christianity to lead. It excites in every bosom which it visits the ambition of doing good ; it teaches man to become the friend and brother of his species ; to address himself to the mighty task of elevating the character and improving the condition of his race ; to espouse as his own, the interests of human nature ; and to be ever “ready to be offered up” on the altar of sacrifice, for the well-being of the erring family to which he belongs. Characters of this description, marked with this moral greatness, may not attract, during their brief day, the gaze and wonder of a dazzled world ; but after-ages bring them from their obscurity, reverence their memory, and raise them in the scale of worth, far above the heroes of historic page and poetic song. The influence which they exert does not cease with their dissolution ; while they pass from us to a brighter world, the impression of their example descends a silent blessing to posterity ; and the seeds of warning and instruction, which their lives have scattered, and the record of their story preserves, spring up to benefit a future age. “They rule our spirits from their urns ;” they restrain and check the tide of human degeneracy ; excite others to the attainment of similar excellence ; awaken in far-distant bosoms a desire of emulation ; and kindle in the mind familiar with their career, the sparks of kindred eminence.

To this latter class the subject of the following memoirs belongs ; conspicuous for greatness of mind, purity of heart, benevolence towards man, and devotion towards God ; occupying a station in public as well as in private life to which but few have attained. In perusing the present detail of his

history, the lover of extraordinary incident and strange adventure, will be disappointed; but he who delights to gaze upon a picture of piety and wisdom, to trace the operations of a mind devoting its energies to the best interests of the human race, to behold an individual abstracted from earthly concerns, pursuing in the silent retirement of his closet designs of a purely spiritual and intellectual character, will, perhaps, meet with something by which he may be instructed, gratified, and improved.

Of the ancestry of Dr. Isaac Watts we have but few memorials. From the scanty information afforded us, it appears that the family possessed some paternal property, which would have been considerable but for the intolerance of the times. His father was a nonconformist, and unhappily on that account he suffered from the persecuting court of Charles II.; and it is probable that the legal proceedings in which he was involved, materially injured his private fortune, and deprived him of the fruits of an industrious life. This was indeed a common case with the dissenters in that age of bigotry and oppression; as dissident from the national establishment they were obnoxious to fines, proscription, and contumely; and often had they to suffer "the spoiling of their goods," to meet the expensive suits instituted against them in the civil and ecclesiastical courts.

From a note appended to one of the Doctor's poems, we learn that his grandfather, Mr. Thos. Watts, was engaged in the naval service, as commander of a ship-of-war in the year 1656. Among his contemporaries he was much esteemed, and celebrated for many of those accomplishments, which gave such a lustre to his name in the person of his gifted grandson. Not only was he well acquainted with the mathematics, but also skilled in the lighter arts of music, painting, and poetry. His personal courage was remarkable. A descendant of the family relates, that when closely pursued

by a tiger, while in the East Indies, who had followed him into a river in which he had taken refuge, Mr. Watts turned to grapple with the monster, and, by singular coolness and dexterity, succeeded in ridding himself of his formidable enemy. In the Dutch war the vessel he commanded unfortunately exploded; and by this accident he perished in the prime of life. The following stanza, relating to the gallant and ill-fated seaman, written by his poetical relative, is honourable to the "manly spirit" it professes to describe:

"The painter-muse with glancing eye
 Observ'd a manly spirit nigh,
 That death had long disjoin'd :
 ' In the fair tablet they shall stand
 ' United by a happier band,'
 She said ; and fix'd her sight, and drew the manly mind.
 Recount the years, my song, (a mournful round) !
 Since he was seen on earth no more :
 He fought on lower seas and drown'd ;
 But victory and peace he found
 On the superior shore."

The poem from which the above lines are extracted is inscribed, "On the death of an aged and honoured relative, Mrs. M. W." the widow of Mr. T. Watts, and the grandmother of the poet. She long survived her unfortunate husband, and lived nearly to witness her grandson finish his preparatory studies for the ministry.* The composition shows how much he esteemed her worth when living, and revered her memory when dead. In his early education she took a prominent part; and as her counsels and instructions would doubtless be directed towards bringing his mind under a religious influence, to them he was in no slight degree indebted for the preference which he gave to piety in his youth. In his ode he follows his revered preceptress to her celestial dwelling, and in the character which he assumes, that of a "painter-muse," thus pictures the disfranchised spirit:

* "1693, July 13, Grandmo. Watts died." *Memoranda.*

1. "I know the kindred mind. 'Tis she, 'tis she ;
 Among the heavenly forms I see,
 The kindred mind from fleshly bondage free ;
 O how unlike the thing was lately seen
 Groaning and panting on the bed,
 With ghastly air, and languish'd head,
 Life on this side, there the dead,
 While the delaying flesh lay shivering between !

* * * * *

3. "Gaze on, my soul, and let a perfect view
 Paint her idea all anew :
 Rase out those melancholy shapes of woe,
 That hang around thy memory, and becloud it so.
 Come, Fancy, come, with essences refin'd,
 With youthful green and spotless white ;
 Deep be the tincture, and the colours bright,
 T' express the beauties of a naked mind.
 Provide no glooms to form a shade ;
 All things above of varied light are made,
 Nor can the heavenly piece require a mortal aid ;
 But if the features too divine
 Beyond the power of fancy shine,
 Conceal th' inimitable strokes behind a graceful shrine.

4. "Describe the saint from head to feet,
 Make all the lines in just proportion meet ;
 But let her posture be
 Filling a chair of high degree ;
 Observe how near it stands to the Almighty seat.

* * * * *

6. "'Tis done. What beams of glory fall
 (Rich varnish of immortal art)
 To gild the bright Original !
 'Tis done. The muse has now perform'd her part.
 Bring down the piece, Urania, from above,
 And let my honour and my love
 Dress it with chains of gold, to hang upon my heart."

Of Mr. Isaac Watts, the doctor's father, some interesting particulars have been preserved. He was the master of a very flourishing boarding-school at Southampton, which was

in such repute, that pupils from America and the West Indies were committed to his care. Dr. Johnson, indeed, mentions a report of his being a shoemaker; but his strong prejudices against the dissenters, led him in this instance to give a rumour access to his pages, which he must have learnt from Dr. Gibbons was wholly groundless.* Mr. Watts being a decided nonconformist, and a man of unquestioned piety, sustained the office of deacon in a church of protestant dissenters in his native town. At the passing of the Act of Uniformity, in 1662, two ministers of Southampton were deprived of their livings: Mr. Nathaniel Robinson, ejected from All Saints', and Mr. Giles Say, from St. Michael's.† The latter, after having been imprisoned for his secession from the persecuting hierarchy, removed from the scene of his toils and sorrows into the county of Norfolk;‡ but the former continued preaching to a congregation in the town, to the period of his death, in which it is probable Mr. Watts was a deacon.§

The intimate connexion of Mr. Watts's family with the dissenting history of Southampton, and the friendship which not only subsisted between them and the Says, but between Dr. Watts and Mr. Samuel Say, the successor of Dr. Calamy at Westminster, which will hereafter be noticed, render the following particulars interesting.—Mr. Giles Say, the ejected minister, was born at Southampton in the year 1632; the

* See Lives by Johnson and Gibbons.

† Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, ii. 279.

‡ He settled at Guestwick in Norfolk, with the church of which Mr. Worts had been pastor, where he continued until his death in 1692. The son of this worthy man, Mr. Samuel Say, succeeded Dr. Calamy at Westminster. In the church-book it is said, that "the dissenting church in and about Guestwick, sat down in gospel order in the end of 1652, and chose Mr. Richard Worts for their pastor, who with fidelity and success laboured among them till his death, about May 6, 1686; he was succeeded by Mr. Giles Say (father of Mr. Samuel Say of Westminster), who died April 8, 1692."

§ Mr. Robinson was imprisoned for his nonconformity, soon after his ejection, along with Mr. Say.

family originally belonged to Dorsetshire, but removed in consequence of the father's marriage. On the blank leaf of a bible given to Giles by his brother Francis, in November, 1640, a few days before his death, he writes — "My mother, who was born in 1588, departed this life in February, 1669. She was of the French seed. Her ancestors were protestants. Her father and mother, with several other of her relations, fled for religion out of France, upon a great persecution there, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, and came and dwelt at Southampton." The name of these exiles was Câtell, and a considerable estate at Rouen in Normandy belonged to the family. The Says appear to have been eminently talented and pious: the family register, kept by Giles, has the following record, "March 4, 1659, my brother Thomas Say began his sabbath in heaven, being of age about twenty-five years." In the year 1660, Mr. Giles Say was ordained to the ministry by the presbytery at Bishop's-stoke, a village in the neighbourhood of Southampton, where he had frequently preached; but the black Bartholomew day, two years afterwards, drove him from the pulpits of the establishment, and ranked his name with the two thousand confessors who preferred poverty and exile to the guilt of a sinful compliance.*

At a time when persecution raged so bitterly against those who maintained the rights of conscience against the encroachments of secular power; when a preference given to the authority of the laws of Christ over the mandates of an earthly sovereign, was branded with the odium of sedition; the families of Watts and Say were called to suffer severely for their attachment to the principles which they had espoused. Colonel Norton of Southwick, a village where Mr. Say was accustomed to preach, though a churchman, proved a friend to him in his distress; and offered him the living of Wellow, worth about £.80 a year, if he would conform. Sir T. Barrow also, of Plate-ford in Wiltshire, afforded him an asylum; and

* Palmer, Noncon. Mem. ii. 279. Say Papers. Mon. Repos. 1809.

in his house his eldest daughter was born, in September, 1666, when the plague was ravaging in Southampton. The family register before cited, contains this memorandum: "A plague began in Southampton, the latter end of May or beginning of June, 1665, and continued till November, 1666, before it fully ceased. It is concluded by the common vote, that there died in it one thousand and somewhat over; but there are that do affirm, that there died betwixt fifteen and sixteen hundred. It began in the buildings below Bull Hall, being in the lower end of the Back-street, by the Walnut Tree. The last that was reputed to die of the plague, was a youth that died over St. Michael's prison." Upon the declaration of Indulgence, in 1672, the dissenters in Southampton met for worship in Mr. Say's house, which was licensed at Whitehall on the 2nd of May. The original license is among the Say Papers, printed in imitation of writing, on a half sheet of paper, small folio, with the blanks filled up in writing, which are here expressed by italics:

"CHARLES R.

"Charles by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other our officers and ministers, civil and military, whom it may concern, Greeting—In pursuance of our Declaration of the 15th of March, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ —We do hereby permit and license *Gyles Say of the congregationall persuasion*, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us in *a Roome or Roomes, in his House, in Southampton*, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England, who are of the persuasion commonly called *Congregationall*. With further license and permission to him, the said *Gyles Say*, to teach in any place licensed and allowed by us according to our said Declaration. ——— Given at

our Court at Whitehall, the *second* day of *May*, in the 24th year of our Reign, 1672.

“*Say, a Teacher.*”

“(Signed) *Arlington.*”

Upon the king's revoking his indulgence, owing to the clamours of the bishops and clergy, the holding of conventicles again became obnoxious to penal statutes; and Mr. Say and Mr. Watts were doomed to the hardships of imprisonment. This was during the infancy of Isaac; and family tradition has recorded the fact, that in the course of his father's confinement, his sorrowing mother has been known to seat herself on a stone near the prison door, to suckle the child of promise. Mr. Watts was again imprisoned in the year 1683, and driven afterwards into exile from his family. His son in his memoranda states: “My father persecuted and imprisoned for nonconformity six months; after that forced to leave his family, and live privately in London for two years.” The trials of the parents made, as may be conceived, a deep impression upon the mind of the son; the adversities of his early years were remembered by him in after life; and doubtless here originated that ardent attachment to civil and religious liberty which marked his character, and which led his muse to hail its establishment with exultation, when the dynasty of the tyrannical Stuarts was driven from the throne.* At what

*The Psalms, Hymns, and Lyrics of Dr. Watts, as well as his prose writings, abundantly show his zealous concern for the cause of liberty, his gratitude for the Revolution, and his devotion to the house of Hanover when threatened by the Pretender. To these topics, Psalm 75, Hymn 1, lib. ii. Lyrics 1, lib. ii. 1, lib. iii. are expressly devoted:

2. “Britain was doom'd to be a slave,
Her frame dissolv'd, her fears were great;
When God a new supporter gave
To bear the pillars of the state.
3. “He from thy hand receiv'd his crown,
And swore to rule by wholesome laws;
His foot shall tread the oppressor down,
His arm defend the righteous cause.”

time Mr. Say quitted Southampton, it is impossible to ascertain; but the following note in the family register, shows that Mrs. Say was there at the period of Mr. Watts's exile:

“In Southampton, in the parish of St. Michael. } Martha Say, Junior, was born the eighth of December, 1684, in Lord's Lane, next to the Blue Anchor, on the east side.”

There is a document extant, which Mr. Watts wrote to his children, when prudential motives led him to retire to London from the storm that assailed the nonconforming churches. It contains directions with reference to their behaviour in the absence of their earthly protector; exhorts them to practices of piety and virtue; and expresses a perfect resignation on his part to the will of heaven under its painful and mysterious dispensations. The letter is worthy of a primitive confessor; and affords a pleasing exhibition of the amiable character, paternal tenderness, and eminent spirituality of the writer:

“My dear children,

“Though it hath pleased the only wise God to suffer the malice of ungodly men, the enemies of Jesus Christ (and my enemies for his sake), to break out so far against me, as to remove me from you in my personal habitation, thereby at once bereaving me of that comfort, which I might have hoped for in the enjoyment of my family in peace, and you of that education, which my love as a father and duty as a parent required me to give; yet such are the longings of my soul for your good and prosperity, especially in spiritual concerns, that I remember you always with myself in my daily addresses to the throne of grace. Though I cannot speak to you, yet I pray for you; and do hope that my God will hear me, and in due time bring me to live again amongst you, if he shall see such a mercy fit to be bestowed on me or

you. However, we must endeavour by patient waiting to submit to his will without murmuring; and not to think amiss of his chastising us, knowing that all his works are the products of infinite wisdom; his designs are the advancement of his own glory; and his ends towards his people their sanctification and salvation, which certainly shall be accomplished at last, however his great providences may seem contrary to it, as to our apprehensions.

“ My dear children, since in this my absence from you, it is the desire of one of you (that is, my eldest son*), to have a line of counsel from his father, I hope he has but mentioned it as the mouth for himself, and the rest of you that are in anywise capable of understanding, and that it will be acceptable to you all, and regarded by you: and, therefore, I shall write in general terms to you all that can understand it at present; and to the rest as they grow up to understand it, if you will keep it, or copy it for them; for though I am not altogether without hopes of seeing you again, yet I am nowise certain of it,† all our time being in God’s hands; but I would have you know, that you have yet a father that loves you. I am glad to hear such a desire from any of you; and willing heartily to comply with it, so far as my time, and the many disadvantageous circumstances that attend me, will permit; which take as followeth:

“ 1st. I charge you frequently to read the holy scriptures; and that not as a task or burden laid on you, but get your hearts to delight in them: there are the only pleasant histories which are certainly true, and greatly profitable; there are abundance of precious promises made to sinners, such as you are by nature; there are sweet invitations and counsels of God and Christ, to come in and lay hold of them; there are the choice heavenly sayings and sermons of the Son of God,

* Afterwards Dr. Watts.

† Anticipating a lengthened exile from his home, which was the fate of many of the nonconformists.

the blessed prophets and apostles. Above all books and writings account the bible the best, read it most, and lay up the truths of it in your hearts : therein is revealed the whole will of God, for the rule of man's faith and obedience, which he must believe and do to be holy here and happy hereafter. Let all the knowledge and learning you attain by other books, both at school and at home, be improved as servants to help you the better to understand God's word, in all the several tongues wherein you read it. I am the larger upon this head, because therein you may come to know your duty to God and man ; and indeed the sum of all the counsel I can give you, necessary for the regulating of your behaviour towards God and man, in every station, place, and condition of your lives, is contained in that blessed word of God, which pronounceth a blessing to those that read and hear it, and keep the things that are therein written.*

“2dly. Consider seriously and often of the sinful and miserable estate you are in by nature, from the guilt of original sin, which came in by the fall of our first parents ; also of the increasing of that guilt by your own transgressions, and that you are liable to eternal wrath thereupon ; also think of the way of fallen man's recovery by grace, according to the foundation-principles of the true Christian religion, which you have learned in your catechism ; and beg of God by prayer to give you understanding in them, and faith to believe in Jesus Christ, and an heart willing to yield obedience to his gospel commands in all things.

“Though you cannot tell how to pray as you should do, nor in any order, yet be not afraid nor ashamed to try. Go aside, my dear children, and think in your minds, what it is that you want to make you holy and happy. Tell God that you want pardon of sin, a soft, tender, and sanctified heart, a portion of the spirit, &c. ; and then beg God to help you to pray for those things, and to teach you to pray, and to pardon

* Rev. i. 3.

the iniquities of your prayers. My children, though it may want a form of words, yet if the heart be in it, this is prayer, and such a prayer too as God will hear and accept; for he despises not the day of small things, nor little ones, but loves to see them come and tell him what they would have. Tell him you would pray better, but you cannot, till he pleases to help you. My children, if you do but use this way, you shall find that in time you will come to have praying gifts and praying graces too; ‘for to them that ask it shall be given;’* it will be your excellency, your honour, and your great profit, to begin betimes to be praying Christians. Prayer is the character of a child of God, the best remedy for soul diseases, and the best weapon for a saint’s defence! ‘God will pour out his wrath upon them that call not on his name.’†

“3dly. Learn to know God according to the discoveries he hath made of himself in and by his word, in all his glorious attributes and infinite perfections; especially learn to know him in and through the Lord Jesus Christ, and to be acquainted with this blessed Redeemer of God’s elect, who hath paid so great a price as his own blood for the ransom of your souls; thereby satisfying Divine Justice, purchasing peace and reconciliation for sinners. Labour to believe that this was done for your souls; and look upon yourselves bound, as the Lord’s redeemed, to walk in all holy conversation and godliness. Know, that if Jesus Christ had not come and suffered in the flesh, thereby undertaking and accomplishing the work of redemption, there had been no remedy; but you must have perished for ever!”

“4th. Remember that God is your Creator, from whom you received life and being; and as such you are bound to worship him; much more when you consider that he is your Benefactor, from the fountain of whose goodness all your mercies come. Now, upon both these accounts, the best of your time and abilities are required in his service; and the

* Matt. vii. 7.

† Jer. x. 25.

earlier you begin to devote yourselves to his service, the abler you will be to perform it acceptably, the greater will be your honour here, and your glory hereafter ; though you must not expect to merit aught at his hands, by way of merit for what you can do, yet certain it is, that Jesus Christ will reward every one according to his works ; and we are bidden to look to the recompense of reward, in that sense after Moses's example ;* and it is no small commendation and honour to be an old disciple of Christ.

“ 5th. Know this, that as you must worship God, so it must be in his own ways, with true worship and in a right manner ; that is, according to the rules of the gospel, and not according to the inventions or traditions of men. Consider that idolatry and superstition are both abominable to God. Now idolatry is the worshipping of idols,† images, pictures, or any creatures or representations, as the heathens do, or crucifixes and consecrated bread, as the papists do. Either to worship these as God, or to worship God by and under them, as the children of Israel did the golden calf, or to worship God in a false manner — is idolatry ; and no idolaters must enter into heaven. Superstition is to make addi-

* Heb. ii.

† Idolatry, *εἰδωλολατρεία*, *είδος*, *image*, *λατρεῖν*, *to serve*, of which protestant writers justly regard the papists as guilty. The worship of images was legitimatised by the council of Nice, A.D. 787 ; and though modern popish polemics, Drs. Milner, Lingard, Delahogue, and Mr. Butler, pretend to dispute its authority, yet Bellarmine, a more competent judge, remarks, “ *Si ergo illum est Concilium generale legitimum, certè hoc est.*” In the same page, in his Treatise on Images, he further states ; “ *Quod Synodus Nicæna decreveret, imagines adorandas cultu LATRIÆ*” (which was the highest worship), “ *certissimum est.*” lib. ii. p. 806. The council of Trent, indeed, in its twenty-fifth session, explained, “ not that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them, for which they should be worshipped ; because the honour that is paid to them is referred to the original which they represent.” To explain away the idolatry of the service, other popish writers have introduced a refinement, distinguishing subordinate from supreme worship ; the latter degree of worship is to be paid to God alone, but the former, *τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις*, may be rendered to images. The shallow sophistry of the distinction is, however, obvious ; and image-worship deserves no milder name than idolatry, and papal practices in this instance must rank in the same class with pagan.

tions of ordinances or ceremonies to God's worship, more than he hath appointed, though they have ever so fair pretences for them.* Take heed, my children, of these things. It is not enough to say, that such things are not forbidden in scripture; but you must see whether they are commanded there, or else obey them not.

"6. Entertain not in your hearts any of the popish doctrines, of having more mediators than one, namely, the Lord Jesus; of praying to the Virgin Mary, or any other saints or angels, for saints and angels, though in heaven, yet they are creatures,† and prayer is a divine worship, due to none but God the Father, Son, and Spirit: also avoid their doctrine of

* "Religentem esse oportet; religiosum nefas." *Aulus Gellius*, lib. iv. c. 9.

A Christian's notions of superstition, will not, however, coincide with those of the ancient heathen. It is not an error of *degree* but of *kind*: a substitution of the vain inventions of men for the ordinances of God. In this light the nonconformists regarded the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, to which the Act of Uniformity required the subscription of their unfeigned assent and consent. The *jus divinum* prelatists of the present day, may treat their scruples as needless, fastidious, and uncalled-for; but to do them justice we ought to place ourselves in the same circumstances. "Suppose," says the biographer of Baxter, "that the rulers of the church of England were now to determine, 'That on or before the 24th of August (in such a year) the present occupants of livings, curacies, &c. shall subscribe a declaration, engaging themselves to baptise no child without the employment of salt, oil, and spittle, as part of the ordinance of baptism; to administer the Lord's supper to those only who should previously bow to the sacred chalice, and submit to a bread wafer being put upon their tongues.' What would the serious clergy of the church think of such a demand? Would they submit to it as a just exercise of ecclesiastical authority? Would they not to a man abandon their livings, rather than allow their consciences to be lorded over and defiled?" *Orme's Life*, i. 289.

† Melancthon in his *Consilia*, drawn up in opposition to the famous Interim of the emperor Charles, remarks: "It is certain that the invocation of saints, and flying to images, is one of the greatest abuses and idolatries of these later ages. Prayer to an invisible and absent being, attributes to that being the power of knowing the heart, a power exclusively divine. Therefore, prayers to saints are idolatrous." *Consil.* 2. 26. 31, 32, 33. 38. Zwingle also in a similar manner observes: "He who first placed the statue of a holy man in a temple, had certainly no other intention than to offer him as an object of imitation to the faithful: but men did not stop there. The saints were soon surrounded with a pomp which impressed the imagination of the people; they were transformed into divinities, and honoured as the pagans honoured their gods. Their names are given to temples and altars, and chapels are consecrated to them in woods, in fields, and upon mountains. How many men in the hour of trouble, or at the approach of danger, instead of

meriting by works of obedience, for there is some sin that pollutes our best duties, and we can deserve nothing at God's hand but wrath: all the good we receive comes of his free grace.* Their doctrine also of purgatory is abominable; for there is no middle place for souls to go to—there is only heaven and hell:† also their doctrine, that the pope can forgive sins, is a lie, for he is a wicked man himself, and must go to hell unless God forgive him: also their turning the bread‡

invoking the Omnipotent, call upon men who have been dead for ages, whose virtues have certainly placed them in the mansions of the blessed, but who can neither hear nor succour us!" *Hess.* 171—173.

* We cannot but admire the clear and scriptural views which this good man entertained of the gospel plan of salvation. Such were the sentiments of the reformers, as Melancthon beautifully expresses them: "All our virtues in this life are weak and imperfect, and much evil and corruption remains in our hearts. We must needs, therefore, fly to the Mediator, lay hold on him, and seek grace and mercy through him. We are filled with horror at the view of the greatness of our own sins and miseries; and, therefore, are compelled, when we would find peace of mind, to fly to the one only Propitiator, whom God in infinite wisdom and mercy hath proposed to us, and then, as the apostle testifies, 'being justified by faith we have peace with God.'" *Consil.* 2. 39, 40.

† The doctrine of purgatory seems to have been too delicate a subject for the fathers at the council of Trent, to enter upon its discussion. It was, therefore, summarily dismissed, as having been previously settled when the sacrifice of the mass was declared to be propitiatory, in the twenty-second session; "not only for the sins of the living, but also for those who are deceased in Christ, and are not yet fully purged:" "quare non solum pro fidelium vivorum peccatis, pœnis, &c. sed pro defunctis in Christo, nondum ad plenum purgatis, rite juxta Apostolorum traditionem." *Sess.* 22. It was politic surely upon such a point to prefer apostolic tradition to scripture.

‡ Paschasius Radbert, a monk, and afterwards abbot of Corbey in Picardy, according to catholic writers, was the first who explained the genuine sense of the Romish church upon this point. He held, that after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, nothing remained of these symbols but the outward form or figure, under which the body and blood of Christ were really and locally present; and, that this body so present was the identical body that had been born of the Virgin Mary, had suffered on the cross, and had been raised from the dead. The council of Trent declares, that "the whole substance of the bread is changed into the substance of Christ's body, and the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood:" *totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi, D. N.; et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis ejus.*" *Sess.* 13. The anathema of the church is inflicted upon them who deny, that the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of Christ, are actually ("vere realiter, et substantialiter") present in the eucharist.

into the very body of Jesus Christ by a priest's words — this is a falsehood and notorious idolatry. Many other erroneous and damnable doctrines they own, which I cannot enlarge upon; but you must receive no doctrine, but such as is rightly built upon the holy scriptures. My children, pray to God to give you the knowledge of the truth, and to keep you from error; for it is a very dangerous time you are like to live in.*

“7th. Do not entertain any hard thoughts of God, or of his ways, because his people are persecuted for them; for Jesus Christ himself was persecuted to death by wicked men, for preaching the truth and doing good, and the holy apostles and prophets were cruelly used for serving God in his own way.† The wicked ones of the world are the seed of the serpent; and they will always hate the people of God, torment and seek to destroy them; and God suffers them to do so, not for want of love to his people, but to purge their sins by chastisement, to try their graces, and fit them for heaven, till the wicked have filled up the measure of their iniquities, and many other holy reasons: therefore, if you should come to live very poor, for the gospel's sake, be contented with it, and bless God for every mercy you receive, and know this, that poor ones are heirs of glory as well as rich ones.‡

“Lastly, I charge you to be dutiful and obedient to all your superiors: to your grandfather and both grandmothers, and all other relations and friends that are over you, but in an especial manner to your mother, to whose care and government God hath wholly committed you in my absence; who, as I am sure, dearly loves you, so she will command and direct you to her utmost ability in all ways, for your good of soul and body. Consider, she is left alone to bear all the burden of bringing you up; and is, as it were, a widow; her time is

* This letter was written a few months after James II. ascended the throne, and a few days previous to Baxter's iniquitous trial.

† Heb. xi.

‡ James, ii. 5.

filled up with many cares, and, therefore, do not grieve her by any rebellious or disobedient ways; but be willing to learn of her and be ruled by her, that she may have some comfort in seeing your obedient carriage; and it will rejoice me to hear it. Avoid bad company of wicked children; abhor swearing, lying, and playing on the sabbath-day, and all other wicked courses; so shall you grow in favour with God and man. Love one another. You that are eldest, help to teach the younger; and you that are younger, do not scorn the teachings of the elder. These things I charge and command you with the authority and love of a father. Now commending you to God, and what I have written to his blessing upon your hearts, through Jesus Christ, with my dear love to your mother, my duty to your grandfather and grandmothers, and love to all other friends, being indifferent in health, I rest your very loving father.

“ISAAC WATTS.

“London, the 21st of May, 1685.”

This affecting epistle abundantly discovers the writer's attachment to the great principles of protestantism; and at once refutes the calumny which has been propagated, that the nonconformists were passive spectators when its interests were in jeopardy. Amid the sufferings in which he was involved, personal considerations were lost sight of by Mr. Watts, in the danger to which he saw his country exposed; and in the minds of his children he sedulously sought to instil similar sentiments. The times presented alarming indications, that the ecclesiastical subjection of the nation to the see of Rome, was contemplated by an influential party; the emissaries of the vatican were actively intriguing about the court for the accomplishment of this object; and the well-known indifference of Charles to all religion, and the avowed adherence of James to popery, had long seemed to render the scheme feasible. The spirit of the papal system

was so favourable to the darling vice of the Stuart family — the exercise of arbitrary power ; the alliances of the reigning monarch, were chiefly with the catholic princes of the continent ; and these considerations, during the reign of Charles, aided by the weakness and wanton impiety of the king, had excited a just alarm for the safety of the reformation. It was no secret that measures had been in active preparation to effect its overthrow ; the jesuits openly avowed the design ; and the sovereign pontiff, as if sure of his prize, was calculating upon a favourable opportunity, to receive the Anglican church again into his fold. These signs of the times led to various controversies on the principles of the catholic faith ; and the nonconformists, harassed as they were by the existing establishment, ranged themselves with its dignitaries as champions in one common cause. It has indeed been stated, that their animosity to churchmen led them to be inactive in the struggle, and indifferent as to its issue ; but no insinuation can be more ungenerous, no statement in point of fact more incorrect.* Deprived as they were of their livings,

* Baxter's prayer gives us a curious illustration of his zeal against popery : " From such a worldly and fleshly sacred generation, as take gain for godliness, make their worldly carnal interest the standard of their religion, and their proud domination to pass for the kingdom of Christ ; from an usurping vice-Christ, whose ambition is so boundless as to extend to the prophetic, priestly, and kingly headship, over all the earth, even to the antipodes, and to that which is proper to God himself and our Redeemer ; from a leprous sect, which condemneth the far greatest part of all Christ's church on earth, and separateth from them, calling itself the whole and only church ; from that church, which decreeth destruction to all that renounce not all human sense, by believing that bread is not bread, nor that wine is wine, but Christ's very flesh and blood, who now hath properly no flesh and blood, but a spiritual body ; that decreeth the excommunication, deposition, and damnation of all princes, who will not exterminate all such, and absolveth their subjects from their oaths of allegiance ; from that beast whose mark is *perjury*, *perfidiousness*, and *persecution*, and that thinketh it doeth God acceptable service, by killing his servants or tormenting them ; from that religion which feedeth on Christ's flesh, by sacrificing those that he calleth his flesh and bones ; from the infernal dragon, the father of lies, malice, and murder, and all his ministers, and kingdom of darkness — Good Lord, make haste to deliver thy flock ; confirm their faith, hope, patience, and their joyful desire of the great, true, final, glorious deliverance. Amen, Amen, Amen !"

The Protestant Religion truly Stated and Justified.

banished as it was the lot of many from their homes and families, and having no access to their books,* the same exertions could not reasonably be expected from them, as from the prelates of a wealthy hierarchy in the enjoyment of every literary facility; but notwithstanding these disadvantages, most of their eminent ministers stood forwards foremost in the contest. The harsh treatment which they had received from the prelatists, was afterwards regretted as a question of policy by many of their persecutors; its natural tendency was to sour the minds and embitter the spirit of those who came under its infliction; and though in some instances such effects might be produced, yet the preceding letter exhibits the sentiments and feelings of the great majority, when the vital truths of religion were threatened by the mistresses of a profligate monarch and the priestly myrmidons of antichrist.†

Mr. Watts was upwards of two years an exile from his family; and probably returned to Southampton in the year 1687, when James sought to bring the dissenters over to his views, by publishing his first declaration for liberty of con-

* In a touching letter to Lord Lauderdale, Baxter remarks: "I would request that I might be allowed to live quietly, to follow my private studies, and might once again have the use of my books, which I have not seen these ten years. I pay for a room for their standing in at Kidderminster, where they are eaten by worms and rats; having no security for my quiet abode in any place, to encourage me to send for them. I would also ask, that I might have the liberty every beggar hath, to travel from town to town." *Orme's Life*, i. 357.

† Tong's Defence of Henry's Notion of Schism, contains a full answer to this calumny. p. 151, 155. Mr. Neal observes, upon the authority of Dr. Calamy, Baxter, and others, that some of the dissenters' tracts against popery being thought too warm, were refused to be licensed. Mr. Jonathan Hanmer, ejected from Bishop's Tawton in Devonshire, was refused a license for one of his discourses. Mr. Henry Pendlebury met with a like denial. Dr. Jane, the Bishop of London's chaplain, denied his sanction to one of Baxter's pieces. Dr. Grey, however, cites four letters from Dr. Isham, Dr. Alston, Dr. Batteley, and Mr. Needham, licensers of the press, in which they positively declare, that they never refused to license a book, on account of its being written by a dissenter. With reference to Baxter, Dr. Isham remarks, that "if he had prepared anything against the common enemy, without striking obliquely at our church, I would certainly have forwarded them from the press." The books referred to, to which licenses were refused, were probably laid before Dr. Jane and other licensers.

science. His prudence and integrity secured to him the esteem of his townsmen; and many persons were accustomed to consult him in cases of emergency. Mr. Parker, who was Dr. Watts's amanuensis, has related the following anecdote:—A person in Southampton, who was a stonemason, and who had purchased an old building for its materials, previous to his pulling it down came to Mr. Watts, under some uneasiness, in consequence of a dream, viz. that a large stone in the centre of an arch fell upon him, and killed him. Upon asking Mr. Watts his opinion, he answered, "I am not for paying any great regard to dreams, nor yet for utterly slighting them. If there is such a stone in the building as you saw in your dream" (which he told him there really was), "my advice to you is, that you take great care in taking down the building to keep far enough off from it." The mason resolved to act upon his opinion; but in an unfortunate moment he forgot his dream, went under the arch, and the stone fell upon him, and crushed him to death.

Of this good and singularly devoted man, it may truly be said, that his "latter end" was "blessed more than the beginning;" for he lived long enough to witness the triumph of religious liberty under the princes of the house of Hanover, and to enjoy the exquisite gratification of beholding the son who had been nursed at his prison-door, in the full career of his usefulness and fame. He partook of his taste for poetry, and in the decline of life, at the advanced age of eighty-five, penned the following simple and pious effusions:

“THE SOUL’S DESIRE OF REMOVE.

I.

“Long have I sojourn’d in this weary land,
Where sins and sorrows everywhere abound;
Soul-threatening dangers, see how thick they stand!
Snares and temptations compass me around.

" 'Tis an unhealthy clime, where vapours rise,
Whose pestilential influences shed
Malignant fumes beneath the gloomy skies,
Which wound the heart and stupify the head.

" When shall my soul obtain a kind remove,
These fleshly shackles broke, and I set free
From this dark dungeon? Soon I'd mount above
To see my God, the Man who died for me.

" My guardian angel, come and lead the way,
Assist my footsteps in the sacred road ;
I'll follow on through realms of endless day
Up to the palace of my Father God ;

" Where solac'd with the beatific sight,
No evil shall my perfect peace molest,
But with those holy ones array'd in white,
Shall enter into everlasting rest.

II.

" Worn with the toils of fourscore years and five,
A weary pilgrim, Lord, to thee I come ;
To beg supporting grace, till I arrive
At heaven, thy promis'd rest, my wish'd for home.

" Here's nothing to invite my longer stay,
Among the darksome melancholy cells ;
When shall I leave this tenement of clay ?
Fain would I be where my Redeemer dwells.

" Oh ! had I but some generous seraph's wing,
There's nothing should prevail to keep me here ;
But with the morning lark I'd mount and sing,
Till I had left earth's gloomy atmosphere.

" My soul directly rising upward still,
Till I should reach the glorious courts above,
Where endless pleasure my desires shall fill,
And solac'd be with my dear Jesu's love.

With sweet refreshment, on such things as these
My serious thoughts have often been employ'd ;
But how much more will happiness increase
When more than can be thought will be enjoy'd."

The first of these poems was given to Dr. Gibbons, by Mrs. Jane Rolleston, a lady of Southampton, and a member of the dissenting congregation there. In the surreptitious publication referred to in the preface, entitled the "Posthumous Works of Dr. Watts," the careless compiler has twice inserted it; at the commencement of the volume as the composition of the father, and at the close as the production of the son.* It must undoubtedly be assigned to Mr. Watts, senior. From the compilation in question, which we have good reason to believe contains the father's manuscript poems, which the doctor entrusted to the care of his sister, Mrs. Sarah Brackstone, a few more extracts may be made, as the work is little known, illustrative of the piety and talent of the writer. In the following, though destitute of poetical merit, the principles of the nonconformist are prominently developed:

I.

"ON CEREMONIES.

"Why do our churchmen with such zeal contend
For what the scriptures nowhere recommend?
Those ceremonies, which they doat upon,
Were unto Christians heretofore unknown.
In ancient times God's worship did accord,
Not with traditions, but the written word;
Himself has told us how he'll be ador'd.

"'Tis true, that, in the legal dispensation,
Which only did concern the Jewish nation,
Religious rites were constantly maintain'd,
But such, and only such, as Heaven ordain'd;
By special warrant and command exprest,
The mitre and the ephod, with the rest
Of all those robes wherewith the priest was drest.

* See p. p. 28, 167. In this collection there are several poems inserted as sonnets; one consisting of eight verses of four lines each, and none of the others possess the requisite quantity.

- “ The altar that was built for sacrifice,
Must bear such fashion and be such a size ;
The tabernacle and its furniture,
Its tacks and loops so many and no more ;
Exact according to the pattern shown
By God to Moses in the mount alone ;
And so for form must every thing be done.
- “ Nothing was left to man’s invention free ;
No ; not the least addition must there be :
The worship and the mode were still the same,
And so continued till Messiah came,
God’s Son and Heir, whose government took place,
When clearly he reveal’d the truth and grace,
Which, cloth’d in types, lay hid in former days.
- “ And here commenc’d the gospel dispensation,
Cent’ring in Christ, the author of salvation ;
Perfect in wisdom, he the system drew
Of his own worship ; who shall add thereto ?
Can foolish man Heaven’s workmanship refine ?
Or puddle-water meliorate the wine ?
'Tis treason to corrupt the prince’s coin.
- “ When Paul was first converted, 'tis not said,
He read a prayer, but we read, he prayed ;
Nor do I find he did a surplice wear,
Either in time of preaching or of prayer ;
Or bow’d to altars, heathen superstition ;
At Athens he reprov’d that vain tradition,
And yet 'tis sure he acted by commission.
- “ Nor can it be in sacred records found,
That e’en that house was built on holy ground,
Where Peter went upon the roof to prayer,
And yet with God he held communion there,
While dinner was prepar’d ; nor is’t related,
Cornelius’s house was ever consecrated ;
Yet gospel-worship there was celebrated.
- “ When Paul and Silas were in prison cast,
And by the gaoler in the stocks set fast,
They never question’d aught about the place,
Being quickened by the Spirit of grace,

Betook themselves to prayer and praises high,
Which pleas'd th' Almighty's ear: blest melody !
Although there surely were no organs by.

“ Our Saviour did th' apostles authorize,
To go and preach the gospel and baptise
Throughout each kingdom, and in every coast,
In name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:
But not a word I read in his command,
Of signing with the cross in face or hand,
Nor thus did they his mandate understand.

“ Rome did these ceremonies first invent,
Confirm'd them by a council held at Trent ;
Sent and impos'd them on the nations thence,
Made decency and order their pretence :
I dare not with such superstition join ;
Give me pure doctrine, gospel discipline,
Where God is serv'd—that service is divine.

II.

“DIVINE WORSHIP MUST BE ACCORDING TO DIVINE RULE.

“ 'Tis not religion in an outside dress
Of forms and modes, that can acceptance win
With Him who weighs our duties more or less,
According to the principle within.

“ We see the actions, but Heaven's eyes behold,
The secret springs from whence they do proceed ;
Not all that glistens must be counted gold ;
'Tis pure intention consecrates the deed.

“ The daily flames that from the altar rise,
Must still be kindled with celestial fire ;
This only makes a pleasing sacrifice,
When sacred love breaks out in pure desire.

“ The rules of worship all appointed were ;
The victim beast must not be lame or blind,
And must be offer'd with an heart sincere ;
The life of true devotion is the mind.

“Who in God’s service his prescription shuns,
And dares another form to introduce,
On the thick bosses of his buckler runs,
And calls down vengeance to repay th’ abuse.

“This Nadab and Abihu knew too well,
When, with strange fire, they brought their offspring nigh,
A sudden flame from heaven upon them fell,
And in th’ attempt they at the altar die.

III.

Written in the seventy-first year of his age.

“When I can call the blessed Jesus mine,
By strong embraces of a faith divine,
My soul’s transported to a strange degree,
And nothing can my joyful thoughts remove
From the dear object of my sovereign love ;
My inward powers dissolve in sacred ecstacy.

“He the fix’d centre of my soul’s delight,
On whom I feast by day, and rest by night ;
In him alone are all my wants supplied ;
When I can clasp him thus within my arms,
In vain the world with her deceitful charms,
Shall offer from his love to draw my heart aside.

“’Tis true there’s nothing to depend upon,
That I have either suffer’d, wrought, or done ;
Yet hope, my confidence, shall never fall,
While Jesus Christ is mine and I am his,
I cannot fail of everlasting bliss ;
Though I myself am nothing, He’s my all.

“Keep up, my soul, a constant cheerful frame,
At the remembrance of thy Saviour’s name ;
Survey the records of time past, and see
When Jesus laid aside his heavenly dress,
And cloth’d himself in robes of human flesh ;
What sorrows, griefs and pains he underwent for thee.

“To make atonement with his precious blood,
He gave himself a sacrifice to God ;
And now, as intercessor in thy stead,

Appears for thee before his Father's face,
To sue for pardon and supply of grace,
Where all his sufferings for thy miseries plead.

“ See next the promises, which stand enroll'd
In Heaven's great charter, whence the saints of old,
As from a living spring, their comforts drew ;
Assur'd by faith that what th' Almighty spake,
No powers of earth or hell could ever break,
For all his promises are faithful, just and true.

“ Now let all three be added into one,
What hath been, is, or further shall be done,
In the transactions of thy Saviour's love ;
A matchless work it will appear to be,
In union of the eternal Three,
Accomplish'd here below, but first contriv'd above.

“ 'Twas Wisdom's self that did project the scheme,
How God's own Son should criminals redeem,
That Justice should appear in mercy drest.—
Here stop, my soul, and join the heavenly choir,
And when thy feeble strains can reach no higher,
In humble silence meditate the rest.”

The death of Mr. Watts took place in February, 1736 or 7 ; and but two days before this event, his son Dr. Watts addressed to him the following letter :

“ Newington, Feb. 8, 1736-7.

“ Honoured and dear Sir,

“ 'Tis now ten days since I heard from you, and learned by my nephews that you had been recovered from a very threatening illness. When you are in danger of life, I believe my sister is afraid to let me know the worst, for fear of affecting me too much. But as I feel old age daily advancing on myself,* I am endeavouring to be ready for my removal hence ; and though it gives a shock to nature, when what has been long dear to one is taken away, yet reason and reli-

* Dr. Watts was now in his sixty-third year.

gion should teach us to expect it in these scenes of mortality and a dying world. Blessed be God for our immortal hopes through the blood of Jesus, who has taken away the sting of death! What could such dying creatures do without the comforts of the gospel? I hope you feel those satisfactions of soul on the borders of life, which nothing can give but this gospel, which you taught us all in our younger years. May these divine consolations support your spirits, under all your growing infirmities; and may our blessed Saviour form your soul to such a holy heavenly frame, that you may wait with patience amidst the languors of life, for a joyful passage into the land of immortality! May no cares nor pains ruffle nor afflict your spirit! May you maintain a constant serenity at heart, and sacred calmness of mind, as one who has long past midnight, and is in view of the dawning day! The night is far spent, the day is at hand! Let the garments of light be found upon us, and let us lift up our heads, for our redemption draws nigh. Amen.

“I am, dear Sir,

“Your most affectionate obedient son,

“ISAAC WATTS.”

The decease of his father was improved by Dr. Watts in a sermon to his own people, on Zech. i. 5: “Your fathers, where are they? And the prophets, do they live for ever?”

CHAPTER II.

EARLY YEARS OF WATTS.

1674—1690.

BIRTH OF WATTS.—EARLY GENIUS.—COUPLET FOR HIS MOTHER.—WRITES AN ACROSTIC ON HIS OWN NAME.—COMET OF 1680.—FRANKLIN, COWLEY, AND REYNOLDS.—LINES.—CLASSICAL STUDIES.—FREE-SCHOOL.—EXTRACTS FROM MEMORANDA.—REV. JOHN PINHORN.—LATIN PINDARIC ODE.—TRANSLATION.—IMITATION OF HORACE.—THE BRITISH FISHERMAN.—LANDING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—BRADBURY.—DE FOE.—PIETY.—MEMORANDA.—DR. JOHN SPEED.—OFFER FOR HIS EDUCATION AT COLLEGE REJECTED.—GOES TO LONDON.

ISAAC WATTS, D.D., to whose life the following pages are devoted, was born at Southampton, July 17, 1674.* He was the eldest of a numerous family, consisting of four sons and five daughters,† and was named after his father, Isaac. Though his natural disposition was marked with great sprightliness and vivacity, yet he was indifferent to the follies and vanities which usually captivate in years of childhood. From his youthful companions he was often observed to retire, to devote those hours to gratify a thirst for information, which they spent in amusement. As soon as he could articulate he was ambitious of learning to read, and the gift of a book was the most gratifying present he could receive.

* "I was born July 17, 1674." *Watts's MS.*

† Richard, the second son, became a physician, and practised in London. Enoch was the third; and Sarah, afterwards married to Mr. Brackstone, a draper in Southampton, was the fifth child in succession. In the "Posthumous Works" there is a poem on the death of Elizabeth Watts, "who deceased Nov. 11, 1691, aged two years." These lines are in the simple homely style of Mr. W. sen.

In surveying the lives of those who have outstripped their fellow mortals in the march of mind, we are led to look with peculiar interest and curiosity upon their early years; entertaining a not-unnatural supposition, that those who are great in mature age, must necessarily have exhibited something extraordinary in their boyhood. This, though true with reference to many of the gifted ones of the human race, cannot be received as an invariable rule; for instances are by no means infrequent, in which the morning has been dark and lowering, when the noonday has been brilliant with the light of intellect. Pascal when a mere child, without the assistance of a tutor, mastered the elementary propositions of geometry, drawing the figures with a bit of coal on the floor of his room; whilst Sheridan, the delight and admiration of crowded senates in his prime, was given up when a boy by both parents and preceptors, as most incorrigibly dull. The mind in its manifestations, is in no slight degree influenced by external circumstances; and the development and improvement of the intellectual faculty, will be affected in different individuals, by their several peculiarities, their modes of education, opportunities, and bodily temperament. As there are original differences in the soil which the husbandman cultivates, it is obvious to an attentive observer of mental phenomena, that there are, perhaps less prominent, but well-defined differences in the constitution of the human mind; and the want of the proper consideration of these, the misapplication of educational formula, the expenditure of the mental vigour upon studies directly opposed to its natural aptitude, will stunt the growth and retard the manifestations of intelligence. If it is necessary in agriculture, that the properties of the land to be cultivated should be investigated, and the grain adapted to its peculiar quality, in order that a successful tillage may ensue; so in intellectual education, it is equally important, that the mental susceptibilities and tastes should be consulted, as when properly directed, they

form most powerful auxiliaries to the discipline of instruction. But even where all this has been done, we have many instances of parental tenderness hopelessly despairing over an apparent dulness and stupefaction in youth; when in after years, by some accidental occurrence, the long dormant powers have been awakened, and have speedily outstripped in their progress to maturity the more early advancements of others.

It has been said of Watts, that “when a child he began to act the part of maturer years;” and was noticed by his relatives and immediate associates for his anxiety for mental improvement. The money that was occasionally given to him, was expended to gratify this favourite propensity; and on obtaining any such present, he was accustomed to run to his parents, crying, “a book, a book—buy a book.” This feeling of the want of knowledge, and the strong desire to obtain it which it engendered, were fortunately regulated and controlled by the benignant influence of paternal government. The youthful mind is in general influenced by a love of discovery, an appetite for novelty; the first dawn of intelligence develops a principle of curiosity, an anxiety after the *aliquid novum*; and hence it is a matter of no small moment, that the attention should be early directed by a controlling agent to subjects that will improve and benefit. The desire of information is to the mind, what hunger is to the body; and as care is requisite to supply the wants of the one with wholesome food, it is equally necessary that the powers of the mind should be employed upon materials which will increase its vigour, expand its capacity, and be an aliment to its cravings. If left to rove from one object to another without a guide; if not subject to the counsel and care of experience; the consequence will almost invariably be, that unhealthy and destructive ingredients will be administered, or the habit contracted of preferring an acquaintance with those subjects which lead to new and varied sensation, rather than to moral and intel-

lectual benefit. It was a happy circumstance for Watts, that his mental faculties in their vigorous spring-time, were directed by a judicious parent in the search of genuine wisdom; that those truths were presented to his awakening attention, which exert a moral and hallowing influence upon the mind; that a course of instruction was adopted, which led to the communication of good and fixed principles: for by the corrective agency of early discipline, he was preserved from those specious errors, which grow in wild luxuriance and attractive colouring in the fields of literature, and taught to estimate the value of objects, not as they gratify a passion for novelty, but as they enlarge the understanding and regulate the life.

At an early age Watts's poetical genius developed itself; and along with Milton, Cowley, and Pope, he may be said to have "lisp'd in numbers." It was a custom with his mother, to employ her husband's pupils after school-hours, in writing her some verses, for which she used to reward them with a farthing. When young Watts's turn came to exercise his gift, he furnished the following couplet:

"I write not for a farthing, but to try
How I your farthing writers can outvie."

About the same time he composed a copy of verses, which falling into the hands of his mother, she, upon reading them, expressed her suspicion whether he was really the author of them. To remove her doubts as to his ability to compose in this manner, he penned the following acrostic upon his name:

"I am a vile polluted lump of earth,
So I've continu'd ever since my birth;
Although Jehovah grace does daily give me,
As sure this monster Satan will deceive me,
Come, therefore, Lord, from Satan's claws relieve me.

"Wash me in thy blood, O Christ,
And grace divine impart,
Then search and try the corners of my heart,
That I in all things may be fit to do
Service to thee, and sing thy praises too."

These lines are evidently juvenile; but they afford a pleasing proof, that his first as well as his latest attempts in verse, were devoted to the cause of piety and virtue; so that what Lord Lyttleton said of Thompson, may truly be applied to him: he wrote,

“No line, which, dying, he could wish to blot.”

Upon attaining his sixth year, the great comet of 1680 was the marvel and wonder of the day; and Watts frequently spoke in after-life of the deep impression which the brilliant wanderer made upon his mind. It is curious to trace the accidents, which seem by some mysterious influence to have often determined genius in the exercise of its powers, though we have not sufficient insight into the mental economy, to discover the intermediate links between the cause and the effect. It was the sight of a flash of lightning, from a tree into which he had climbed, to see where the fire came from, that first awakened in Franklin's mind a longing desire to investigate the origin, and ascertain the laws, which govern the power of electrical phenomena. A copy of Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, lying in the window of his mother's apartment, enlisted Cowley's genius in the cause of verse; and Richardson's *Treatise* is said to have added the name of Reynolds to the number of illustrious painters. In most minds, where the imagination is the predominant faculty, the influence of external nature is strongly felt; and the impression made upon Watts by the “stranger of heaven,” vivid and long remembered, seems to have given a tone and colouring to some of his poetry. At a subsequent era of his life, he thus altered Dr. Young's description of the comet, looking back to the marvellous splendour, which had surprised and excited his youthful fancy:

“Who stretch'd the comet to prodigious size,
And pour'd his flaming train o'er half the skies?”

Is't at thy wrath the heav'nly monster glares
O'er the pale nations, to denounce thy wars?"*

The classical studies of young Watts commenced in his fourth year, when he began to learn Latin of his father; and soon afterwards he was sent to prosecute his further education in the grammar school at Southampton. The master of this seminary was the Rev. John Pinhorne, a clergyman of considerable talent and respectability, whose attention and kindness, procured him the esteem and gratitude of his pupil. The events of this part of his life are thus recorded by him in his memoranda :

“Coincidents.

Memoranda.

Began to learn Latin
of my father, . . . 1678.
To Latin school and
writing, 1680.

1683. My father persecuted and imprisoned for nonconformity six months. After that forced to leave his family, and live privately in London for two years. Began to learn Greek, 1683, or before. I had ye small pox, 1683. Learnt French, . . . 1684, 1685. Learnt Hebrew, . . . 1687 or 8.”†

In the year of Mr. Watts's imprisonment, the persecution of the protestant dissenters was at its height; and the most

Dr. Young's lines are as follow :

“Who drew the comet out to such a size
And pour'd his flaming train o'er half the skies?
Did thy resentment hang him out? Does he
Glare on the nations, and denounce from thee?”

† Watts's MS. The private paper from which this extract is taken, and to which reference has been made, is arranged in two columns as above. In future extracts, for the sake of convenience, I shall depart from this tabular arrangement, and blend the “Coincidents” with the “Memoranda.”

cruel and tyrannical measures against them were adopted by the court, and eagerly abetted by the bishops, the universities, and the magistracy. Charles II. had been allowed by an infatuated country and a servile parliament, to usurp all that power which his father sought at the expense of his life; and with the liberties of the people prostrate before the royal prerogative, and completely in the hands of a vindictive clergy, he lent himself to the iniquitous acts which they devised. Some there were who had the courage to condemn, and nobly to oppose, the arbitrary proceedings of the government; but these obnoxious individuals were soon informed against by the perfidious underlings of the ministry, and lost their lives for plots that never existed, and designs which their accusers alone conceived. During the year 1683, one of the most fatal in the reign of terror, Russel and Sydney* were consigned to the scaffold; and the prisons of the metropolis and the provincial towns, were crowded with those who dared to insinuate, that a king could do wrong, the prelaey be fallible, and a state-church be antichristian.

It is impossible to form anything like a correct estimate of the sufferings of the nonconformists at this time; much literary ingenuity and artful interpretation have been employed to soften and extenuate; but the record is too well authenticated to admit a suspicion of any considerable exaggeration. It is only necessary to read over the acts of parliament, which

* Upon the death of Sidney the following lines were written :

“ Algernon Sidney fills this tomb,
 An atheist for disclaiming Rome;
 A rebel bold for striving still
 To keep the laws above the will;
 Crimes damn'd by church and government —
 Alas ! where must his ghost be sent ?
 Of heaven it cannot but despair,
 If holy pope he turnkey there;
 And hell it ne'er must entertain,
 For there is all tyrannic reign:
 Where goes it then ? Where't ought to go,
 Where pope nor devil have to do.”

Bennet's Memorial, p. 359.

Clarendon* and his successors either originated or revived, to be assured that the amount of suffering must have been great indeed. The guilt of the numerous injuries and oppressions that were heaped upon the dissenters, must fall principally upon the clergy, who declaimed against them from the pulpit, enforced the law from the magisterial bench, and intrigued around the throne. The universities also by their decrees in full convocation, encouraged the prelates in their sanguinary crusade, and the monarch in his career of crime and despotism. This year Dr. Whitby, precentor of Sarum, published a book, entitled the "Protestant Reconciler," "humbly pleading for condescension to dissenting brethren, in things indifferent and unnecessary, for the sake of peace, and showing how unreasonable it is to make such things the necessary conditions of communion." Such high offence did this publication

* For a fair and candid estimate of the character of this idol of the establishment, the reader is referred to the "Historical Inquiries" of the Hon. Mr. Agar Ellis. The disabilities under which the nonconformists laboured, for which they were principally indebted to the chancellor, the willing tool of the clergy, will appear from the following recapitulation. 1st, As to the dissenting laity, by the statutes 1 Eliz. c. 2—23 Eliz. c. 1—29 Eliz. c. 6—35 Eliz. c. 1, and 3 James, c. 4, those who neglected to attend at church on Sunday, were liable to the censures of the church, and finable 1s. for each offence, £20. per month for continual personal absence, and £10. per month for the nonattendance of their servants. These fines were recoverable by very summary proceedings: the lands of the person offending, were seizable by the crown; and persons who neglected to conform might be committed to prison, or must abjure the realm, and, on their refusal or return, incurred the guilt of felony without benefit of clergy, and the punishment of death: by the Conventicle Act, 22 Charles II. cap. 1, additional and most severe restrictions were imposed.—2d. As to the *ministers of the protestant dissenters* (besides being liable to all the statutes we have enumerated), they were by the Act of Uniformity (13 and 14 Charles II. c. 4) subject to a penalty of £100. for administering the Lord's supper; by the Five mile Act (17 Charles II. c. 2), they were prohibited under a penalty of £10. from coming within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough; and by the Conventicle Act they forfeited £20. for the first offence, and for the second offence £40., if they preached in any place "at which there should be *five* or more besides those of the household."—And 3rd. Under the operation of these laws from the Restoration to the Revolution, during the short period of twenty-six years, informers acquired opulence by prosecutions; sixty thousand persons suffered for dissent; several thousand persons expired in prisons; and during three years property was extorted from the dissenters exceeding two millions sterling.

give, that the university of Oxford ordered it to be burnt, in one of the quadrangles, by the hands of the marshal. The author, who was chaplain to Dr. Seth Ward, was obliged by him to make a public recantation; and to seal his peace with the higher powers, he added a second part to his work, "earnestly persuading the dissenting laity to join in full communion with the church of England."

"168 $\frac{3}{4}$. Feb. K. Ch. II. dyed, and K. Ja. II. procl." *Mem.*

The last days of Charles, as they are described by Evelyn, an eye-witness, present an awful scene: "I can never forget," says he, "the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se-night I was witness to: the king sitting and toying with his concubines Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c.; a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons, were at basset, round a large table, a bank of at least £2,000. in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made a reflection with astonishment; six days after, all was in the dust." The king died in the faith of the church of Rome; father Huddleston administered to him *in articulo mortis* the usual rites; and little doubt remains, but that the unprincipled* profligate had long been reconciled to the papal

* The duplicity and hollow-dealing of Charles ought to consign his name to universal execration. When a deputation of ministers went to the Hague to congratulate him upon his restoration, Oldmixon tells us, that his majesty contrived it so, that the ministers should be placed in a chamber as by accident, which joined to a closet where the king was to be at prayers, and he thanked God for being a "*covenanted king*." Before the Scotch commissioners he uttered the following oath: "I Charles, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare, by my solemn oath, in the presence of the Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation, of the National Covenant, and of the solemn League and Covenant, above-written; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof, in my station and calling; and that I shall observe them in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." Then followed the declaration from Dumferling, Aug. 16, 1650, in which his majesty "doth desire to be deeply humbled before God, because of his

see. Bishop Ken zealously sought to bring him into communion with the English church, but though he received absolution from him, he rejected the sacrament at his hands. It is to the disgrace of the clergy, that they flattered the vices of their "supreme head;" added to the titles of the royal libertine, after the Savoy conference, the epithet "our most religious king;" and taught for golden stalls the "right divine of kings to govern wrong."* The history of this prince shows, how much popular manners and showy qualities, may impose upon the minds of the vulgar; for stained as he was with almost every vice, the mean pensioner of France, the conspirer against the religion and liberties of his people, he has yet remained a favourite rather than otherwise with the country at large.†

father's hearkening to and following evil counsels, and his opposition to the work of reformation, and to the solemn League and Covenant, and for the idolatry of his mother, the toleration of which in the king's house could not but be a high provocation to him who is a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children." Well might the satirist exclaim,

" ——— He'll a presbyterian brother be,
And vow to ratify their hierarchy;
The sins of his father's house he will bewail,
Mourn and lament under a Scottish veil;
But this religious mask we all shall see,
Will soon the downfall of their Babel be."

* "We still believe and maintain," says an address from the university of Cambridge, presented by Dr. Gower, master of St. John's, "that our kings derive not their power from the people, but from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it belongs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault or forfeiture can alter or diminish." The monarch might well chuckle at such a sentiment, and remark, that "no other church in the world taught and practised loyalty so conscientiously as they did."

† The pen of Horace Walpole, Lord Orford, has truly characterised Charles II, whom Archbishop Sheldon and his ecclesiastical junto introduced into the liturgy under the denomination of "most religious:"

" Fortune, or fair or frowning, on his soul
Could stamp no virtue, and no vice control.
Honour or morals, gratitude or truth,
Nor learn'd his ripen'd age, nor knew his youth,
The cares of nations left to w——s or chance;
Plunderer of Britain, pensioner of France;
Free to buffoons, to ministers deny'd;
He liv'd an atheist, and a bigot died."

The proclamation of James II., says Burnet, was a "heavy solemnity — a dead silence followed it through the streets; few tears were shed for the former, nor were there any shouts of joy for the present king."* The bishop, however, being at this time abroad, was doubtless misinformed; for Calamy observes, "I was present upon the spot, at the proclaiming king James II., at the upper end of Wood Street, in Cheap-side, and my heart ached within me at the acclamations made upon that occasion, which, as far as I could observe, were very general."† The new monarch won over the clergy to his interests, by declaring to his privy council that he "would preserve the government as by law established in church and state;" and protestant pulpits resounded with thanksgivings for the accession of a popish king. So highly delighted were they, that they promised in their addresses the most unqualified submission to his authority; and the university of Oxford, in the excess of their loyalty, even went so far as to declare, that "their religion indispensably binds them to bear faith and true obedience to their sovereign, without any *limitation or restriction*." The mad attempt of James to render popery the dominant religion of the country, put their sincerity to the test; and the doctrines of passive obedience and divine right, which the clergy had so often and so loudly preached to the nonconformists, were soon discarded when the emoluments of their church were endangered by the bold aggressions of Rome.

But to return to Watts: at the grammar school, under Mr. Pinhorne, he was celebrated for his unwearied diligence and rapid improvement. His master soon discovered his avidity for learning, and carefully stimulating and directing his genius, he was accustomed to foretell the future eminence of the boy. To look back upon the restraint and discipline of our school-hours with gratitude and pleasure, is no inexpressive tribute to the kindness and care of our instructors. In a

* Own Time, i. 620.

† Calamy, i. 116.

Latin Pindaric ode, which Watts inscribed in his twentieth year to his tutor, he honourably acknowledges his obligations to him for his instructions; and indulges in a pleasing retrospect of his early studies. The poem evinces the attainments of the scholar, and the merits of the master. Mr. Pinhorne was the rector of All Saints' in Southampton, prebendary of Leckford, and vicar of Eling in the New Forest, Hants. He died in the year 1714, and a monument erected in the church of Eling, where he was buried, bears an inscription to his memory.* At the period of his death, the anticipations he had indulged of his pupil's future celebrity had been fully verified; by the public at large he was then known as an eminent poet and an esteemed pastor, though his bright career as a theological writer and Christian psalmist had not commenced.

“TO THE REV. MR. JOHN PINHORNE, THE FAITHFUL PRECEPTOR
OF MY YOUNGER YEARS.†

Translated from the Latin by Dr. Gibbons.

“Pinhorne, permit the muse t'aspire
To thee, and vent th' impatient fire
That in her bosom glows;
Fain would she tune an equal lay,
And to her honour'd tutor pay
The debt of thanks she owes.

“Through Plato's walks, a flow'ry road,
And Latium's fields with pleasure strow'd,
She owns thy guiding hand:
Thou too didst her young steps convey
Through many a rough and craggy way
In Palestina's land.

* Here lies the body of the Rev. Mr. John Pinhorne, prebendary of Leckford and vicar of Eling, who died June 8, 1714, aged 62.”

† “AD REVERENDUM VIRUM DOMINUM JOHANNEM PINHORNE, FIDUM
ADOLESCENTIE PRÆCEPTOREM.

“PINDARICI CARMINIS SPECIMEN. 1694.

I.

“Et te, Pinorni, musa Trisantica
Salutat, ardens discipulam tuam
Gratè fateri: nunc Athenas,
Nunc Latias per amœnitates
Tutò pererrans te recolit duces,

Te quondam teneros et Ebraia per aspera gressus

“Twas thine irradiating light
Open’d the Thespian vales to sight,
And taught the muse to climb
The mountains, where the muses’ choir
Now tune their breath, now touch the lyre
To ecstasy sublime.

“Of high Parnassus’ top possest,
See Homer tow’ring o’er the rest—
What a stupendous strain!
In battle gods and men contend,
The heavens outrageous uproars rend,
And slaughters drench the plain.

“My ear imbibes th’ immense delight,
When Virgil’s past’ral lays recite
The country’s humble charms,

Or when his muse exalts her voice,
And, like the warlike clarion’s noise,
Sounds the loud charge to arms.

“The Theban bard my soul admires,
His tow’ring flights, his mounting fires,
The raptures of his rage.

Hail, great triumvirate! your lays,
The world consenting in your praise,
Resound from age to age.

“When from my labours in the mine
Of heav’nly truth and grace divine
To leisure I retire,
I’ll seize your works with both my arms,
Take a sweet range among their charms,
And catch th’ immortal fire.

Non durâ duxisse manu.
Tuo patescunt lumine Thespii
Campi atque ad arcem Pieridôn iter.
En altus assurgens Homerus
Arma deosque virosque miscens,
Occupat æthereum Parnassi culmen: Homeri
Immensos stupeo manes—
Te, Maro, dulcè canens sylvas, te bella sonantem
Ardna, da veniam tenui venerare camænâ;
Tuæque accipias, Thebane Vates,
Debita thura lyrae.
Vobis, magna Trias! clarissima nomina, semper
Serinia nostra patent, et pectora nostra patebunt,
Quum mihi cunque levem concesserit otia et horam
Divina Mosis pagina.

II.

“Flaccus ad hanc Triadem ponatur, at ipse pudendas
Deponat veneres. Venias sed purus et insons
Ut te collaudem, dum, sordes et mala lustra
Ablutus, Venusine, canis ridesve. Recisæ
Hâc lege accedant Satyræ Juvenalis, amari
Terroris vitiorum. At longè cæcus abesset
Persius, obscurus vates, nisi lumina circum-
-fusa forent, Sphingisque ænigmata, Bonde, scidisses,
Grande sonans Senecæ fulmen, grandisque cothurni
Pompa Sophoclei celso ponantur eodem
Ordine, et ambabus simul hos amplectar in ulnis.

Tuto, poetæ, tuto habitabitis
Pictos abacos: improba tinea
Obiit, nec audet seve castas
Attingere blatta camænas.
At tu renidens fœda epigrammatum
Farrago inertum, stercoris impii
Sentina fortens, Martialis,
In barathrum relegendus imum
Aufuge, et hinc tecum rapias Catullum
Iusulæ mollem, naribus, auribus
Ingrata castis carmina, et improbi
Spurcos Nasonis amores.

"Horace shall with the choir be join'd,
When virtue has his verse refin'd,
And purg'd his tainted page :

Pleas'd I'll attend his lyric strain,
I hear him indulge his laughing vein,
And satirize the age.

"Next cleans'd from his unhallow'd seum
The mighty Juvenal shall come,
And high his vengeance wield :

His satires sound the loud alarm
To Vice, she sees his lifted arm,
And cowering quits the field.

"In vain should I expect delight
From Persius wrapt in tenfold night,
Unless, O Bond, thy ray
Had pierc'd the shades that veil him round
And set his sense obscure, profound
Amidst the blaze of day.

"Now Seneca with tragic lays
Demands my wonder and my praise :
What thunder arms his tongue !

Now Sophocles lets loose his rage :
With what a pomp he treads the stage,
And how sublime his song !

"In long and regular array
My shelves your volumes shall display,
Ye fav'rites of the nine !
No moth's, no worm's insidious rage
Shall dare to riot on your page,
Or mar one modest line.

"Meantime let Martial's blushless muse,
Whose wit is poison'd by the stews,
Catullus' wanton fire,
With Ovid's verse, that as it rolls
With luscious poison taints our souls,
In bogs obscene expire.

"See from the Caledonian shore,
With blooming laurels cover'd o'er,
Buchanan march along !
Hail, honour'd heir of David's lyre,
Thou full-grown image of thy sire,
And hail thy matchless song !

III.

"Nobilis extrema gradiens Caledonis ab arā
En Buchananus adest ! Divini psaltis imago
Jessiadæ salveto ! potens seu Numinis iras
Fulminibus miscere, sacro vel lumine mentis
Fugare noctes, vel citharæ sono

Sedare fluctus pectoris :
Tu mihi hærebis comes ambulanti,
Tu domi astabis socius perennis,
Seu levi mensæ simul assidere

Dignabere seu lecticæ :
Mox recumbentis vigilans ad aurem
Aureos suadebis inire somnos
Sacra sopitis superinferens ob-

livia curis.

Stet juxta Casimirus, huic nec pareus ignem
Natura indulsit, nec musa armavit alumnū

Sarbivium rudiore lyrā.
Quanta Polonum levat aura cygnū
Humana linquens, en sibi devī
Montes recedunt, luxuriantibus
Spatiat in aëre pennis.
Seu tu fortè virum tollis ad æthera
Cognatosve thronos, et patrū Polū
Visurus consurgis ovans,
Visum fatigas, aciemque fallis
Dum tuum à longe stupeo volatum.
O non imitabilis ales

“What terror sounds thro’ all thy strings
When in his wrath th’ Almighty flings

His thunder through the skies !

Anon, when heav’n’s wide-op’ning ray
Shines all our gloomy doubts away,

How soft the notes arise !

“When billows upon billows roll,
And night o’erwhelms the tossing soul,

How potent is thy lyre

To hush the raging storm to rest,
Restore the sunshine of the breast,

And joy divine inspire !

“Thou sacred bard, whene’er I rove

The smiling mead, or shady grove,

Shall entertain my way :

My humble mansion thou shalt grace,
Shalt at my table find a place,

And tune th’ ecstasie lay :

“When the returning shades of night

My eyes to balmy sleep invite,

Thy sweet angelic airs

Shall warble to my ear, till sleep’s

Soft influence o’er my senses creeps,

And buries all my cares.

“Next comes the charming Casimire !*

Exulting in seraphic fire

The bard divinely sings :

The heav’nly muse inspir’d his tongue,

The heav’nly muse his viol strung,

And tun’d th’ harmonious strings.

IV.

“*Sarbviii ad nomen gelida incalet*

Musa, simul totus fervere

Sentio, stellatas levis induor

Alas et tollor in altum.

Jam juga Zionis radens pede

Elato inter sidera vertice

Longe despecto mortalia.

Quam juvat altisonis volitare per æthera pennis,

Et ridere procul fallacia gaudia sæcli

Terrellæ grandia inania

Quæ mortale genus, heu malè, deperit.

O curas hominum miseras ! Cano,

Et miseras nugas diademata !

Ventosæ sortis ludibrium !

En mihi subsidunt terrenæ à pectore fæces,

Gestit et effrænis divinum effundere carmen

Mens afflata Deo———

———at vos heroes et arma

Et procul este dii, ludicra numina.

Quid mihi cum vestræ pondere lanceæ

Pallas ! aut vestris, Dionyse, Thyrsis ?

Et clava, et anguis, et leo, et Hercules,

Et brutum tonitru fictitii patris

Abstate à carmine nostro.

V.

“*Te Deus omnipotens ! Te nostra sonabit Jesu*

Musa, nec assueto cœlestes barbiton ausû

Tentabit numeros. Vasti sine limite Numen, et

Immeusum sine lege Deum numeri sine lege sonabunt.

“*Sed musam magna pollicentem destituit vigor : divino jubare perstringitur oculorum acies.*
En labascit pennis, tremit artubus, ruit deorsum per inane ætheris, jacet victa, obstupescit,
silet.

“*Ignoscas, Reverende vir, vano conamini : fragmen hoc rude licet et impolitum æqui boni*
consulas ; et gratitudinis jamdiu debitæ in partem reponas.”

* M. Casimirus Sarbiewski, Poeta insignis Polonus. Of this poet, whose productions Watts greatly admired, some particulars will hereafter be introduced.

"See on what full, what rapid gales
The Polish swan triumphant sails!

He spurns the globe behind,
And, mountains less'ning to the eye,
Through the unbounded fields on high
Expatriates unconfin'd.

"Whether 'tis his divine delight
To bear in his exalted flight

Some hero to the skies,
Or to explore the seats above,
His kindred seats of peace and love,
His peerless pinions rise,

"With what a wing! To what an height
He tow'rs and mocks the gazing sight,

Lost in the traets of day!
I from afar behold his course
Amaz'd with what a sov'reign force
He mounts his arduous way.

"Methinks enkindl'd by the name
Of Casimire, a sudden flame

Now shoots through all my soul.
I feel, I feel the raptures rise,
On starry plumes I cut the skies,
And range from pole to pole ;

"Touching on Zion's sacred brow,
My wand'ring eyes I cast below,

And our vain race survey :
O how they stretch their eager arms
T' embrace imaginary charms,
And throw their souls away!

"In grov'ling cares, and stormy strife,
They waste the golden hours of life,
And murder ev'ry joy.

What is a diadem that's tost
From hand to hand, now won, now lost,
But a delusive toy ?

"From all terrestrial dregs refin'd
And sensual fogs, that choke the mind,
Full of th' inspiring God
My soul shall her sublimest lay
To her Creator, Father, pay,
And sound his praise abroad.

"Ye heroes, with your blood-stain'd arms,
Avaunt ! The muse beholds no charms
In the devouring sword.
Avaunt ! ye despicable train
Of gods, the phantoms of the brain,
By Greece and Rome ador'd.

"Say what is Wisdom's queen to me,
Or her fictitious panoply,
Or what the God of wine ?
I never will profane this hand
Around his tall imperial* wand
The sacred boughs to twine.

"'Tis all romance beneath a thought
How Hereules with lions fought,
And crush'd the dragon's spires :
Alike their Thunderer I despise,
The fabled ruler of the skies,
And his pretended fires.

"Thy name, Almighty Sire, and thine,
Jesus, where his full glories shine,
Shall consecrate my lays ;
In numbers, by no vulgar bounds con-
troll'd,
In numbers, most divinely strong and
bold,
I'll sound through all the world th' im-
measurable praise.

"But in the moment the muse is promising great things her vigour fails, her eyes are dazzled with the divine glories, her pinions flutter, her limbs tremble ;

* The thyrsus.

she rushes headlong from the skies, falls to the earth, and there lies vanquished, overwhelmed in confusion and silence.

“Forgive, Rev. Sir, the vain attempt, and kindly accept this poetical fragment though rude and unpolished, as an expression of that gratitude which has been so long due to your merit.”

The opinion which Watts expresses in this poem respecting the heathen classics, is one which his maturer judgment sanctioned; for in his “Improvement of the Mind,” he advocates the use of selections only from the pages of Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, and Martial, &c. in the public seminaries. It is to be regretted that his hints, with those of others, have not been attended to; and that the writings of the ancients, with all their corrupting ideas and offensive imagery, should still retain their place in Christian schools. The taste of the youthful student may be improved by their perusal; but, in their present state, they can hardly fail to corrupt the morals, pollute the imagination, and debase the mind. The idea which he throws out of purifying Horace, and purging his “tainted page,” he attempted to follow up himself, in an experiment on the close of his twenty-ninth ode:

“Non meum est si mugiat Africis
Malus procellis, ad miseras preces
Decurrere, et votis pacisci,
Ne Cypriæ Syriæque merces
Addant avaro divitias mari.
Dum me biremis præsidio scaphæ
Nudum per Ægeos tumultus
Aura ferat, geminusque Pollux.”

TRANSLATION.

“Though the mast howl beneath the wind
I make no mercenary prayers,
Nor with the gods a bargain bind
With future vows and streaming tears,
To save my wealth from adding more
To boundless Ocean’s avaricious store.

“Then in my little barge I'll ride
 Secure amidst the foaming wave ;
 Calm will I stem the threat'ning tide,
 And fearless all its tumults brave ;
 E'en then perhaps some kinder gale,
 While the twin-stars appear, shall fill my joyful sail.”

FRANCIS.

IMPROVEMENT BY WATTS.

“THE BRITISH FISHERMAN.

I.

“Let Spain's proud traders, when the mast
 Bends groaning to the stormy blast,
 Run to their beads with wretched plaints,
 And vow and bargain with their saints,
 Lest Turkish silks, or Tyrian wares,
 Sink in the drowning ship ;
 Or the rich dust Peru prepares,
 Defraud their long projecting cares,
 And add new treasures to the greedy deep :

II.

“My little skiff that skims the shores,
 With half a sail and two short oars,
 Provides me food in gentler waves ;
 But if they gape in watery graves,
 I trust th' Eternal Power, whose hand
 Has swell'd the storm so high,
 To waft my boat and me to land,
 Or give some angel swift command,
 To bear the drowning sailor to the sky.”

“1688, Nov. 5. Prince of Orange landed in Engl.”*

To no class of persons was the revolution a subject of greater gratulation than to the protestant dissenters: it terminated the oppressions they had endured from the Stuart family; preserved the nation from the domination of popery;

* Watts's MS.

and, hence, many of their churches and congregations observed with religious services the anniversary of the prince's landing, as a season for especial gratitude and devotion. The celebrated Thomas Bradbury had his meeting-house open on that day, and during the reign of queen Anne he employed his great powers of mind, on the periodical festival, in combating the measures of the tory ministers, who evidently intended to set aside the Hanoverian succession, in favour of popery and the pretender. De Foe likewise annually commemorated the same day; "a day," says he in his Review, "famous on various accounts, and every one of them dear to Britons who love their country, value the protestant interest, or have an aversion to tyranny and oppression. On this day he was born; on this day he married the daughter of England; and on this day he rescued the nation from a bondage worse than that of Egypt, a bondage of soul as well as bodily servitude, a slavery to the ambition and raging lust of a generation set on fire by pride, avarice, cruelty, and blood."*

Much as Watts was distinguished in his youth for intellectual acquirements, he was equally admired for his attainments in religion. He appears to have been in a measure sanctified from his birth, and from the first dawn of reason he devoted himself to the service of God. By means of catechetical exercises, he had early become acquainted with the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; and the frequent perusal of the scriptures, under the blessing of heaven, led to an experimental knowledge of their truths. In his father's house he was favoured with religious instruction and examples of piety; the prayers and precepts of his relatives had in view his early conversion to God; and when at the age of fifteen, he seems to have obtained peace and joy through believing. It is, there-

*The dissenting ministers in a body waited upon the prince on his arrival at St. James's palace, and were introduced by the Lords Devonshire, Wharton, and Wiltshire. Mr. Howe read an address, in which he apologised for the absence of some of his brethren, whom age and infirmities prevented appearing, alluding to Baxter and Dr. Bates. *Calamy's Life of Howe*, 142, 143.

fore, a mistake to say with one of his biographers,* that “the date of his spiritual life cannot be ascertained,” for he distinctly refers it in his memoranda to the year 1689 :

“Fell under considerable convictions of sin, 1688.
And was taught to trust in Christ I hope, 1689.
Had a great and dangerous sickness, . . . 1689.”†

The beautiful language of his friend, Mrs. Rowe, he might truly have adopted: “My infant hands were early lifted up to Thee, and I soon learned to know and acknowledge the God of my fathers.”

At what time the attention of our young student was turned to theological subjects, we are ignorant; but an offer was made him by Dr. John Speed, a physician of Southampton, with reference to his education for the ministry. Having observed his talents and piety, this benevolent man, in connexion with several others, liberally offered to defray the expenses of his education in an English university. Firmly attached, however, to the principles which his father professed, and for which he had suffered, this proposal he respectfully declined, saying, “He was determined to take his lot among the dissenters.” During the time he remained under Mr. Pinhorne’s tuition, which was upwards of ten years, he made himself master of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French languages; while his leisure hours at home were employed, under the parental eye, in the pursuit of biblical knowledge. A deep reverence for the scriptures formed a prominent feature of his religious character; he had been taught in all his studies to take their unerring pages with him; and with this pilot he safely adventured in the frail bark of reason, able to discover upon the most stormy ocean the dangers of his course and the mistakes of his reckoning. Gifted with a lively fancy

* Sketch prefixed to the Leeds edition of his Works.

† Watts’s MS.

and a vigorous imagination, it was an advantage that his mind was thus early employed upon theological subjects; they tend to repress its excursive speculations, and to guard against the presumption of intellectual vanity; while the humbling truths and the every-day duties which they inculcate, contribute to render the course of our inquiries fixed and practical.

It argues a sincere attachment to the principles of the non-conformists, and a determination to be actuated solely by conscientious views and feelings, that Watts rejected the generous offers of his Southampton friends; offers flattering to a child of genius, and peculiarly tempting when the party to which his family belonged, and in whose favour he himself decided, was exposed to so much obloquy and suffering. The nation had indeed been delivered from the oppressive Stuarts, and the situation of the dissenters, so long beclouded, was beginning, by the passing of the toleration act, to assume a brighter aspect; but they were still regarded by a large majority as schismatics, and the charter of their religious liberties was rather conceded owing to the political circumstances of the times, than the offspring of a cordial and friendly feeling. The events of the succeeding reign plainly proved, that ancient jealousies continued to rankle; and that a fair opportunity was alone wanting to abridge the privileges and arrest the labours of those without the pale of the establishment. Amid such forbidding circumstances, an individual inclined only to consult temporal interests, personal ease, or the gratification of literary ambition, would have unhesitatingly acceded to the proposal made to Watts; but his mind had been better disciplined — he had learnt to refer the important affairs of life to the decisions of conscience — and, hence, the friendly patronage tendered unto him was declined.

Determined to take his lot among the dissenters, and consequently to forfeit the advantages of a university education, Watts removed to London, for the purpose of prosecuting his

studies for the ministry. This event is thus noticed by him in his memoranda: "1690. Left the grammar-school, and came to Londo. to Mr. Rowe's, to study phil." &c. He was now in his sixteenth year; "such he was," Dr. Johnson observes, "as every Christian church would rejoice to have adopted."

CHAPTER III.

1690.

DISSENTING ACADEMIES.

INSTITUTION OF ACADEMIES:—OPPOSED BY THE CLERGY.—DR. SHARP.
 —TILLOTSON'S POLICY.—OXFORD OATH.—NEWINGTON GREEN.—MR.
 CHARLES MORTON'S ACADEMY.—WICKENS, LOBB, AND GLASSCOCK.—
 SAMUEL WESLEY ATTACKS THE ACADEMIES.—NOTICED BY DE FOE
 AND MR. PALMER.—MR. SOUTHEY.—CALVES-HEAD CLUB.—EXECUTION
 OF CHARLES I.—LORD BARRINGTON DEFENDS THE DISSENTERS.—
 THOMAS BRADBURY.—MR. WESLEY'S CONDUCT.—THEOPHILUS GALE.
 —LORD WHARTON.—JOHN ROWE.—THOMAS ROWE.—DR. DODDRIDGE.
 —REMARK OF WATTS.—POEM.—MR. T. ROWE'S STUDENTS.

THE importance of academies to perpetuate the efficient ministry of the truth, was recognised under the Jewish dispensation; and the prophetic colleges which were established upon the “hill of God,”* give a precedent and sanction to the initiatory seminaries of Christian times. The institution of academies among the nonconformists, was partly forced upon them by the straitened circumstances to which their ministers were reduced, as well as by the necessity which continually occurred of supplying the places of deceased pastors. Ejected from their livings by the edicts of intolerance, and that at a period when the yearly revenue of their vicarages and rectories was nearly due, they were obliged to have recourse to private tutorship and scholastic labours to obtain support. The learning of the Bartholomew divines, panegyriized by Locke, qualified them in an eminent degree for the task of instruct-

* 1 Sam. x. 5.

ing youth, and a considerable number of seminaries were soon established, which contributed no little to the advancement of theological science. Among scholars and critics, the names of Theophilus Gale, who wrote "the Court of the Gentiles"—Hill, the editor of "Schrevelius's Lexicon"—Poole, the author of the "Synopsis Criticorum," with several others, will ever be distinguished; and many of these, as their only resource for subsistence,* and the employment most congruous with their habits, became tutors in private families, opened schools, and read lectures on the different branches of science and theology to divinity students.

The efforts of these learned men were, however, viewed with jealousy by the high-church party; and the basest motives of conspiracy and sedition, were imputed to their blameless characters. At the instigation of the clergy, vexatious suits were frequently commenced against them in the spiritual courts; and measures were adopted to prevent the increase and check the usefulness of the institutions over which they presided. During the reign of William III. these proceedings were discountenanced by the liberality of the monarch, and owing to his interposition they were often suspended;† but the demon of intolerance was called forth by the court of his successor, and the government was disgraced by repeated and violent attempts to invade the retreat of the dissenting student.

* Some betook themselves to the practice of physic. In the "Art of Thriving, by Thomas Powell," a curious anecdote is related of an ejected minister, in "the happy raigne of our good Queen Elizabeth." When adjudged to lose his benefice, he impatiently exclaimed, that it would cost many a man his life. Upon which being brought again before the commissioners, and charged with having spoken treasonable words, he thus explained his meaning: "Ye have taken from me my living and profession of the ministrie. Scholarship is all my portion; and I have no other means now left for my maintenance but to turn physitian, and before I shall be absolute master of that mystery, God he knows how many men's lives it will cost. For few physitians use to try experiments upon their own bodies." *Scott's Somers's Tracts*, 7. 200.

† When Richard Franklin, M. A. was excommunicated for nonappearance in the Bishop's court, where he had been cited for keeping an academy, K. William, at the intercession of Lord Wharton and Sir T. Rookby, ordered his absolution to be publicly read in the parish church of Giggleswick.

In the dedication of Lord Clarendon's history to the queen, written by one of the author's sons, probably the Earl of Rochester, the writer observes, "What can be the meaning of the several seminaries and, as it were, universities set up in divers parts of the kingdom, by more than ordinary industry, contrary to law, supported by large contributions, where the youth is bred up in principles directly contrary to monarchical and episcopal government." The subject was formally introduced into the house of lords by Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, who said, "he apprehended danger from the increase of dissenters, and particularly from the many academics set up by them, and moved, that the judges might be consulted what laws were in force against such seminaries, and by what means they might be suppressed."*

An ingenious stratagem was recommended by Tillotson, as affording a fair pretence for proceeding against those dissenting tutors who had received a diploma from an English university. The clergy of Craven having petitioned Dr. Sharp† to suppress a seminary kept by the excellent Richard Franklin, M. A. Tillotson advised him, "as the fairest and softest way of getting rid of the business,"‡ to proceed against him on the ground of the oath which he had taken on receiving

* Upon this occasion Lord Wharton moved, "that the judges might be consulted about the means of suppressing schools and seminaries held by *nonjurors*, in one of which a noble lord had both his sons educated.

"The Archbishop of York supposed he was the person meant. His two sons were taught by a sober virtuous man, and a man of letters, who had qualified himself according to law. But when he refused the abjuration oath he took his sons from him." *Proceedings of the Lords*, ii. 158.

† Sharp, according to Burnet, was "one of the most popular preachers of the age," but one who changed with the times, and abandoned the doctrine of "divine right" when it suited his purpose. When preaching in St. Lawrence Jewry, soon after the accession of James, he observed, "As to our religion, we have the word of the king, which, with reverence be it spoken, is as *sacred as my text*." He soon, however, found himself mistaken; for preaching against popery, in his own church of St. Giles, the king ordered his diocesan, the warlike bishop, Dr. Compton, to suspend him. After expressing his sorrow he was dismissed with a gentle reprimand.

‡ Birch's Life of Tillotson.

his degree. The oaths administered at Oxford and Cambridge, originated in the dark ages of popery ; and were framed owing to the careful policy of the court of Rome, to prevent the formation of rival universities in the kingdom. To entangle the consciences of the dissenting tutors who had graduated, and to fix upon them the stigma of perjury, it was attempted to interpret these oaths, as binding them not to communicate any instruction whatever out of the two universities ; whereas their original intention and evident meaning, refer not to private but to public teaching upon other foundations, and even in this sense, in the opinion of the nonconformists, as well as many of the liberal clergy, they were “antiquated, null, and void.” It had been common with many of the dignitaries in the establishment, privately to instruct the sons of the nobility and gentry ; and the expedient was mean to calumniate the character of the dissenting teachers, for a practice in which they themselves had been engaged.*

The academy under the care of Mr. Rowe, to which Watts was sent, was situated at Clapham in Surrey, in Little Britain in the city, and at Newington Green, the latter place celebrated in the history of dissent, as a seat of learning and the residence of many esteemed ministers. The first seminary that was established at Newington, was formed by Mr. Charles Morton, M. A. soon after his ejection from the rectory of Blisland in Cornwall.† This gentleman, during his residence

* The oath administered at Oxford was as follows : “Jurabis etiam, quod in ista facultate alibi in Anglia quam hic et Cantabrigiæ, lectiones tuas solemniter, tanquam in universitate non resumes ; nec in aliquâ facultate, sicut in universitate, solemniter ineipies ; nec consenties ut aliquis alibi in Anglia ineipiens hic pro magistro habeatur. Item jurabis, quod non leges aut audies Stamfordiæ tanquam in universitate, studio vel collegio generali.” The Cambridge oath was : “Jurabis quod nusquam præterquam Oxoniæ lectiones tuas solemniter resumes, nec consenties ut aliquis alibi in Anglia ineipiens hic pro magistro vel doctore in illa facultate habeatur.” Oxford was at one time deserted by a number of factious students, who settled at Northampton and Stamford : hence, the reference to Stamford in the Oxford oath. *Calamy's Contin.* vol. i. p. 181, 182. *Toulmin*, 219, 220, 221.

† Mr. Nicholas Morton his father, was ejected from the same rectory for nonconformity in Charles the First's time. Morton in Nottinghamshire was the ancient

in Wadham College Oxford, had been celebrated for his mathematical acquirements; and the progress which his pupils made under his tuition, reflects honour upon his character and endowments.* The rules which he drew up for the observance of his students, have been preserved by Dr. Calamy, as well as a vindication of himself and brethren from the charge of perjury, on account of teaching university learning.† After an engagement of nearly twenty years in the work of education, spies, informers, and prosecutions in the bishop's court, drove him over to New England, where he became pastor of a church in Charlestown, and vice-president of Harvard college.‡ Upon the removal of Mr. Morton to America, the students he left placed themselves under the care of Mr. William Wickens, Mr. Stephen Lobb, and Mr. Francis Glassecock. The former ejected from St. Andrew Hubbard, afterwards preached to a small congregation at Newington Green; and was celebrated for an extensive acquaintance

seat of the family: here T. Morton, secretary to Edward III., resided. Cardinal Morton, Dr. Thos. Morton, Bishop of Durham, and Dr. Richard Morton, a physician, were of this family.

* List of Mr. Morton's pupils, Appendix A.

† In the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, April 1705, there is a treatise by Mr. Morton, on improving the county of Cornwall, and using sea-sand for manure.

‡ In the Collection of Papers relative to the Massachusetts-bay Colony, there is a "Copy of a letter from Mr. Edward Randolph to the Right Hon. the Lords of the Committee for Trade and foreign Plantations," in which Mr. Morton's arrival in America is thus noticed: "About two months agoe Mr. Morton, an excommunicated minister, came hither from Nuington Green; he was welcomed by our president, and designed to be master-head of our colledge, but not daring to proceed at first by such large steps, he is called to be minister at Charlestown, a very good liveing, and is ready at hand to be president of the colledge." July 28, 1686. Again to his Grace of Canterbury Randolph writes, "They are all at present more taken up in putting in one Morton of Neuenton Green, a rank independent, to be their president, than to shew any respect which is due to your gracious present" (a copy of Hammond's works) 1686. *Eliot's American Biog. Dict. art. Morton. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. i. p. 347, 348. Palmer's Defence of Diss. Acad. p. 10. Vindication in answer to Wesley, p. 52. Toulmin's Hist. of Dissenters, p. 232—235. Historical Collections of Massachusetts, 2, 2nd Series, 115. Original Papers of the Hist. of Massachusetts-bay Colony, iii. p. 545. 551.*

with biblical and rabbinical literature.* Mr. Lobb was pastor of a church still flourishing in Fetter Lane, and was favoured with a very liberal education, his father, Richard Lobb, Esq. having been high-sheriff of Cornwall, and member of parliament for St. Michael in that county, in 1659.† The third assistant, Mr. Glasscock, was a graduate from one of the northern colleges, and became the predecessor of Dr. Earle in a congregation meeting in Drury Lane, and afterwards in Hanover Street, Long Acre.‡ These individuals were well qualified to succeed Mr. Morton in the important office of tutor; but upon their decease the academy was broken up, and the students dispersed to other seminaries.

It was with immediate reference to Mr. Morton's academy, that the Rev. Samuel Wesley, the father of the well-known founder of Methodism, in the third year of Watts's studies, wrote a pamphlet, entitled "A Letter from a country Divine to his friend in London, concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their private academies, in several parts of the Nation."§ In this publication he strongly animadverts upon the political opinions of the tutors; and characterises the academies as nurseries of sedition, and schools of vice and irreligion, a representation, which, at the expense of the writer's reputation, was soon proved to be a calumny. This tract is said to have lain in manuscript upwards of ten years, and at last issued from the press without the author's name, and, as some of his biographers assert, without his knowledge. At the period when it appeared, the civil power was preparing to invade the liberties of the dissenters; and totally to neutralise the toleration act, a bill was projected by some bigots to the establishment, for disabling all such ministers from preaching in England, as should not receive their education in one of the two universities. At such a time it is difficult to shield

* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. i. 90.

† Toulmin, 249.

‡ Toulmin, 249.

§ London: Printed by R. Clavel, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1703, 4to.

Mr. Wesley from the charge of seeking to further the designs of tyranny by private slander; and endeavouring to enlarge a scanty income* by gratifying the heads of the church in vilifying the seceders from its communion. De Foe unhesitatingly denounces him as “a mercenary renegade, hired to expose the private academies of the dissenters as nurseries of rebellious principles;” and there is too much reason to fear, that hopes of preferment led him to join the party of Sacheverell in the work of abuse and defamation.

This attack upon the academies gave rise to a variety of pamphlets;† and Mr. Wesley’s character for veracity, it must be confessed, does not appear to much advantage. He had been treated by the dissenters with great kindness while a member of their body; and though his conformity to the establishment might be the result of conscientious conviction, yet it was ungenerous to reflect upon his former benefactors, and descend to downright calumny. “He might,” says one of his opponents, “argue against our principles, and endeavour to convince us in order to our amendment; yet he might not betray our private converse: he might not by artful and false insinuations endeavour to expose us to contempt. A sense of gratitude ought to have been expressed by a tender regard to our reputation and honour. He ought not to have called us in gross, a sort of people who are none of the best natured in the world, seeing that we fed him with but too kind a hand.” As to the assertion, that Mr. Morton and the

* Mr. Southey intimates, that a “farther and better reward” than the rectory of Epworth given him by Queen Mary, and the chaplainship of a regiment by the Duke of Marlborough, “was held out to his expectations.” He was invited, says he, “to London by a nobleman, who promised to procure him a prebend.”

† “A Defence of the Dissenters’ Education in their private Academies: In Answer to Mr. W——y’s Disingenuous and Unchristian Reflections upon them. In a Letter to a Noble Lord. London: and are to be Sold by A. Baldwin, at the Oxford Arms, Warwick Lane, 1703,” 4to. The Rev. Samuel Palmer of Southwark was the author of this letter.

“A Defence of a Letter concerning the Education of Dissenters in their Private Academies; with a more full and satisfactory Account of the same, and of their Morals and Behaviour towards the Church of England: being an Answer to the

dissenting tutors taught principles opposed to monarchy, De Foe, who had been educated in the same academy, remarks, in his "More Short Ways with the Dissenters," "The author of these sheets happens to be one that had what little education he can pretend to, under the same master that gentleman (Samuel Wesley) was taught by, viz. Mr. Charles Morton of Newington Green; and I have now by me the manuscripts of science which were the exercises of his school, and amongst the rest those of politics in particular; and I must do that learned gentleman's memory the justice to affirm, that neither in his system of politics, government, and discipline, nor in any other the exercises of that school, was there any thing taught or encouraged that was anti-monarchical, or destructive to the constitution of England; and particularly among the performances of that school, I find a declamation relating to the benefit of a single person in a commonwealth, wherein it is proved from history and reason, that monarchy is best suited to the nature of government and the defence of property."* A distinction might doubtless be

Defence of the Dissenters' Education. By Samuel Wesley. *Noli irritare crabones !*

'The Kirk's a Vixen; don't anger her.'

London, 1704," 4to.

"A Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters toward the Church of England. In Answer to Mr. Wesley's Defence of his Letter concerning the Dissenters' Education in their Private Academies; and to Mr. Sacheverell's injurious Reflections upon them. By Samuel Palmer. London: printed by J. Lawrence, 1705."

"A Reply to Mr. Palmer's Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the Church of England. By Samuel Wesley. London, 1707, 4to.

'How long must their false prophets, and dreamers of dreams, abuse us, and we obliged to hold our peace.' DE FOE."

* De Foe entered Mr. Morton's academy in the year 1675, and continued there to near 1680. Wesley entered Exeter college 1684, as the following extract from the register shows :

"Deposit of caution money.

Sept. 26,

1684. Mro. Hutchins pro

drawn between an absolute and a limited monarchy ; principles would be inculcated directly opposed to the former, which Mr. Wesley and the high-church divines of his day would interpret as anti-monarchical.*

The reasons which induced Mr. Wesley to leave the dissenters, are referred, by the late biographer of his son, with his characteristic want of fidelity and candour, to his "happening to fall in with bigotted and ferocious men, where he saw the worst part of the dissenting character. Their defence of the execution of king Charles offended him, and he was at once shocked and disgusted by their calves-head club."† The only authority cited for this extraordinary assertion is, the evidence of Samuel Wesley the younger, a violent Jacobite ; and Mr. Southey introduces the statement into his pages, as if no suspicion was to be entertained of the truth of the facts it expresses. It would only have been fair, on the part of the biographer, to have appended a note to his page, to the effect, that so far from the dissenters as a body approving the king's death, they strongly condemned it;‡ and that instead of par-

Samuele Westley, paup.

schol. de Dorchester, 3£.

Ric. Hutehins.

Guil. Crabb."

Now, allowing two or three years to elapse, from the time Mr. Wesley left Mr. Morton, to his entering himself at Exeter college, during which period he became a conformist, it will be highly probable that he and De Foe were contemporaries in the academy.

*The politics of the Wesley family were of the ultra-tory school. Though the father took the oath to William, yet he was a bigoted episcopalian, and during the reign of Queen Anne, a flaming zealot for high monarchical principles. The defence of Sacheverell, usually attributed to Atterbury, was reported to have been composed by him. The mother never recognised the Prince of Orange as king, and the sons seem to have imbibed her predilections against the house of Nassau and the Hanoverian succession, in favour of the exiled family. Samuel, the disciple of Atterbury, was a violent jacobite, and severely attacked the Walpole administration. John seems to have held the same political opinions ; for Charles, writing to Samuel from Oxford, in the year 1734, remarks, "My brother has been much mauled, and threatened more, for his Jacobite sermon on the 11th of June."

† Southey's Life of Wesley, i. 6.

‡ The guilt of the king's death has been generally laid upon the presbyterians

ticipating in the orgies of the 30th of January, the society by whom they were celebrated, if it existed at all, of which some doubts have been entertained, consisted only of a few profligate desperadoes, as much connected with the church of England, as with any other religious party. The calves-head club was a political association, in which only a few individuals were concerned, who met on the anniversary of the king's death, to celebrate the triumph of republican principles and the overthrow of arbitrary power.* The high churchmen, who eagerly embraced every opportunity of exciting public obloquy against the dissenters, immediately attributed the formation of this club to them, and magnified the evil, by representing it as incorporating the great majority of that class. This calumny was publicly and indignantly denied by Mr. John Shute, afterwards Lord Barrington,† Bradbury,‡ De Foe,§ and several others; and obtained credit only among the determined enemies of the sectaries. His lordship aptly throws out the hint, that if it should appear that any of the members are dissenters, an assumption which no circumstance ever corroborated, this could no more argue the body to approve of the king's execution, "than it could be concluded that all churchmen were Jacobites, if it should be proved that some of that body have, with the like barbarity,

and independents, but contrary to the most explicit evidence. Even Warburton admits that "no party of men," as "a religious body," were the "actors in this tragedy." Burnett declares that the presbyterians were "every day fasting and praying for the king's preservation." The independents of Oxford and Northampton sent a memorial to general Fairfax, protesting against all proceedings against his majesty's crown and life. The truth is, that the officers of the army are alone chargeable with the catastrophe, which they hurried on from the conviction that Charles would never forgive those who had overcome him in the field.

* "The Secret History of the Calves-head Club compleat; or, the Republican Unmasked: wherein is fully shown the Religion of the Calves-head Heroes, in their Anniversary Thanksgiving Songs, on 30th January, by them called Anthems, for the years 1693—1699, &c.; fifth edition, with large additions, 1705." Appendix, B.

† "Rights of Prot. Diss. dedicated to the Queen."

‡ Lawfulness of Resisting Tyrants. Pref.

§ Review, 6, 261.

drunk healths, and paid honours to a couple of animals, for occasioning the death of one of the best of princes.”* It may be true then, that Mr. Wesley was a member of the calves-head club; it may be true, that he frequented “the blind alley near Moorfields” on the 30th of January; but it is *not true* that any other cause besides his own imprudence introduced him into such society; it is *not true* that the scenes he there witnessed led to his secession from the dissenters, for they had no more to do with such disgraceful proceedings than their accusers; so that the only inference we can derive from the representation of Mr. Southey, if any credit is to be attached to it, is, that the elder Wesley associated with a band of profligates in his youth, and as extremes in politics, as well as in other matters, often meet, the furious republican became at last a blind worshipper of the royal prerogative.

The academy under the superintendence of Mr. Rowe, in which it was the privilege of Watts to be placed, was founded soon after Mr. Morton’s by the learned Theophilus Gale, M.A.† This distinguished divine commenced his career as a tutor soon after the Restoration, on account of being then deprived of considerable church preferments. Two sons of Lord Wharton‡ were first committed to his charge, and with his pupils he went upon the continent, where he formed an intimacy

* Rights of Prot. Diss. Ded. xx. xxi.

† Palmer Noncon. Mem. 1. 143, 244. Toulmin’s Hist. 243, 244. Bogue and Bennett, 2. 48, 49. Wilson. Diss. Chur. 3. 161—169.

‡ The name of Philip Lord Wharton, ought to be dear to every dissenter, as the firm friend of the persecuted nonconformists, affording their ministers an asylum in his house, and frequently paying the fines levied upon them. At Woburn, in Buckinghamshire, he was accustomed frequently to entertain Dr. Owen, Dr. Manton, Mr. Howe, and Mr. Rosewell. Dr. Manton’s preaching room in White-hart-yard was once fined forty pounds, and the minister twenty, which his lordship paid. “This year,” 1694, says Calamy, “died the pious Philip Lord Wharton, who left large sums in his will to religious and charitable uses, some of which were generally said to have been afterwards applied by his trustees to serve the purposes of elections of members to serve in parliament. He left also some thousands of pounds to be laid out in bibles, and other religious books, and distributed among the poor, the management whereof was reckoned much more unexceptionable.” i. 351. He was a zealous parliamentarian, but when the times changed,

with the celebrated Bochart, a professor and pastor at Caen. Soon after his return to England, in 1665, he was alarmed on approaching the metropolis, by the sight of the terrible conflagration which nearly laid it in ashes ; but he had the satisfaction of finding, that the manuscripts of his works, which he had left in the house of a friend, had been preserved when the building was destroyed. Possessing a cultivated mind enriched with the stores of ancient literature, and critically acquainted with the learned languages, his friends solicited him to settle as a professor of theology, which he accordingly did at Newington, where he remained until his death, in 1678, at the early age of forty-nine. His will evinced his zeal for the cause of learning ; for he left all his real and personal estate for the education of young men for the ministry, and bequeathed his library, with the exception of his philosophical books, to Harvard College in New England.*

Mr. Gale was succeeded in the academy by Mr. Thomas Rowe, son of Mr. John Rowe, M. A. ejected from Westminster abbey, and grandson of the excellent Mr. John Rowe of Crediton in Devonshire.† In the time of the commonwealth Mr. John Rowe, M. A. was much respected by the leading

he was imprisoned in the tower for calling in question the legality of the long parliament of Charles II.

"Thursday last," says Burton in his diary, "Sir Thomas Wharton, was here, and told me that the Tuesday morning before, my Lord Wharton's lady was delivered of a son, which he expressed with great joy." i. 367.

This child was Thomas, under Mr. Gale's care, who became Earl and afterwards Duke of Wharton. He was a firm friend of the Revolution, and was rewarded with the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland in 1708.

His son Philip was the eccentric Duke of Wharton, author of the "True Briton," who died in 1731, when the title became extinct. Of him Pope says, he died

"Sad outcast of each church and state."

* Even the prejudiced Oxonian Wood describes Mr. Gale as "a man of great reading ; well conversant with the writings of the fathers and old philosophers ; a learned and industrious person ; an exact philologist and philosopher ; and a good metaphysician and school divine." *Wood's Athenæ*. vol. ii. p. 608.

† Life of Mr. John Rowe of Crediton, by his Son, with a Preface by Theophilus Gale, 1673.

political characters;* and on the occasion of the defeat of the Spanish fleet, Oct. 8, 1656, he was called to preach a thanksgiving sermon before the parliament.† The act of uniformity deprived him of his station in the church; but he continued to preach to his people in private meetings, as often as he could with safety, till the time of his death in the year 1677. His eldest son, Thomas, was born about the year 1657, and, in conjunction with his younger brother, Benoni, he was probably educated under the care of Mr. Gale at Newington. He entered upon the work of the ministry at the early age of twenty-one, being placed over the congregation of which his father had been pastor, which had their place of meeting in Girdler's Hall, Basinghall Street. The fame of the pupil gives an interest to the character of the master; and to the honour of training up for the church such an ornament as Watts, the name of Rowe is indebted for its principal celebrity.

Between Watts and his tutor an intimate friendship was soon formed, which existed until the death of the latter, soon after the settlement of his pupil as a pastor. "Augt. 1705. Mr. Tho. Rowe, my tutor, dyed." *Mem.* This event was awfully sudden: riding through the city he was seized with a fit near the monument, fell from his horse, and immediately expired. To extensive acquirements, Mr. Rowe united a kind disposition and attractive manners, which secured him the esteem and affection of those committed to his care. "As a

* The Lord President Bradshaw was a member of his church, at whose funeral he preached a sermon on Isa. lvii. 1, in which the Oxford historian charges him with "speaking much to the honour and praise of that monster of men."

In the *Mercurius Politicus* there is the following article of intelligence: "Westminster, February 22. This day, being the Lord's Day, the persons called Quakers, which were brought from Bristol with James Nayler,—viz. John Stranger and Hannah his wife, Martha Simmons and Dorcas Erbury, remaining yet undischarged, under the custody of the sergeant at arms, but now somewhat altered in their carriage, went to the abbey, morning and afternoon, where they gave ear, civilly and attentively, to the sermons of *Mr. John Rowe, an eminent preacher*, whose spiritual doctrine so far wrought upon them, that they intend to hear him again, which gives hopes that they may be rectified in their judgment." No. 350.

† This he afterwards printed, entitled "Man's Duty in Magnifying God's Work."

preacher his discourses were solid, judicious, and evangelical; his labours were generally acceptable; and he had a good congregation to the time of his death." Mr. Rowe was never married; and Watts in after-life seems to have thought a state of matrimony ineligible for a tutor. When the scheme of Mr. Jennings's academy at Kibworth in Leicestershire, drawn up by Dr. Doddridge, as a model for the one he himself contemplated, was placed before him, he returned the manuscript to Mr. Some, with some observations appended to it, among which the following occurs: "Whether a person who gives himself up to the office of a tutor, may not as well continue *single*, if he so think fit; and for himself and his pupils to board together in some house fit for that purpose? Then the tutor would not be encumbered with family cares, nor would he appear interested in the domestic matters, so that he could decide any little contests of that nature with more universal approbation. This was *my* tutor's practice; and, after all, if it be possible to find a tutor so admirably qualified as the author describes, it is *five hundred to one*, if he meet with the *ONE* only pious, prudent, and invaluable partner."* In the following lines Watts expresses his obligations to the friend and guide of his youth:

"TO THE MUCH HONOURED MR. THOMAS ROWE, THE DIRECTOR
OF MY YOUTHFUL STUDIES.

"FREE PHILOSOPHY.

I.

"Custom, that tyranness of fools,
That leads the learned round the schools
In magic chains of forms and rules!
My Genius storms her throne:

* Upon this remark of Dr. Watts's, Doddridge inserts the following annotation: "In answer to this TERRIBLE QUERY I must observe, that I know but *one* family in which a tutor and his pupils could conveniently board, while I know *half a dozen* of the fair sex, who do in the main answer the necessary character. I shall proba-

No more, ye slaves, with awe profound,
 Beat the dull track, nor dance the round ;
 Loose hands and quit th' enchanted ground :
 Knowledge invites us each alone.

II.

"I hate these shackles of the mind,
 Forg'd by the haughty wise ;
 Souls were not born to be confin'd,
 And led, like Sampson, blind and bound ;
 But when his native strength he found
 He well aveng'd his eyes.
 I love thy gentle influence, Rowe ;
 Thy gentle influence, like the sun,
 Only dissolves the frozen snow,
 Then bids our thoughts like rivers flow,
 And choose the channels where they run."

That Watts applied himself to his studies with no common assiduity, during his residence in the academy, might be inferred from his early predilection for literature ; but the works which he soon afterwards sent forth, abundantly testify the diligence he employed, and the extent of his acquirements. His amiable character and exemplary conduct, won the esteem of his fellow-students ;* and his tutor was accustomed

bly remain single while I reside here ; but should providence remove me, I shall prefer the example of my own tutor, whose wisdom and happiness I knew, to that of the Doctor's, to whom I am a perfect stranger."

* Among Mr. Rowe's students, some of them Watts's contemporaries, may be enumerated,

Daniel Neal, M. A. the distinguished historian of "New England" and of the "Puritans." He entered the academy in 1696 or 1697, and, after continuing three years, finished his studies at Utrecht and Leyden.

John Evans, D. D. the author of discourses on the "Christian Temper." Besides Mr. Rowe, he studied under Mr. Richard Frankland and Mr. Timothy Jallie in their respective seminaries.

Jeremiah Hunt, D. D. pastor of Pinner's Hall. He afterwards studied at Edinburgh and Leyden in Holland under the learned Spanheim.

Samuel Say of Westminster, the successor of Dr. Calamy.

John Wilson, the founder of the dissenting interest at Warwick.

to refer to his proficiency, to lead them to emulate his example. "I have been credibly informed," says Dr. Jennings, "that while he resided in this college of learning, his behaviour was not only so inoffensive, that his tutor declared he never gave him any occasion of reproof, but so exemplary that he often proposed him as a pattern to his other pupils for imitation."

Josiah Hort, a fellow-student of Watts's, who afterwards conformed, and became Archbishop of Tuam in 1742.

John Hughes, the poet, author of the "Seige of Damascus," and several papers in the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*.

CHAPTER IV.

1690—1693.

ACADEMICAL EXERCISES.

MS. VOLUME OF ESSAYS.—COLLEGE DISQUISITIONS.—“AN DEUS SIT VERAX? AFFIRMATUR.”—“AN MENS HUMANA SIT IMMATERIALIS? AFFIRMATUR.”—ABRIDGMENT OF BOOKS.—“QUESTIONES LOGICÆ.”—METHOD OF INTERLEAVING.—ENGLISH DISSERTATIONS.—“WHETHER THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE TENDS TO LICENTIOUSNESS?”—“WHETHER SELF-DENIAL IN THINGS IN THEMSELVES INDIFFERENT BE NOT IN SOME CASES NECESSARY?”—POETICAL EPISTLE TO HIS BROTHER ENOCH.—VISIT TO SOUTHAMPTON.—EARTHQUAKE.—LETTER TO MR. RICHARD WATTS.—CLIFFORD’S “TREATISE OF HUMANE REASON” ILLUSTRATED AND CORRECTED.—WATTS’S FELLOW-STUDENTS:—JOHN HUGHES, ESQ.—JOSIAH HORT, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.—REV. SAM. SAY, OF WESTMINSTER.—LETTERS.

OF all the employments in which men engage, there is none so important and responsible as that of the sacred ministry. Besides the regular exhibitions of Christian truth which the sabbatic services demand, there is the “defence of the gospel” against the cavillings of the sceptic and the attacks of the infidel; and occasions frequently occur, which require a departure from the ordinary routine of ministerial engagement, to contend with the subtile casuistries of unsanctified intellect. It is obvious, that a certain fitness and preparation for such services is necessary; that they who would guard the ark of the Lord, must bring to their task, if not polished, at least well-furnished minds; and be ready and able to expose the sophistical perversions, and repel the rude invasions of the

enemies of truth. It is a vulgar error to suppose, that an unlearned ministry is that which God particularly honours; that he always chooses ignorance and illiteracy, to work the purposes of his will; and employs the foolish things of this world, to confound the things that are mighty. Such was indeed the case in that age when the teachers of divine truth were endowed with miraculous gifts; but such aids for the increase of the church are now withheld, and the propagation of the gospel is left, under the blessing of heaven, to the operation of ordinary means. But divine inspiration could never be pleaded as an excuse for human indolence. The directions given by the apostles, with reference to the formation of ministerial character, plainly inculcate the necessity of vigorous mental application; and among those employed by the founder of Christianity, to overturn the boasted philosophy of Gentilism, there was an Apollos who was an eloquent man, and a Paul learned in all the literature of his country. In an enlightened age it is especially important, that the ministers of religion should not be behind the intellect of the times in which they live; for useful and expedient it undoubtedly may be, to appreciate and improve discoveries of physical truth, to unfold the consistency of the new lights that are breaking upon us from the natural world with the disclosures of the revealed word, and to elevate the progress of human science into illustrations and arguments for the divinity of its contents.

We have now to notice the manner in which Watts prepared for the ministry. A manuscript volume was presented after his decease to Dr. Gibbons, by his brother Enoch, containing a collection of dissertations, which are evidently his academical exercises. These are in his own handwriting, and consist of twenty-two Latin essays, upon physical, metaphysical, ethical, and theological subjects. The theses, Dr. Johnson remarks, "show a degree of knowledge both philosophical and theological, such as very few attain by a much longer course of study." A few specimens of his college com-

positions will evince the diligence and improvement of the student.

I.

“AN DEUS SIT VERAX? AFFIRMATUR.

“Raræ sanè proterviæ est iste vir qui veracitatem Deo eripere ausit, et omnem rationis lucem ejerâsse oporteat, et ipsum ejerâsse Deum qui fidelem negat: face ergo potius quam fuste est opus in hac thesi tractanda quæ penitus explicari magis quam laboriosè probari quærit. Ita vero explicanda est, et tali lumine circumfundenda, ut cum aliquo Dei actu aut attributo ne quidem videatur pugnare. Ut pateat Dei veracitas retegenda est veritas in genere, quæ hanc ut speciem sibi inferiorem vendicat. Notio veritatis in congruentiâ sita est, et concordîâ inter unam rem et aliam. Sic *Physica* veritas est conformitas corporis cum principiis ex quibus ortum est. Veritas apud *Logicos* dicitur cohærentia quæ ideæ mentis cum objecto intercedit. Veritas *Ethica* est cum dicta factis, et facta dictis conformia sunt. Huic analogica est Dei veracitas, ad eam enim attributorum classem redigitur quæ moralis dicitur, quia virtutes illis analogicæ lege morali hominibus præcipiuntur; quapropter conformitatem sermonis divini cum rebus præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris Dei veracitatem ausim appellare, rebus, inquam, præteritis, nunc temporis, et futuris, sive eæ sunt res gestæ, sive propria decreta, sive sint naturæ rerum et essentiæ, sive futura sibi efficienda, seu permittenda tantum. Deum ergo veracem esse significat ipsum nullam unquam decretorum enunciationem, nullam narrationem, nullam doctrinam, suis decretis, rebus gestis, aut naturæ rerum contrariam protulisse; neque aliquid unquam pollicitum esse, aut minatum, aut prædixisse quod non suo tempore vel dedit effectum, vel dabit.

“Ut vero rectè intelligatur quod proposuimus, nec sinistrè acceptum sit par aut trias limitationum adhibenda est.

“1. Si quando sacer spiritus sancti amanuens *cœlestes tabulas floribus intersperserit* rhetoricis tales prophetias sensu literali adimplendas sperare ridiculum esset et absurdum.

“2. Si quando se hoc aut illud velle asserit Deus quod non tamen peragit ista volitio æquivocè intelligenda est et de voluntate legislativâ tantum.

“3. Si Deus aut polliceatur quid se daturum, aut se puni-
turum minetur tacitis conditionibus annexis facile ipse à falsitatis suspicione purgatur, licet promissa non peregerit, si conditiones appensæ desunt. Quod ipse Dominus de se testatur, Jerem. xviii. 7, 8, 9, 10. *cujus verba, quia multum ad rem faciunt, contractè recitabo.* ‘Quo momento eloquar contra gentem, me illam demoliturum esse, si convertatur gens illa à malo suo pœnitebit quoque me ejus mali quod cogitavi. Quo autem momento loquar de gente, &c. me ædificaturum, si malum fecerit, vicissim pœnitebit me illius boni quod dixero, &c.’

“4. Excipias iterum Dei minas si quando ad plenum non perficiuntur. Adeò summè enim benignum est. Numen, adeò mite et creaturæ amans, ut vix possit manus ultrices in ejus cladem armare. Nec tamen vis infertur veracitati, minæ enim, quibus lex sancitur, non tam demonstrant necessarium vindicis justitiæ egressum quatenus omnes pœnæ circumstantias, quam meritum pœnæ in peccante, et in legislatore puniendi jus. Ut demus nebulam hominis lapsi inseitiâ esse indutam quo minùs egregiam dictorum Dei cum factis consonantiam perspicuè cernamus inde tamen Deo quicquid decedere minimè æquum est. Stat ac stabit æternum sacrum volumen veracitate Dei utrâque paginâ inscriptam præferens; ac, ut nullum detur verbum, ratio humana abundè id suadet. Primus verò loquatur ipse Deus, et se veracem pronunciet; imo audiatis (revereamini!) jurantem Deum, Psal. lxxxix. 35. ‘Semel juravi per sanctitatem Davidi, non mentiar.’ Quid magis sacrum, quid magis tremendum quam Numinis jussurandum? Huic textui astipulatur *Paulus* et confirmat.

Heb. vi. 17. ‘Fidejussit jurejurando ut per res immutabiles in quibus fieri non potest ut mentitus sit Deus.’

Sed ad artificialia argumenta divertamus.

1. Divinæ veracitatis locuples testis est tot et tantarum urbium subversio, tot ruina populorum, tot denique privatæ res gestæ, quarum prædictio mille ante annos extitit. Hinc Dei verba autoritas conciliatur et demonstratur verax Deus.

“2. Nisi fidelis Deus sit perit religio. Fallaces flammis committantur scripturæ et erubescat longus interpretum grex. Impostor *Moses* et *David*, falsus *Esaias* et quotquot minores prophetæ. Redeat oculis captus *Mæonides*, et commentitiam deorum turbam adorabimus. Absit! absit! Deus sanè noster et unicus verax est, aut Deus nullus.

“3. Si non effectum dat quicquid prædixit Deus, aut novit se non facturum, aut nescivit dum prædixit. Si novit non est summè bonus qui creaturas vellet fallere; si nescivit, non omniscius est, nec quidem immutabilis. Est vero omniscius, et immutabilis, et summâ benignitate omnes suæ actiones perfusæ sunt. Nec possit fallere, nec falli. Agnoscamus ergo summè veracem, et celebremus Deum.”

“WHETHER GOD IS FAITHFUL? AFFIRMED.

“That man must be arrived at a very unusual pitch of boldness indeed, who dares to rob God of his veracity, since before this he must abjure all the light of reason, and even the Deity himself.

“In discoursing upon our thesis, there is a greater call for definition than argument, as the subject is of such a nature as to require rather an accurate explanation than a laborious proof. Our business is so to open and represent the divine veracity, and diffuse such a light over it, that it may not seem to clash with any act or attribute of Deity.

“That we may have a clear conception of the veracity of

God, let us consider truth in general, under which the divine veracity as a particular species is to be comprehended. The notion of truth lies in congruity or agreement between one thing and another. Thus, *physical* truth, is the conformity of a body with the principles whence it originated; *logical* truth, is the agreement of the idea in the mind with the object; and *ethical* truth, is the harmony of our words with our actions, and of our actions with our words; analogous to which is the truth of God, for it belongs to that division of the divine attributes which is styled moral, because virtues analogous to these attributes are by the moral law required of mankind. Upon which account I may be bold to say, that the conformity of the word of God with things past, present, and to come, constitutes the idea of divine truth; I say, with things past, present, and to come, whether they are things actually performed, whether they are particular decrees, whether they are the natures and essences of things, or whether they are future things to be effected, or only permitted. That God is true, therefore, signifies that he never issued any declaration of his decrees, any history, any doctrine contrary to his decrees, to what was done by him, or to the nature of things; and that he never at any time promised any thing, or threatened any thing, or predicted any thing, which in its appointed season he did not perform, or which shall not be performed by him.

“But that what we propose may be rightly understood, and that there may be no mistake of our meaning, we shall lay down two or three limitations.

“1. If at any time the inspired penmen of scripture have inserted into their writings any flowers of rhetoric, it would be both ridiculous and absurd to expect, that prophecies delivered in this form should be literally accomplished.

“2. If at any time God declares that he wills this or that, which in the result of all he does not perform, this volition is to be understood with latitude, and only expressing his will as a legislator.

“3. If God should promise that he will confer any blessing, or should threaten that he would inflict any punishment, in cases where secret conditions are implied, he would be still clear of all imputation of falsehood, though he should neither perform the promise, nor execute the punishment, even though the conditions are not expressed. This God testifies concerning himself, Jer. xviii. 7—10, which passage, as it is so much to our point, I will briefly recite: ‘At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation to pluck it up, if that nation turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation to build it, if it do evil in my sight, then will I repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them.’

“4. If God should not fulfil his threatenings to the utmost extent of their meaning, he is not for that reason to be thought unfaithful. So superlatively kind is the Deity, so merciful and full of love to his creatures, that scarce can he call forth his vengeance for their destruction, but still his veracity is preserved inviolable; because the threatenings with which his laws are armed, do not so much demonstrate the necessary egress of his avenging justice as to all the circumstances of punishment, as the desert of punishment in the offender, and the right of punishment in the lawgiver.

“Should we grant, that so great a cloud of ignorance darkens the mind of man in his fallen state, as to prevent in some cases our clear discovery of the perfect harmony of the word with the actions of the Deity, yet by no means are we to detract from the honours of the divine veracity. The sacred volume remains, and shall for ever remain inscribed in both its parts with the truth of God; and even upon the supposition that he had not given us his word, we might be fully satisfied of his veracity from human reason only.

“We may observe upon the subject, that God himself speaks to us, and asserts his own faithfulness; nay, we shall hear him (and let it be with all becoming reverence) swearing

by himself: Psal. lxxxix. 36. ‘Once have I sworn by my holiness, that I will not lie unto *David*.’ What can be more tremendous than the oath of God himself? The apostle *Paul* agrees with this text, and ratifies what it declares: Heb. vi. 17. ‘Wherein God, willing more abundantly to show unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath, that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation,’ &c.

“But let us now attend to some other arguments, which are rather deductions than express declarations. As,

“1. The overthrow of so many and so great cities, of the destruction of so many people, and, finally, of so many private events which have taken place, the predictions of which preceded them a thousand years before they happened, are proofs of the divine veracity. By these the authority of the word of God is established, and they are so many monuments of his truth.

“2. If God were not faithful farewell to all religion. Then let the scriptures over-run with falsehoods be thrown into the flames, and let the long train of interpreters be confounded with shame. *Moses* and *David*, *Isaiah* and all the *minor prophets* have deceived us. Let the blind *Homer* rise from his grave, and we will adore his romantic rabble of gods.—Perish, perish the thought! Either our God is the only true God, or there is no God at all.

“3. If God does not perform what he has predicted, he either knew that he would not do what he had foretold, or he did not. If he knew that he would not do it, he is not supremely good in thus deceiving his creatures; if he did not know that he would do it, he is neither immutable nor omniscient. But God is omniscient and immutable, and all his actions are expressive of the greatest goodness. He can neither deceive nor be deceived. Let us, therefore, acknowledge

that he is faithful in the highest degree, and praise him accordingly."

II.

"AN MENS HUMANA SIT IMMATERIALIS? AFFIRMATUR.

"Miranda sunt nec minus perniciosa eorum nescio an dixerim philosophorum deliria, qui spiritum humanum materiale esse volunt, cum tanta et menti et sensibus vel rap- tim abeuntis exinde absurda occurrent, et incommoda quorum pauca infra ostendamus; at nominum definitiones prius proponenda sunt, ne, sicut hostibus in gratiam redactis eorum arma in se invicem vibrata elangant, ita rebus ipsis consentientibus pugnam committant dictiones.

"Per mentem humanam intelligo cogitationem illam, quam quisque in se experitur, vel clariùs sic, principium illud internum omnium nostrarum cogitationum, nostrorum appetituum, et nostrarum voluptatum, cujus ope producimus omnes functiones, quæ aliquam cogitationem includunt, in quo, tanquam in primo suo subjecto, omnes cogitationes continentur.

"Theseus nostræ prædicatum, viz. vox *immaterialis* secundo se offert explicandum. Omne illud *immateriale* esse dico, quod non est extensum, quod non habet partes extra partes, quoniam omne extensum in longum, latum, et profundum materiæ nomen apud optimos obtinuit.

"Patefacto jam itinere in arenam descendimus. Sed O quod et quanti me in limine aggrediuntur! Primo, occurrit *Epicurus*, instat *Tertullianus*, urgent *Hobbes* et ejusdem sectatores, *Græci* et *Barbari*, *Ethnici*, et veræ religionis, at pauci professores. Illi nollent animos immateriales esse nè fortè fiant immortales, et quò liberius peccent immaterialitatis ideam ex intellectu obliterant; alii ad firmanda erraticæ suæ religionis dogmata, alii autem ob ignorantiam, præjudicia, et

inconsiderantiam inter animam et corpus non satis accuratè distinguunt.

“Quod ad argumentationem attinet spectemus. Sequentia ratiocinia hæc è multis pauca selegi.

“1. Si corpus possit cogitare cogitatio est modus corporis, et à partium positione aut motû pendat. Quænam jam est ista positio quæ cogitet? Quæ figura? An è tribus an quatuor angulis constat? Si autem in motû constare dicis, quisnam quæso ille motus? Nullum ego præter localem agnosco, et si hic est cogitatio tum quumcunque corpus movet cogitat. Meræ sunt hæ nugæ et afflatû rationis in nihilum reducendæ.

“2. Corpus seu materia est, ut volunt philosophi, principium passivum; at cogitationem actionem esse quis negat, illam præsertim cogitationis speciem quæ voluntas dicitur? Regeras forsan materiem quidem inertem esse, at extensionem dari spirituales quæ activa est. Respondeo, tecum alias disputationem ineundam esse ut error hic tuus inter extensionem et materiam distinguens revincatur.

“3. Si corpus possit cogitare cogitatio est modus corporis essentialis, aut accidentalis. Non essentialis quia tunc inseparabilis esset et omne corpus cogitaret. Nec accidentalis quia accidens nec concipi potest sine subjecto, nè præcisivâ quidem abstractione, nam sic accidens conciperetur sine essentiâ suâ cujus esse est inesse. At conare jam, Adversarie, nonne possis cogitare de voluntate tuâ, et potentiâ teipsum determinandi, de gaudio, amore, et affectibus tuis, sine ullâ perceptione rei externâ? Possis certe, ergo nec cogitatio est accidens corporis.

“4. Illud est essenziale rei attributum primum et eam constituit quod possit concipi aliis proprietatibus non conceptis, aliæ vero non sine illo. *Cogitatio* et *extensio* tali modo conveniunt *spiritui* et *corpori*, nec unum eorum aliquid aliud præsupponit in quo fundetur. Sunt ergo essentialia, et spe-

cierum propriarum maximè diversarum constitutiva. Quando ergo binæ essentiæ ad unum aliquod simplex constituendum concurrunt, tunc materiam posse cogitare credam.

“5. Postremum et grande argumentum cui succumbet et assentiet omnis intellectus *φιλολογος* hoc modo proponitur. Axioma est in omni ubique philosophia essentiam ab operationibus cognosci. Quales sunt operationes, tale est subiectum. Mentis nostræ operationes sunt cognitio, dubitatio, affectio, et his similes. Nunc quænam extensio cognitioni adjungitur? Nec longitudo certè, nec latitudo, nec crassities. Si ergo cognitio, seu volitio est immaterialis, idem est subiectum cognitionis. Corpus nescit tales actus exercere, nam sic ultra sphæram suæ activitatis ageret, itemque effectus esset nobilior causâ.

“Sufficiant hæc, et ut mihi videntur sufficiunt cuivis non pertinaciter opinioni alicui contra rationem inhærenti. Quod si quis post hæc omnia propriam mentem materiam esse asseret, per me licet inter ista degat animalia quæ gramine vescuntur, philosophorum, imo hominum societate prorsus indignus.”

“WHETHER THE MIND OF MAN IS IMMATERIAL?

AFFIRMED.

“Very surprising, and no less pernicious are, I know not whether I should not call them, those dreams of some philosophers who maintain that the mind of man is material, as the flagrant absurdities and mischiefs of such a notion must strike even the most hasty observer, some of which we may point out before we close our discourse.

“Previous to our entrance upon our subject it is proper we should settle our terms, lest, like as enemies brought over to our side may fall out with one another, our words should clash, at the same time there is an agreement among the things themselves.

“*By the mind of man* I understand that cogitation which

every one feels within himself, or, to express myself more clearly, that internal principle of all our thoughts, of our desires, and of our volitions, to which we owe all those operations in which any degree of thought is concerned, or that principle which as in its prime subject includes all our thoughts.

“We shall next attend to our *predicate*. I call all that *immaterial* which is not extended, that which has not parts annexed to parts; for whatever has the dimension of length, breadth, and thickness, is properly denominated *matter* in the opinion of the best philosophers.

“Having opened our way, we now enter into the field. But what a numerous and formidable host immediately appears in array against us! First, *Epicurus*, then *Tertullian*,* next *Hobbes* and his followers oppose me, *Greeks*, *Barbarians*, *Pagans*, and some, though but a few, professors of the true religion. Some will not admit that the mind of man is immaterial, lest the consequence should press them that it is immortal; and, that they may have no check upon them in their course of sin, they exclude from the human soul the idea of immateriality. Others adopt the error, that they may by it support their mistaken notions in religion. And a third sort, through ignorance, prejudices, and inconsideration, do not with sufficient accuracy draw the line between *mind* and *matter*.

“We shall now consider, what arguments may be alleged in proof of our proposition, that the mind of man is immaterial. I have selected the following reasons out of many that might be adduced :

“1. If the body is capable of thinking, thought is a mode

* Tertullian's views were exceedingly confused upon this subject, and it is hard to determine whether he was a materialist or not. In his treatise “on the Soul,” he maintains that the soul is not *material*, and that nevertheless it is *body* or *substance*—he endeavours to refute the opinion of Plato, who maintained its incorporeity; and yet he goes on gravely to relate a silly story of a fanatical sister, who gulled him with a tale that she had seen a soul. p. 311.

of body, and depends either upon the position of its parts, or upon motion. But what is that position of parts which thinks? What is its figure? Does it consist of three or four angles? Or if thinking depends upon motion, let me ask what is that motion? I know of no motion but what is local; and if this is thinking, then, whenever a body moves it thinks. But these are mere bubbles, which instantly dissolve before the breath of reason.

“2. *Body or matter*, according to philosophers, is a passive principle; but who is there can deny but *thinking* is an action, and more especially that kind of it which is called *volition*? You may perhaps reply, that matter is inert, but that there is a spiritual extension which is active. To which I answer, that it must be in a manner different from that of *reasoning*, by which your error should be combated, that of distinguishing between *extension* and *matter*.

“3. If body can think, thinking must be either an essential or an accidental mode. It cannot be an essential mode; for if it were it would be inseparable, and all bodies would think. It cannot be an accidental mode; because we can have no conception of an accident, no, not even upon the most refined abstraction without a subject, otherwise an accident would be conceived of without its essence, when its very being is an in-being in that essence. Now try, my adversary, I address myself to you, whether you cannot think of your will, of the power of determining yourself, of joy, of love, and your other affections, without any idea of any thing extended? You can undoubtedly: conclude, then, that thought is not an accident of body.

“4. That is an essential primary attribute of a thing, and which indeed constitutes it, which may be conceived of without other properties, at the same time that other properties cannot be conceived of without an idea of that attribute. *Thinking* and *extension* considered in this manner, agree the one to *spirit*, the other to *body*, nor does either the one or the

other presuppose any thing besides in which it should be founded; *thinking* and *extension*, therefore, are essential attributes of two particular kinds of beings, which are at the greatest remove from each other. Not, then, till these two essences constitute one simple being, shall I believe that thinking belongs to matter.

“5. The last and grand argument, to which all lovers of truth will yield their assent, may be thus represented. It is an axiom that universally prevails in philosophy, that an essence may be known by its operations, or in other words, as are the operations such are the subjects. Now the operations of our minds are *knowledge*, *doubting*, *affection*, and the like. But what connexion has *extension* with knowledge? Knowledge unquestionably has neither length, breadth, nor thickness. If, therefore, judgment or volition is immaterial, its subject is immaterial too. The body is incapable of exerting such acts; for it would then go beyond the sphere of its power, and the effect would be more excellent than its cause.

“Let these arguments suffice, and to me they appear sufficient to satisfy any mind that will not obstinately adhere to its opinion against the force of reason. If any person, after all that has been alleged, should still insist upon it, that his own mind is *material*, I shall have no objection to his turning out among the animals which graze the fields, as he is utterly unworthy the society of philosophers, and indeed of mankind.”

One of the methods which Watts adopted when a student for his own improvement, was to abridge the writers upon the various sciences he read, in order more effectually to impress their contents upon his memory. The adoption of such a plan, though laborious, is attended with many advantages: when the attention is fixed upon a subject, the memory retains a firmer hold upon it; and, generally speaking, one volume thus dissected and epitomised, will yield more real information than twenty others hastily perused. “Shall I be so free,” says he,

“as to assure my younger friends, from my own experience, that these methods of reading will cost some pains in the first years of your study, and especially in the first authors you peruse in any science, or on any particular subject. But the profit will richly compensate the pains; and, in the following years of life, after you have read a few valuable books on any special subject in this manner, it will be very easy to read others of the same kind, because you will not find very much new matter in them which you have not already examined.”* Among the volumes which he treated in this way, were Mr. Gale’s “Court of the Gentiles,” “*Questiones Logicæ ut plurimum desumptæ ex Burgersdicii Institutionibus, et Heereboordii Commentariis*, 1691, 1692; Logical Questions, collected for the greatest part from Burgersdicius’s Institutions and Heereboord’s Commentaries,” and “*Sententiolæ quædam è Tractatu Lud. de la Forge de mente humanâ collectæ, aut patius Epitome ejusdem tractatûs*, 1691; Some brief Opinions collected from the Treatise of Lewis de la Forge concerning the Human Mind, or rather an Epitome of the work.” The manuscript volumes containing these abridgments, were in the possession of Mr. Enoch Watts, who parted with them to Dr. Gibbons.†

There was another plan practised by Watts in after-life, which it is highly probable he commenced in the years of his studies — interleaving the books he read, and copying on the blank pages extracts from other writers upon the same topics. A curious instance of his diligence in this particular he left behind him in his Westminster Greek grammar, with supplemental leaves, containing collections from the grammars of Mr. Leeds and Dr. Busby. To the title of the Westminster Greek Grammar, that of “*Institutio Græcæ Grammatices compendiaria in Usum Regiæ Scholæ Westmonasteriensis*” is added, “*cum notis mutins à grammaticis Busbeii et Leedsii*,” in the blank leaf at the beginning he observes, “*Usque ad*

* Improvement of the Mind, part i. c. 4. § 7.

† Gibbons, p. 59.

paginam 75 grammatices errores correxi, et quæ desuerant supplevi. 1709. I. W.;" and in the afore-cited page, where he broke off his work, he adds, "Huc usque vulgarem grammaticam correxi secundum majorem ακριβειαν grammaticarum Busbeii et Leedsii."* These plans for mental improvement, which Watts adopted at an early period, and to which he steadily adhered through life, testify his anxious search after knowledge; and well deserve the imitation of all students, not only for the ministry, but every branch of philosophy and science. The following golden rules embody his own methods: "Where the author is obscure, enlighten him: where he is imperfect, supply his deficiencies: where he is too brief and concise, amplify a little, and set his notions in a fairer view: where he is redundant, mark those paragraphs to be retrenched: when he trifles and grows impertinent, abandon those passages or pages: where he argues, observe whether his reasons be conclusive; if the conclusion be true, and yet the arguments weak, endeavour to confirm it by better proofs: where he derives or infers any propositions darkly or doubtfully, make the justice of the inference appear, and add further inferences or corollaries, if such occur to your mind: where you suppose he is in a mistake, propose your objections and correct his sentiments: what he writes so well, as to approve itself to your judgment, both as just and useful, treasure it up in your memory, and count it a part of your intellectual gains."†

In the manuscript volume from which the Latin theses have been extracted, there are two English dissertations, which he read at the meetings of his fellow-students. The first was prepared according to a note prefixed to it, for "our meeting" on Saturday, July 1693, and is founded upon the question,

* Gibbons, p. 61.

† Improvement of the Mind, part i. c. 4.

“WHETHER THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH
ALONE TENDS TO LICENTIOUSNESS?”

“Man, by wilful sinning against an express command, sullied the glory of his innocence, and lost that inherent righteousness which, according to the tenor of the first covenant, entitled him to the favour of God and felicity. Justice requires satisfaction for the injuries done to its law, and a perfect obedience is necessary to procure a new title to happiness. Fallen man is altogether unable either to pay the debt, or to work for life; for the loss of his original righteousness left him wholly destitute of any power to regain it. If ever, therefore, he be freed from the curse of this law, it is requisite that its penalty be suffered; and if ever he be admitted again into divine favour, it must be by the imputation of the righteousness of another. Jesus Christ has undertaken the cause. The eternal Son of God became flesh, and tabernacled among us; he bore the punishment which guilty man had incurred, and fulfilled the law to which the promise of life was annexed. Now, that both his sufferings and his obedience are imputed to us, in order to acceptance with God, I shall at present only offer these two scriptures:

“Gal. iii. 13: ‘Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us.’ What words can be more emphatical? We, who must otherwise have been accursed to eternity, are redeemed therefrom by his being made a curse for us, the sentence of cursing being executed upon him.

“The second scripture is Rom. v. 19: ‘As by the disobedience of one many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.’ The words in the original are, *shall be constituted righteous*, according to a law, or cove-

nant, as I heard the Rev. Mr. Alsop* explain them, who said that he could not tell any other consistent sense of these words.

“Thus briefly of the imputation of Christ’s righteousness. But how comes it to be imputed to us, or made ours? It is answered, By faith alone. So the assembly of divines express it in their catechism. The perfect obedience and full satisfaction of Christ are imputed to us by God, and received by faith alone. It is faith alone receives this righteousness. Good works have nothing to do in the receiving of it, or in justifying us. Infinite justice will be satisfied with no less than complete righteousness; and, therefore, our own broken and imperfect righteousness is insufficient. Consult that text, Rom. iv. 5, ‘To him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.’ Now it cannot be meant that faith itself is imputed as the matter of our righteousness, because faith, considered in itself, is a good work; but what is intended, is the object of faith, namely, Christ’s righteousness. The apostle, to avoid all mistakes, declares, 1st, negatively, that works are to be excluded; and, 2dly, positively, that we receive a righteousness by faith.

“I shall not insist further on the proof of the point, because it seems to be granted in the question; yet so much was necessary to be premised, in order to a regular procedure.

This doctrine is the truth of the gospel as it is in Jesus, and the only mean whereby every one of us may be made holy and happy. The devil, therefore, has used many artifices to subvert it, among which this is a principal one, namely, filling men’s minds with wrong opinions concerning it, by representing it as an unholy doctrine; and this is the common prejudice against justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ received by faith alone, that it gives liberty to men to

* Vincent Alsop, M.A., ejected from Wilby in Northamptonshire, in 1662. He was one of the predecessors of Dr. Calamy at Westminster. His *Anti Sozzo*, written against Sherlock, procured him the esteem and approbation of Dr. South.

live loosely and sinfully, as though there were no room for good works in our religion, if they be not brought into our justification. But constant experience shows that this is a mistake; for they who embrace this doctrine are for good works as much as any, and dare not oppose the authority of that Spirit, who, by the apostle James, pronounces that faith which is without good works to be dead. What we contend for is the right place, use, and end of good works in the matters of religion, that they may not be substituted in the stead of Christ, and the glory of our salvation to be attributed to ourselves, against which the scripture so often cautions us.

“I shall, in a few words, give the true place and use of holiness.

“1. It is a part of our salvation purchased by Christ. He redeemed us not only from wrath but from sin too: Tit. ii. 14, where it is said, ‘He gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity.’ Grace is glory begun: now that glory is the purchase of Christ none will deny.

“2. Holiness is the end of our redemption and justification, as appears in the forementioned text; ‘Who gave himself for us, that he might purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works.’

“3. The law of creation obliges us to good works. As we are creatures, we are to worship and honour our Maker by obedience.

“4. As we are bought from the prison of hell, we become his servants who paid a price for us; and, therefore, we are obliged to serve him: 1 Cor. vi. 20, ‘Ye are bought with a price; therefore, glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God’s.’

“5. We are to perform obedience to the commands of Christ, in gratitude to him who is our greatest Benefactor.

“6. Holiness is the mean to prepare us for glory, though not to procure glory for us.

“7. Holiness is the way to evidence our justification, and give us the assurance and comfort of it.

“We now proceed to give some reasons to demonstrate, that justification by faith alone is so far from being an-impediment to a holy life, that it is the only true way to promote it.

“1. Good works after justification by faith, is the order in which God himself has placed them. Eph. ii. 8, 9, 10: ‘By grace are ye saved through faith;’ that is, you are made partakers of salvation in both parts of it, the favour of God and his image, by God’s free gift or grace as the principal cause, and by faith as the instrument receiving it: ‘not of works,’ as it follows, ‘lest any man should boast; for we are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works.’ We are not united to Christ Jesus by having good works created in us, but being in Christ, we are created to good works. In like manner, Tit. iii. 8, it is said, ‘that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works.’ The Holy Spirit prefaces it with two notes of attention and observation: ‘This is a faithful saying, and these things I will that thou affirm constantly, that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works.’

“2. That faith which justifies, is the necessary and immediate spring and origin of good works. The first act of faith is, acceptance of Christ to be our way to salvation, to reconcile us to God by his righteousness, and make us fit for his enjoyment by his sanctifying grace. Faith trusts Christ for holiness and glory, and immediately upon this act we are justified, though, as Dr. Goodwin says, ‘Faith justifies peculiarly as it depends on Christ for his perfect righteousness to bring us into the favour of God.’ (Goodwin’s *Triumph of Faith*, § 2, c. 1.) But before this act we could not perform any good work; for we receive strength to do good works by this trusting. Dependence on our part derives the supply of graces and influences from the Spirit of God, without whom we can do nothing. But St. Paul tells the Philippians, chap.

iv. 13, that he could do all things through Christ strengthening him. Now, that faith is the mean to partake of this communicated power, consult Mark, xi. 24; John, xiv. 13, 14; John, xv. 16; John, xvi. 23, 24; James, i. 5, 6. Christ will so far honour our dependence on him, that he condescends (to speak with reverence) to the will of believers; as appears by these texts.

“3. The love of Christ, manifested in free justification without works, more effectually and sweetly binds the soul to obedience, than any rigid measures which the fear of punishment can use. The natures of believers are, as it were, refined; they are heaven-born, ingenuous, and easily wrought upon by love. It is a common truth, that nothing is done by hatred and fear, which might not effectually and pleasantly be performed by love. The effects of pure love are exceedingly great. We seldom, if ever, read of any who, out of a mere fear of hell, would endure the greatest miseries of life. But how many thousands, being fortified with love to their Redeemer, have joyfully undergone severe torments rather than part with their obedience and holiness, notwithstanding they hoped not to be saved by them! Now the greater the love which is expressed towards us, the stronger are our engagements to love again. Consider, then, how incomparably greater is that love which appears in Christ’s giving us himself and his righteousness freely, and completing by himself the work of our redemption, than if he had only entreated the Father to relax the first covenant, and put us into a possibility of acquiring heaven by our own obedience. 2 Cor. v. 14: ‘The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead.’ That love is a far more efficacious principle than fear, appears also from the first epistle of John. The whole letter of that beloved disciple breathes nothing but love and holiness. The first is the principle of the latter. He had learned and felt the power of love in the bosom of his Jesus, and recommended that sovereign

antidote against sin, that cordial to revive dying holiness, to all the followers of his loving Saviour. Heaven is a state of most perfect holiness, and the immediate created principle of it is perfect love, as seems to be implied in 1 John, iv. 18, and 1 Cor. xiii. 8—13.

“4. The doctrine of perseverance and assurance, for I shall join them both together at present, are supported only by this doctrine of justification by faith alone. But these doctrines are most effectual to promote holiness; therefore, the doctrine of justification by faith alone promotes holiness. That assurance and perseverance depend only on justification by faith alone is sufficiently proved; because, if our obedience this moment be sincere enough to justify us, our disobedience the next moment may damn us, whereas faith once acted on Christ aright, so justifies us that we can never fall from justification, as might be proved from many scriptures. ‘I know whom I have believed,’ saith the apostle, 2 Tim. i. 12. But our opponents themselves grant this by contending against perseverance, and, consequently, assurance, while they hold that works concur with faith to our justification. It remains, therefore, only to be proved, that assurance is the most effectual mean to promote holiness; and this appears—

“(1.) As an assurance of salvation keeps us from temptations, and the victorious power of sin. How shall we able to comply with Satan, and obey that wretched spirit, when we know that we are Christ’s, and he has purchased us? How can a man willingly defile that soul with sin, which the blood of Christ has washed into purity and whiteness? This would be to trample the blood of Christ under foot, the least thought of which startles a saint. In Phil. iv. 7, it is said, ‘The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds.’ Dr. Owen, in his Treatise of Temptations, renders it, ‘shall keep as a garrison.’ Now when our minds are preserved from being blinded by temptations, and our hearts defended from their prevailing assaults, surely we can-

not fall; and this is done by this peace of God, the peace which God speaks to the conscience, and assurance of his love.

“(2.) Assurance preserves repentance in continual exercise, and so promotes the divine life. An assured person mourns over and stabs his sins, because he knows it is his Jesus whom they have pierced. He revenges himself upon the crucifiers of his Lord; and his hatred against sin is as keen as his love to that God-man, who bore the punishment of it in his stead: Zech. xii. 10.

“(3.) Assurance of salvation will damp and deaden our affections to the things of this world. Col. iii. 2, 3: ‘Set your affections on things above, not on things on the earth; for ye are dead,’ that is, to sin, ‘and your life is hid with Christ in God.’ Honour and esteem among men, disgrace and private reproaches, riches and pleasures, will have less influence upon, and less room in our minds, when a sense and certainty of the enjoyment of heavenly objects have already possessed them. It is by reason of the interest which these earthly things have in our affections, that we are so often captivated to sin; but, when our affections are dead to external objects, how much easier is a strict and religious life!

“Now of all these cords which bind the willing soul to holiness and good works, the doctrine of justification by obedience is destitute.

“5. The last reason which I shall mention is, the testimony and example of saints who have tried and practised according to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and led most holy lives; whereas they who hoped to be saved by good works, have lived in the practice of the greatest sins. I shall at present instance only in the Pharisees, who trusted not to the righteousness of Christ, as St. Paul tells us, Rom. x. 3; but, being ignorant of the righteousness of God, they went about to establish their own righteousness. Now of what gross sins does Christ accuse the Pharisees! How black and

deformed would their lives appear, if compared with the lives of the apostles, especially of St. Paul, who asserted the doctrine of justification by faith alone ! The Pharisees found it impossible to yield obedience to the divine law in its spirituality, yet rather than forego their presumption of being saved by it, they confined it only to outward acts ; yet here they wretchedly failed too, as appears by our Saviour's frequent reproofs, and awful denunciations against them."

The other dissertation is stated to have been prepared for the meeting on Sept. 9, 1693: it considers the question, "Whether self-denial in things in themselves indifferent, be not in some cases necessary?"*

During his residence in the academy, Watts was accustomed to seek relief from his graver studies in poetical composition ; having amused himself with verse, as he hints in his *Miscellanies*, from fifteen years old to fifty. This practice he recommends to the student who has any taste for it, in his treatise upon the "Improvement of the Mind," when fatigued with pursuits of a more laborious nature ; the mind "may be, as it were, unbent, and repose itself on the flowery meadows where the muses dwell." The date of the following epistle to his brother Enoch, shows it to have been written in the year after he came to Mr. Rowe, when at the age of seventeen. The poem is in the glyconick measure, and is praised by Dr. Johnson for its ease and elegance.

"FRATRIS E. W. OLIM NAVIGATURO. Sept. 30, 1691.

"I felix, pede prospero
I Frater, trabe pincâ
Sulces æquora cœrula
Pandas carbasa flatibus
Quæ tutò reditura sint.
Non te monstra natantia
Ponti carnivoræ incolæ
Prædentur rate naufragâ.

* Appendix C.

Navis, tu tibi creditum
 Fratrem dimidium mei
 Salvum fer per inhospita
 Ponti regna, per avios
 Tractus, et liquidum chaos.
 Nec te sorbeat horrida
 Syrtis, nec scopulus minax
 Rumpat roborem latus.
 Captent mitia flamina
 Antennæ; et Zephyri leves
 Dent portum placidum tibi.
 Tu, qui flumina, qui vagos
 Fluetus oceani regis,
 Et sævum Boream domas.
 Da fratri faciles vias,
 Et fratrem reducem suis."

“TO MY BROTHER ENOCH WATTS, GOING A VOYAGE.

“Brother, may Heaven vouchsafe to bless,
 And crown your voyage with success!
 Go, in the planks of pine immur’d,
 And from surrounding harm secur’d;
 Go, and with sails expanding wide,
 With pleasure plough the placid tide;
 In safety wafted o’er the main,
 In safety wafted home again.
 O may no monster of the flood,
 That roams for prey and thirsts for blood,
 Seize you in his tremendous pow’r,
 And with remorseless jaws devour,
 While the bark, shiver’d by the blast,
 Strows with its wreck the wat’ry waste!

“My brother, trusted to thy care,
 Half of myself, O vessel, bear
 Secure through Ocean’s wide domain,
 At best a desert trackless plain;
 And oft, when hurricanes arise,
 In billows thund’ring to the skies,
 Safe from the sand’s devouring heap,
 May’st thou thy wary passage keep;

Safe too from each tremendous rock,
 Where ships are shatter'd by the shock :
 May only favourable gales
 Attend thy course and fill thy sails ;
 And may the zephyr's softest wing
 Thee to thy port serenely bring !

"Thou, who dost o'er the seas preside,
 Rouse them to rage, or smooth their tide,
 Thou, who dost in thy fetters keep
 The boisterous tyrants of the deep,
 To foreign climes secure convey
 My brother through the wat'ry way,
 And back conduct him o'er the main
 To his dear shores and friends again !"

DR. GIBBONS.

In the year 1692, the second of his academical life, young Watts visited his family and friends in his native town.

"Paid a six-weeks visit to Southa. 1692."*

The first letter which he wrote home, after his return, contained a poetical apology for its delay :

PREFACE OF A LETTER, WRITTEN AUGUST, 1692.

"E'er since the morning of that day
 Which bid my dearest friends adieu,
 And rolling wheels bore me away
 Far from my native town and you ;
 E'er since I lost through distant place
 The pleasures of a parent's face,
 This is the first whose language sues
 For your release from waxen bands ;
 Laden with humble love, it bows
 To kiss a welcome from your hands :
 Accept the duty which it brings,
 And pardon its delaying wings."

"1692, Sept. 8th. At noon an earthquake all over England, and in other nations."†

* Watts's MS.

† Bib.

This event is thus noticed by Calamy : “ On Sept. 8, this year, there was an earthquake in and about the city of London, at mid-day, which was sensibly perceived by most people. I was at that time at Sir Richard Levet’s, and all in the room felt it, though I was not sensible of it to the same degree as some others. It was generally thought that had it continued much longer, it would have done a great deal of damage to the city. King William was then in his camp in Flanders, at dinner, in an old decayed house, which shaking very much, and every one apprehending it ready to fall, his majesty with much ado was prevailed with to rise from the table, and go out of the house, but the surprise was soon over.”* This earthquake did not last above a minute, and was attended with no serious accident; but another which occurred about the same period in Jamaica, nearly destroyed the town of Port Royal, and killed upwards of fifteen hundred persons.†

In the commencement of the following year, the annexed letter to his brother Richard was written, who was then studying for the practice of medicine. It contains a poem, devoted to the sufferings of the Saviour, as the sacrifice for the sins of men, of which only a few lines have been retained. The subject is not treated with much judgment, of which the writer seems to have been aware, as he apologises for an apparent “trespass on divinity:” the Deity is represented as if actuated with the vindictive passions of a demon; and the whole scene better accords with the heathen fable of the Thunderer and Prometheus, than with the mystery of our redemption.

“EPISTOLA FRATRI SUO DILECTO R. W. I. W. S. P. D.

“Rursum tuas, amande frater, accepi literas, eodem fortassè momento, quo meæ ad te pervenerunt; idemque qui te

* Calamy’s Life and Times, i. 326.

† Shower’s Practical Reflections on the late Earthquakes in Jamaica, England, Sicily, Malta, with a particular Historical Account of those and other Earthquakes. 12mo. 1693.

scribentem vidit dies, meum ad epistolare munus excitavit calamum; non inane est inter nos Fraternum nomen, unicus enim spiritus nos intus animat, agitque, et concordēs in ambobus efficit motus. O utinam crescat indies, et vigescat mutua charitas! Faxit Deus, ut amor sui nostra incendat et defæcet pectora. Tunc etenim et alternis puræ amicitiae flammis erga nos invicem divinum in modum ardebimus. Contemplemur Jesum nostrum, cœleste illud et adorandum exemplar charitatis. Ille est,

“ Qui quondam æthero delapsus ab æthere vultus
Induit humanos, ut posset corpore nostras
(Heu miseras!) sufferre vices; sponsoris obivit
Munia et in sese tabulæ maledicta Minacis
Transtulit, et sceleris pœnas hominisque reatum.

Ecce jacet desertus humi, diffusus in herbam
Integer, innocuas versus sua sidera palmas
Et placidum attollens vultum, nec ad oscula Patris,
Amplexus solitosve; artus nudatus amictu
Sidereos, et sponte sinum patefactus ad iras
Numinis armati.

* * * * *

“ At subsidat phantasia, vaneſcant imagines; nescio quo me proripuit amens Musa. Volui quatuor lineas pedibus astringere, et ecce! numeri creſcunt in immensum; dumque concitato Genio laxavi fræna, vereor ne juvenilis impetus theologiã læserit, et audax nimis imaginatio. Heri allata est ad me epistola indicans matrem meliusculè se habere, licet ignis febrilis non prorsus deseruit mortale ejus domicilium. Plura volui, sed turgidi et crescentes versus noluère plura, et coarctarunt ſcriptionis limites. Vale, amice frater, et in studio pietatis et artis medicæ strenuus decurre.

“ Datum à musæo meo Londini, xvto Kalend. Febr. Anno Salutis 1693.”

“A LETTER FROM ISAAC WATTS TO HIS BROTHER
RICHARD WATTS, WISHING HIM SAFETY AND PEACE
IN GOD.

“Dear Brother,

“I had a second receipt of a letter from you perhaps in the very moment in which mine came to hand ; and the very day in which you was writing to me, was the same which awakened my pen to the discharge of its epistolary duty to you. We bear not the fraternal name in vain, for the same spirit possesses, inspires, and produces the most harmonious movements in us. May our mutual affection every day increase and flourish ! God grant his love may purify and kindle our souls ! Thus shall we in a divine manner burn with reciprocal flames of friendship. Let us contemplate our Saviour, that celestial and adorable example of love :

“The Son of God, descending from the skies,
Assum'd an human form, that in our flesh
He might endure the agonizing pains
Due to our crimes : our surety he became,
Transferring to himself each baleful curse
Of Heaven's vindictive, death-denouncing law,
And made our guilt and punishment his own.

“See him, deserted on the naked ground,
And kneeling on the sod, extend his hands,
And lift his placid count'nance to the skies
With conscious innocence, but not t'enjoy,
As he was wont, his heav'nly Father's smiles,
And kind embraces. See his god-like form
Expos'd to night's cold blast, and see his breast
By his own hands expanded to the stroke
Of Deity in arms.

* * * * *

“But let fancy, with all its images, subside and vanish. I know not whither the impetuous muse has hurried me. I designed only four lines in verse, and behold what a number !

While I have indulged my rapture, I fear my juvenile heat and too bold an imagination, may have made some trespass on divinity.

“I received a letter yesterday, acquainting me that our mother was somewhat better, though the fever has not quite left her. I intended to have written more particularly, but the swelling and growing verses have prevented me, and contracted the limits of my letter. Farewell, dear brother, and may you make strenuous advances in the study of religion and medicine! Given from my study in *London* on the sixteenth of the *Kalends* of *February*, 1693.”

Another specimen of Watts's method of illustrating and correcting the authors he read, has been preserved by the Rev. Samuel Palmer, which, though dated considerably posterior, may here be inserted, as the pamphlet containing it is rare, and every relic is interesting. The volume in question is entitled, “A Treatise of Humane Reason,” printed 1675 in small 12mo.; in the title he has inserted the author's name, M. Clifford, Esq.; and in the blank leaf at the beginning he has put his own name, with the following observations:

“This book when first published, did perhaps mollify the spirits of some men, that were set upon persecution of the dissenters. It has many useful notions in it: but it exalts reason as the rule of religion as well as the guide, to a degree very dangerous; which occasioned some writings pro and con at that time.

“A book, called ‘Plain Dealing,’ by a scholar at Cambridge, was published in opposition to it, whose design seems tending towards persecution.

“An answer thereto came out by one Albertus Warren, called ‘An Apology for the Discourse of Humane Reason,’ &c. 12mo. p. 144. This apologizer is a perfect Hobbist, his style pretty smooth, but his sense exceeding thin-set, his

thoughts trivial and common, chiefly against persecution ; nor is there any thing in it worth the reading so much as the character of Mr. Clifford.*

“ Another book, called ‘ Observations upon,’ &c. 12mo. p. 73, wherein our author is charged with confusion, and some inconsistencies are proved upon him. But what was truly valuable in the controversy was not much : I have (here) all that was worth notice by way of marginal remarks with an *.”

The text of the author in the succeeding passages is printed in italics ; and appended are the remarks of Watts.

“ ‘ *There being so many mists cast before me by the errors and deceits of others, that one had great need of a better eye-sight than is left us by the fall of our first forefather.*’ p. 2.

“ * * * This sentence, forced from the author’s pen by the mere power of truth, overthrows many things in his following discourse, and should have at least taught him to mention fervent prayer to God, for safe direction as a companion to this great guide reason in quest of religion.

“ ‘ *I cannot see how any but God himself, can certainly know that any man is an heretic.*’ p. 34.

“ * * * Obj. But surely heresy must be knowable by men, else how can heretics be rejected ? Tit. iii. 10. But then this rejection is not with fire and sword, but only a casting them out of such an ecclesiastical society.

“ ‘ *He who gave rules which admit of so many interpreta-*

* This character is as follows :

“ As to his person ’twas little, his face rather flat than oval, his eye serious, countenance leonine, his constitution cholerick, sanguine, tinctured with melancholy : of a facetious conversation, yet a great humorist : of quick parts, so of quick passions, and venereal, thence lazy ; he was learned, very critical, positive, and proud, and scorned to be rich ; he had a will to be just ; would drink to excess sometimes. His religion was that of his country ; he was always loyal to his king, and a very good poet. He died ’twixt fifty and sixty, at Sutton’s hospital, whose master he then was ; not much lamented by the pensioners. Few knew him well. He was a man strongly composed ; ’tis questioned whether his virtues or his vices were most. I incline to the last ; yet he departed peaceably and piously.”

tions, is well contented that they shall be interpreted severally.' p. 38.

"*** God, who left his word obscure in some circumstantial of religion, foreknew and designed to permit various interpretations therein; not that all can be true, but to try, whether, under all this doubtfulness in lesser matters, they would all hold the essentials, and under this difference of opinions practise charity.

"*'He bids you search; there is, therefore, in man a natural ability of searching spiritual truths, and that can be nothing else but his understanding.'* p. 66.

"*** It is granted that man has a power of searching spiritual truths necessary to salvation, if he use all the helps God has proposed, viz. advice of the learned and pious, scripture, and earnest prayer, &c. But then it is not reason that discovers all these spiritual truths to him, but only shows where they may be found, and reads and receives them there.

"*'We lay the blasphemous accusation of injustice upon God, if he punish us for an error which we could not avoid.'* p. 67.

"*** No man shall be condemned but for the sins of the will: either heathens acting contrary to the light of nature, or those who are born in Christian countries, for neglecting the helps to knowledge, or bribing their understandings, &c.

"*'In this case (error in judgment) we cannot know our fault; and, therefore, have no means of repenting of it.'* p. 69.

"*** Therefore we grant, the condemning sentence shall not be pronounced on any for mere invincible ignorance.

"*'Reason is to be accounted that rule and guide we look for, &c.'* p. 87.

"*** If this author would be content to exalt reason only as a guide to us in the search after the rule of religion, perhaps he might be defended; but to make it the rule and guide too, attributes more to it than a Christian dares assent to."

The following quotation, explanatory of the views which Watts entertained upon this point, then occurs:

“In this matter reason is the eye, true religion is the object : all other helps, divine and human, are as the light, as spectacles, &c. Now it is impossible to see with any thing but our own eyes, i. e. our reason. Yet a clear light is also necessary, without which our eye cannot see the object, nor our reason find out the true religion.”

At the close of the volume the following remarks are made upon the whole :

“This discourse of human reason, contains many valuable and bold truths of the necessity and usefulness of searching for happiness by its conduct ; which if referred to our search after a rule or superior guide, viz. revelation, may be safely admitted ; (especially if he had joined earnest prayer to God therewith.) But the bent and strain of his discourse, seems to bid us depend on human reason alone in the search of happiness itself, or heaven and salvation ; and his methods of reasoning are such as would lead the ignorant and unwary into a complete and sole dependance on reason. My sense on this subject is contained in these remarks, which especially refer to the last part of this book, from p. 80 to the end.

“It must be granted, that men of sense and learning and inquiry, are led by reason to the acknowledgment of the divinity of scripture ; deducing this conclusion from a hundred moral arguments and probabilities, which united amount to a certainty and demonstration. Thus by reason we find out the rule of religion which is infallible ; but then our reason must subject itself to be guided by that rule which is divine and infallible.

“ ‘ Obj. *But this rule so found must be interpreted by reason.*’ p. 86.

“Ans. In things which are plainly and expressly asserted by this rule of scripture, and that in a sense which contradicts not other parts of scripture, or natural light, our reason must submit, and believe the thing, though it cannot find the *modus* or manner of its being. So in the doctrines of the trinity and

incarnation, which are above the reach of our reason in this present state. But we cannot, nor must we be led to, take the words of scripture in such a sense as expressly and evidently contradicts all sense and reason; as transubstantiation: for the two great lights of God, reason and revelation, never contradict each other, though one be superior to the other.

“Therefore, reason has a great deal to do in religion, viz. to find out the rule, to compare the parts of this rule with one another, to explain the one by the other, to give the grammatical and logical sense of the expressions, and to exclude self-contradictory interpretations, as well as interpretations contrary to reason. But it is not to set itself up as a judge of those truths expressed therein which are asserted by a superior and infallible dictator, God himself; but reason requires and commands even the subjection of all its own powers to a truth thus divinely attested; for it is as possible and as proper, that God should propose doctrines to our understanding which it cannot comprehend, as duties to our practice which we cannot see the reason of; for he is equally superior to our understanding and will, and he puts the obedience of both to a trial.

“Yet after all it must be acknowledged, that the greater part of mankind, as well as of Christians, have their reason so exceedingly weak, their prejudices so strangely strong, their incapacity to search and to distinguish truth so great, that there seems to be a necessity of the spirit of God, by powerful and secret influence, to lead those whom he designs to save, both to the belief of the scriptures as the rule, and to the interpretation of those parts of the rule which are absolutely necessary to salvation. And we find, that the best account which most Christians can give, why they believe scripture to be the word of God, and why they believe this or that to be the sense of scripture, is, because they have found such influences proceeding from it on their hearts, to change their wills from sinful to holy, and turn their souls from sin

and the creature, and this present world of vanity, to God, and religion, and eternal things. And this is most properly called the testimony of the spirit, which the protestants oppose to the popish testimony of the church; this last being external and rational only, and built upon a hundred probable circumstances, which are knowable only to the learned, but the first being inward and common to all true Christians, and by which all must be saved.

“And it may be remarked here, that the reason why rational and learned men exalt reason so high, and make it to be their sole guide and judge in things of religion, is, because they find their own reason able to prove the truth and divinity of scripture and the Christian religion, and to secure them from the follies and absurdities of Atheism, Judaism, Paganism, and Mahometanism. But they cannot condescend to sympathise with the vulgar, and think how exceeding feeble and variable and deceivable are the minds and reasoning powers of the generality of mankind, who all have souls to save; towards whose direction into the truth, and security and establishment therein unto salvation, it is very evident something more is needful than the infirm and unsteady faculties of nature; and as this author himself, by the very force of truth, thoughtlessly asserts, p. 2, ‘One had great need of a better eye-sight than is left us by the fall of our first forefather.’”*

With some of his fellow-students in the academy, Watts formed an intimate acquaintance; and some notices of those with whom he afterwards corresponded, may not here be uninteresting. Mr. John Hughes, Mr. Samuel Say, and Mr. Josiah Hort, the companions of his studies, were among the number of his bosom friends; and these individuals afterwards attained to considerable eminence in the literary and religious world. Mr. Hughes was born of respectable parentage at Marlborough in Wiltshire, Jan. 9, 1677; and received his

* Palmer's Notes upon Johnson. Appendix No. 4.

education in private schools in the metropolis, and under Mr. Rowe. His grandfather, the Rev. William Hughes, M. A. of New-Inn Hall, Oxford, was among the number of ejected ministers; and suffered confinement to his own house for several years on account of nonconformity. The grandson, though educated for the dissenting ministry, it is probable never preached in public; and even when under Mr. Rowe's care, he was induced to abandon his severer studies, to cultivate music, poetry, and drawing. Conforming to the establishment, the Lord Chancellor Cowper, in 1717, appointed him secretary to the commissions of the peace; and upon his resigning the great seal, he was continued in the same office, owing to the recommendation of his patron. To the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*,* he was a frequent contributor; and distinguished himself by several poetical pieces, the principal of which, the "Seige of Damascus," was much admired at the time of its publication. His character is thus depicted by Dr. Campbell: "His religion was sincere without severity, his morals strict but not austere, his conversation equally instructive and pleasant. To say all of him he deserved would be a hard task. Let it suffice then—the man whom the Bishop of Winchester† honoured as a friend, the man whom Mr. Addison admired as a poet, the man whose goodness and integrity Mr. Pope‡ had in veneration, could be no ordinary man."§ Letters to and from Mr. Hughes will be found in the following pages; but it is probable, that after his conformity the correspondence closed, though he ever highly esteemed the companion of his academical studies.|| After a

* In the *Tatler* he wrote Nos. 64, 73, 113.

In the *Spectator* Nos. 33, 53, 66, 91, 104, 141, 210, 220, 230, 231, 237, 252, 302, 311, 375, 525, 537, 541, 554.

In the *Guardian* No. 37.

† Dr. Hoadley.

‡ Hughes's *Letters*, vol. i. pp. 102. 186.

§ *Biographia Brit.* vol. iv.

|| Mr. Hughes proved himself a friend to religious toleration in "A Review of the

life of almost constant indisposition, he died from consumption, Feb. 17, 1719, at the early age of forty-two.

Mr. Josiah Hort, "the first genius in the academy," in Watts's estimation, entered the establishment soon after his removal from Mr. Rowe's; though the period when he conformed is uncertain. As early as the year 1708 he preached at the archdeacon's visitation at Aylesbury; and the discourse appears in both the Dublin and London collection of his sermons.* After being for a short time chaplain to John Hampden, Esq. the member for Buckinghamshire, he was invited to accompany the Lord Lieutenant to Ireland in the same capacity. The fifth sermon in Mr. Hort's collection, is said to have been preached before his Grace the Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, after the suppression of the Preston rebellion; and it is not unlikely, from this notice, that the duke was his patron. He was ultimately advanced to the bishopric of Kilmore and Ardagh, and in January, 1742, he succeeded Dr. Synge in the archbishopric of Tuam and the united bishopric of Enaghdoen, with liberty to retain his former see of Ardagh. An epigram inscribed to Mr. Hort, among the Lyrics, seems to intimate that he participated in the poetic inspiration of his fellow-collegians.

"AN EPIGRAM OF MARTIAL TO CIRINUS.

"Sic tua, Cirini, promas epigrammata vulgo
Ut mecum possis, &c.

"INSCRIBED TO MR. JOSIAH HORT. 1694.

"NOW LORD BISHOP OF KILMORE IN IRELAND.

"So smooth your numbers, friend, your verse so sweet,
So sharp the jest, and yet the turn so neat,

Case of Ephraim and Judah, and its Application to the Church of England and Dissenters." This was occasioned by a thanksgiving sermon, preached before the queen at St. Paul's, in August 1705, by Dr. Willis, dean of Lincoln.

*"Sermons on Practical Subjects, by the Right Rev. Josiah Hort, D. D. late Lord Archbishop of Tuam, Primate and Metropolitan of Connaught. London," 1757.

That with her Martial, Rome would place Cirine,
 Rome would prefer your sense and thought to mine.
 Yet modest you decline the public stage,
 To fix your friend alone amidst th' applauding age." &c.

Mr. Samuel Say, of whose father some particulars have already been introduced, was probably a fellow-townsmen of Watts, as well as companion at the academy. He was eminent while a student for his amiable disposition and intellectual attainments, and was particularly endeared to the subject of these pages. Upon finishing his studies, he became chaplain to Thomas Scott, Esq. of Lyminge in Kent; he afterwards laboured at Andover, Yarmouth, Lowestoff, and Ipswich; and finally succeeded Dr. Calamy at Westminster, where he continued till his death. Mr. Say, like his friends, Watts, Hughes, and Hort, was fond of music and poetry; and some of his poems, written in the academy, were published after his decease, in connexion with two critical essays, which display considerable acumen.* The leisure hours enjoyed by these gifted young men, were spent in each other's society, in the task of mutual improvement; and many of Watts's imitations of the classics, versions of the psalms, and miscellaneous productions, were suggested, conceived, or executed at this period. The annexed correspondence may here properly be introduced, as they not only illustrate the literary character of Watts's friends, but throw light upon studies in which he participated, and tastes which he contributed to excite and cherish. In the correspondence he himself appears to have taken an active part, though his own letters I have not been able to discover.

* "Poems on Several Occasions; and Two Critical Essays, viz. The first On the Harmony, Variety, and Power of Numbers, whether in prose or verse. The second, On the Numbers of Paradise Lost. By Samuel Say. London. 1745. 4to." The editor was William Duncombe, Esq., the brother-in-law of Mr. John Hughes.

“ TO MR. SAMUEL SAY.*

“ London, Nov. 6, 1697.

“ Dear Mr. Say,

“ I must confess that I took it somewhat unkindly, to be so long neglected by an intimate friend, and one for whom I always had a more than ordinary esteem; but it is not so enormous a crime but I can pardon you, on condition that you will stand bound to your good behaviour for the future. And now perhaps, by the date of mine, you will think that I design to be even with you; I hope that conjecture will vanish when I tell you, that I came last week out of the country. But, ceremony apart, I give you my hearty thanks for your ingenious paraphrase, in which you have so generously rescued the noble Psalmist out of the butcherly hands of Hopkins and Sternhold. Yet at the same time you have drawn a bill upon me, which I fear I must be forced to pay as they do exchequer notes, that is, at so much discount. However, I hope I have to do with a merciful creditor, who will be willing to compound the debt; and for the coin, I assure you it is the very choicest of my bags. To leave this metaphorical strain, you have here something in imitation of an author with whom I am endeavouring daily to grow more acquainted; and I cannot without ingratitude omit this occasion of owning, that if I have yet attained any true taste of him, it is in a great measure owing to your judicious conversation, of which I am now so unhappily deprived. Such as it is, the ode is yours, for I translated it purposely for your sake; and I have had such a respect to your judgment, that I have omitted no care to make it as perfect as I am able, and I am sure you cannot in reason expect more from me. I should be very glad if in your next you will tell me the faults I have committed; for it is the first time I have attempt-

* Mr. Say was now residing at Lyminge.

ed the Pindarical way. Mistake not this for a compliment; for as you are one on whose judgment I can rely, so I declare to you that you cannot do me a more friendly office. Amalasont* is not yet upon the stage, but I suppose will be this winter; I am glad you continue to think so favourably of it, I mean with respect to its morals; for I am clearly of Mons. Rapon's opinion, that 'the reputation of being an honest man is to be preferred to that of a good poet.' I am,

"Sir, your real friend,

"and humble servant,

"J. HUGHES."

"TO MR. HUGHES.

"Jan. 11, 1699.

"Dear Sir,

"I am pleased to find that you always make choice of worthy objects for your muse,† and take it as an omen of something greater to follow. Virgil in his *Bucolics* preluded to his *Æneid*, and first sung the praises of Augustus in eclogues, or copies of verses, before he attempted an heroic poem. I am satisfied by this specimen, that you will never descend into the rank of those little souls, who make it their business only to please, and have no other way to do that, but by flattering men in their vices and immoralities. Virtue, I am sure, is most for the interest of mankind; and those poets have ever obtained the most honour in the world, who have made that the end and design of their works. A wanton Sappho or Anacreon among the ancients, never had the same applause as a Pindar or Alcæus; nor in the judgment of Ho-

* The Queen of the Goths, written when Mr. Hughes was nineteen. It was neither printed nor brought upon the stage; but still exists in manuscript.

† Alluding to Mr. Hughes's "Court of Neptune."

race did they deserve it. In the opinion of all posterity, a lewd and debauched Ovid, did justly submit to the worth of a Virgil ; and in future ages a Dryden will never be compared to a Milton. In all times and in all places of the world, the moral poets have been ever the greatest, and as much superior to others in wit as in virtue. Nor does this seem difficult to be accounted for, since the dignity of their subjects naturally raised their ideas, and gave a grandeur to their sentiments.

“S. SAY.”

“TO MR. SAY.

“December 26, 1702.

“Sir,

“I have inclosed what I mentioned to you when I saw you last. That incomparable ode which Horace has addressed to his friend Grosphus,* I have chosen to present to one of the best of my friends, in as good an English dress as I am capable of giving it. The original is one of those pieces, in which Horace has shown himself so great a master of human life, and given us at once a view of his good sense and good humour. And this address is usual to him ; for in the gravest of his odes he does not seem to make his remarks on life like a pedant, to give you a distaste to it, or to fright you from pleasure, but to invite you to the true enjoyment of it ; and thus far he was certainly right, though in the choice of his pleasures he was often irregular. In this, as well as in all other respects, his moral odes are greatly superior to the chorusses in Seneca’s tragedies ; for in the first you have the free and unaffected morality of a gentleman, but in the latter the splenetic air of a severe Stoic. This ode has been translated

* Horace, lib. ii. od. 16.

“Otium divos rogat in patenti
Prensus *Ægæo*.”—

The translation may be seen in Hughes’s poems. vol. i. p. 116.

before more than once; but whether well or ill let others judge; I shall only say, that I have seen very few translations of Horace that please me, for most have copied only his thoughts, without any of his diction, which is his principal beauty; 'tis that vivacity in his style, and particularly in his epithets, which Petronius Arbiter calls a *curiosa felicitas*, and in which no man ever (in my opinion) resembled him so much as Petronius himself, whose prose is as inimitable as Horace's poetry. Indeed, in the time of Pope Urban VIII. (who was a poet himself) Casimire, a Polander and a Jesuit, wrote several odes in imitation of Horace, in which there appears a good genius; but his Latin is not pure; and besides the disadvantages of a dead language, he is defective in judgment, and his fancy is not well governed. Those who have succeeded best in their attempts on Horace in English, have chosen the way of paraphrase as the most proper; for his sense is close wrought, and would appear stiff and obscure in a literal translation (if such a one could be made) and there are many good hints in him worth the pursuing. None have pretended to copy his numbers; for the Pindaric, which seems the fittest for us, and gives us a greater liberty and variety, does not answer the Latin measures. Yet I remember I once saw an attempt to write English sapphics (but it was never printed), and Sir Philip Sidney has composed hexameters and other verses after the Latin measure; but they are unnatural to our language, for this reason chiefly, because they abound so much in monosyllables. The sapphic measure is indeed very musical, and what Horace seems best to have practised, but it seems too soft, and fit only to be employed on love and pleasant easy subjects; it is too much confined, like the usual measure of our songs; and the lofty sense of some of his odes soars above it. Our English Pindaric is undoubtedly more majestic, and the various length and shortness of the lines, as well as the mixture and returns of the rhyme, well chosen; and, therefore, as I said before, it is the most proper for such

odes as have anything of the sublime in them. I wonder Horace did not introduce something like it into his language, being so great an admirer of Pindar, and having in other respects imitated him so finely, notwithstanding his declaration (*Pindarum quisquis, &c.*) that Pindar was inimitable, in which ode he commends him in these words;

‘Laurea donandus Apollinari
Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
Verba devolvit, numerisque fertur
Lege solutis.’

Lib. iv. od. 2.

“ Thus translated by Mr. Cowley :

‘So Pindar does new words and figures roll,
Down his impetuous dithyrambic tide,
Which in no channel deigns t’abide,
Which neither banks nor dykes control.’

“ But this does not answer to the *numerus lege solutis*, by which Horace means only, that Pindar’s numbers were unlimited, and not confined to any set measure, in those odes that were called dithyrambic, which had the most heat and fury, being first invented in honour of Bacchus. And methinks Horace might sometimes have attempted this dithyrambic measure, especially in that ode, ‘*Quo me Bacche rapis,*’ &c.

“ But to return to the ode which I have here endeavoured to imitate : I have taken a liberty in the paraphrase ; the first stanza is added, and a simile or two ; but nothing more than what is agreeable to his sense, and what I thought would make him appear to the best advantage. Such as it is, Sir, I submit it entirely to your judgment, since it was first attempted for your pleasure. ’Tis upon an agreeable subject, ‘tranquillity ;’ and if it fails giving you any entertainment, I will readily acknowledge it to be my own fault ; for I know you to be master of so much sense, so good a taste, and such just notions of human life, that I am sure Horace must please

you, if he be not murdered in an ill translation. You may perceive, Sir, that as I cannot think the time long which I spend in your company, so neither can I think a letter long which I am writing to you; but I may be tempted to trespass upon you in one as well as the other; therefore, I will do as persons should after a tedious visit, use a short ceremony and withdraw.

“I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

“J. HUGHES.”

From the preceding correspondence, a striking congeniality in literary taste is evident between Watts and his fellow-students. In the academy they blended the cultivation of polite literature with theological and scientific research; and the composition of Latin verses seems to have been a frequent recreation. But Watts did not suffer the study of profane antiquity to usurp the place of the oracles of God; his poem “*Exercitatio Cordis Cœlum versus*,”* “the Excitation of the Heart towards Heaven,” written about this period, sufficiently proves that the spirit of devotion was not neglected for the genius of poetry. He seems to have watched with a holy jealousy over himself, lest in the gratification of a literary taste, he should lose sight of the all-important truths of religion, and not connect the improvement of the heart with the cultivation of the mind. In this respect Mr. Say imitated the example of his friend, and with reference to both, in public and in private life, the graces of the Christian were seen united to the attainments of the scholar.†

* See Appendix D.

† Appendix E.

CHAPTER V.

THE HARTOPP FAMILY.

1693—1697.

JOINS MR. ROWE'S CHURCH.—LEAVES THE ACADEMY.—AT HIS FATHER'S HOUSE.—POEM.—INVITED TO STOKE NEWINGTON AS A TUTOR.—HARTOPP FAMILY.—EARLY HISTORY.—RALPH HARTOPP.—SIR EDWARD HARTOPP, THE FIRST BARONET.—EDWARD HARTOPP KNIGHTED AT BELVOIR CASTLE.—SIR JOHN BORN.—CIVIL WARS.—RAVAGES OF THE KING'S TROOPS.—RETIRES TO STOKE NEWINGTON.—FRIENDSHIP WITH DR. OWEN.—CHARACTER.—LADY HARTOPP, GRAND-DAUGHTER OF CROMWELL.—SIR NATHANIEL GOULD.—POEM.—MRS. GOULD.—LORD GENERAL FLEETWOOD.—RESIDENCE IN STOKE NEWINGTON.—CONNEXION WITH SIR JOHN HARTOPP.—SMITH FLEETWOOD AND WATTS.—YOUNG HARTOPP.—POEM.—CHARACTER.—LETTERS.

THE subject of this memoir was never connected with the church at Southampton, in which his father was a deacon; and it was not until some time after his departure from home, that he entered a religious society. This took place in the year 1693, the third year of his residence in the academy, when he joined himself to the people of whom his tutor was the pastor. "I was admitted to Mr. T. Rowe's church.....Dec. 1693."* This church, one of the most ancient in the metropolis, was removed to Girdler's Hall, Basinghall Street, during the pastorate of Mr. Rowe, and afterwards to Haberdashers' Hall, in the time of the Rev. Robert Wright. Its formation is attributed to the Rev. William Strong, M. A.,† about the year 1650; a gentleman whom the pitiful spite of the royalists has

* Watts's MS.

† Hall's Funeral Sermon for Rev. Robert Wright, p. 23, note.

rendered famous. Educated in the university of Cambridge, he became fellow of Katherine-hall, and rector of More Crichel in Dorsetshire, but was obliged by the cavaliers to abandon his living, and seek refuge in the metropolis.* Here he gathered a congregation, which met for worship in Westminster Abbey, and occasionally held its church meetings in the House of Lords.† Upon the death of Mr. Strong, in 1654, he was interred in the abbey church, but at the Restoration his remains were exhumed, an indignity which was likewise offered to the bodies of Cromwell, Blake, and Pym.‡ Major-general Goffe, one of the king's judges, and several other celebrated political characters, were members of this church; but its association with the name of Watts has conferred upon it a far higher honour.

We have now arrived at an important period in the life of Watts; and it is to be regretted, that he has left us no record of his views and feelings at this critical era. The term of his academical life terminated at the beginning of the year 1694; and as his attention had been so long directed to the ministry, it might have been expected that he would at once have entered upon its duties. In point of intellectual attainment and religious experience he was fully qualified for his work; but it is a singular fact, that upwards of two years elapsed before he ventured to appear in public. He was now twenty years of age, sixteen of which had been occupied with classical pursuits and

* Neal's Hist. iv. 127.

† Dr. Gibbons, one of the pastors of the church, relates meeting with an aged woman in the almshouses near St. Clement's in the Strand, who informed him that her husband was baptised in the house of peers. *Wilson's Diss. Chur.* iii. 149.

‡ The regular government was, it seems, no admirer of the sentiment, "that British vengeance wars not with the dead." The dean and chapter had his majesty's warrant for this degrading procedure. Among those whose bodies they took up were, Eliz. Cromwell, the mother of Oliver; Eliz. Claypole, his daughter; Admiral Blake; John Pym, M. P.; Sir W. Constable; Dr. Dorislaus; Admiral Popham; W. Stroud, M. P.; Colonel Boscawen; Colonel Maekworth; T. May, Esq. the historian; Colonel Meldrum; Dr. W. Twisse; Rev. S. Marshall; and Rev. W. Strong. *Neal's Hist.* iv. pp. 363, 364.

the studies connected with a theological education. In natural philosophy, the higher branches of the mathematics, and the learning of ecclesiastical antiquity he was well versed; among the dissenting communities he was already known as a youth of great promise; and his settlement with a church would doubtless have been speedily effected, had he been disposed to have acceded to it. He observes in his memoranda, upon leaving Mr. Rowe's, "Dwelt at my father's house 2 years and $\frac{1}{2}$."* It is difficult to assign any other reasons for this long period of silence, than the timidity and diffidence which strongly marked his character through life, his comparative youth, and a deep impression of the importance of the task before him. Dr. Gibbons remarks, "He returned to his father's house at Southampton, where he spent two years in reading, meditation, and prayer: in reading, to possess himself of ampler knowledge; in meditation, by which he might take a full survey of useful and sacred subjects, and make what he had acquired by reading his own; and prayer, to engage the divine influences to prepare him for that work to which he was determined to devote his life, and upon the importance of which he had a deep sense upon his spirit."†

A devout admiration of the works of God, was a prominent characteristic of the mind of Watts; it might with propriety be said of him, that he was never alone; and at this period of his life he was a diligent student of natural phenomena. The universe presented to his eye a varied manifestation of the Deity; in the great and in the minute he loved to trace the wonder-working hand of the Omnipotent; and "day unto day" and "night unto night," spake in his ear of supreme intelligence and power. During his residence in his father's house, his sister, Mrs. Brackstone, has related his endeavours to inspire the younger members of the family with a taste for similar pursuits, and to lead them to "look through nature" to the great Original. It is probable, that some of

* Watts's MS.

† Life, p. 92.

the pieces afterwards published under the title of "Miscellanies," were the fruits of the leisure enjoyed at Southampton. The following excellent lines, from the first number in the collection, contain the Christian poet's tribute to the Author of Nature :

" My God, I love, and I adore ;
 But saints who love, would know thee more :
 Wilt thou for ever hide, and stand
 Behind the labours of thine hand ?
 Thy hand unseen sustains the poles,
 On which this huge creation rolls :
 The starry arch proclaims thy power,
 Thy pencil glows in every flower ;
 In thousand shapes and colours rise
 Thy painted wonders to our eyes ;
 While beasts and birds with labouring throats,
 Teach us a God in thousand notes.
 The meanest pin in nature's frame
 Marks out some letters of thy name :
 Where sense can reach or fancy rove,
 From hill to hill, from field to grove,
 Across the waves, around the sky,
 There's not a spot or deep or high,
 Where the Creator has not trod,
 And left the footsteps of a God."*

From the residence of his father Watts was invited by Sir John Hartopp, Bart. to reside in his family at Stoke Newington, near London, in the capacity of tutor to his son. This offer he accepted, and accordingly came to Newington in the autumn of 1696. " Came to Sir John Hartopp's, to be a tutor to his son, at Newington.....Oct. 15, 1696."† In this situation he continued upwards of five years, procuring by his pious and courteous behaviour the esteem of the baronet's household, and the friendship of his pupil, which he enjoyed during the remainder of his life. Sir John and his lady were members of a dissenting church, and it is probable,

* Miscellaneous Thoughts, No. 1.

† Watts's MS.

that in their family Watts was called upon to perform the duties of chaplain. His intimate connexion with these distinguished individuals, to which we are indebted for his treatise on "Logic," and their firm adherence to the cause of nonconformity when persecuted in high places, demand a biographical notice in these pages. Should the following detail appear too minute, the reader will perhaps excuse the desire to pay some respect to an ancient dissenting family, under whose roof the persecuted fathers of the modern church were often sheltered, who boldly struggled against a corrupt and tyrannical court in the full plenitude of its power, and who patronised the early life of Watts, honoured him with their friendship for more than half a century, and erected a monument to his memory, which still rests upon his grave.

The Hartopp family, or Hartrupt, as it is written in the "owld regestrestre-booke" of Dalby Parva,* in Leicestershire, was anciently of considerable consequence in that county, having had the manors of Buckminster, Freeby, Burton Lazars, Little Dalby, Welby and Braunston in the possession of its various branches. The first of this name upon record is Ralph Hartopp, living in the reign of Richard II., who married a daughter of Alexander Mayne. It is probable, that the family was afterwards seated at Braunston, or *Braunston juxta Belvoir*, as tradition points out the site of an ancient mansion, said to have belonged to it.† The manor of Braunston, in the time of Richard III., was held by Walter Devereux; but he being slain with his master in the battle of Bosworth Field, the estate was forfeited to the crown in the

* "The regestrestre-booke of Little Dalbye begynneth in the yeaere of oure Salvation, one thousand five hundred fifty nine, and in the fyrste year of the reigne of oure most gracious quene Elizabeth." In the register of baptisms I find,

"Thomas Hartrupte, baptised the 28th day of December, 1600.

"Edwarde Hartraupe, the 8th of August, 1601.

"Elynor Hartrupte, the daughter of Valintyne H. the 15th of December, 1604.

"Rycharde Hartrupte, the sonne of Valintyne, the 18th of September, 1606."

After this period the common orthography occurs.

† Nichols's Leicestershire, vol. ii. part I.

first year of Henry VII.,* and perhaps then granted to the Hartopps. A branch of the family, under Valentine Hartopp, appears to have settled at Burton Lazars, a small village in the neighbourhood of Melton Mowbray, the manorial property of which was purchased by his grandson, Sir Thos. Hartopp, in 1660.† Another branch, at the close of the sixteenth century, was seated at Little Dalby under William Hartopp, and a handsome house, built in the reign of Elizabeth, still remains. One of the descendants of this gentleman went over to the continent, and settled at Antwerp.‡

The ninth in descent from Ralph Hartopp, was Edward of Buckminster and Freeby, created a baronet by James I. Dec. 3, 1619, soon after the institution of that order. His eldest son, Edward, was knighted at Belvoir Castle, July 25, 1634, during the lifetime of his father, upon the occasion of

* Lord Bacon's Life of Henry VII.

† In 1626 Sir Thos. Hartopp was high-sheriff of the county, and Sir Henry Hastings petitioned against him for contemptuous conduct at the late election. The sheriff being called in, and upon his knees acknowledging his offence, and craving pardon of the house, he was discharged upon paying all expenses. Sir W. Hartopp, his son, was member for Leicester in 1667. A satirical pamphlet published that year states, that he had a pension of £200. a year; was promised the office of clerk of the kitchen; and that he threatened to sue the town for his wages, because he knew they wished to choose him no more.

‡ It is related of Thomas Hartopp, who resided in this city, that being "a gentleman of remarkable strength and courage, upon witnessing a prize fight in which the combatants did not acquit themselves to the satisfaction of the spectators, he was so offended thereat, that he got upon the stage, and challenging them, encountered no less than five, one after another, whom he entirely disabled, whereby he gained very great applause; and being of a comely personage and stature, a lady of quality and fortune fell so much in love with him, that she sent him word, she was at his service, if he was disposed to marry; and he embracing the offer settled there, served the king of Spain in his armies, and his son was afterwards a colonel in the emperor's service, and governor of Liege in Brabant, where he is buried in the chapel of Ter Cluyse under a monument with the following inscription: "Cygist messire Thomas Hartopp, d'ancienne et noble famille d'Engleterre; en son vivant colonel d'un regiment d'infanterie au service de S. M. Imperiale et Catholique, gouverneur de la ville et dependences de Liege. Il y deceda le 20 Juin, 1723, et laissa deux fitz de noble dame Marie-Constance Van Hove sa compagne, laquelle fit dresser ce memoire. Priez Dieu pour le repos eternel de son ame." *Le Grand Theatre de Brabant*, tom. ii. p. 176.

Charles the First's visit to George the seventh earl of Rutland.* Sir John was the third son of this gentleman, and succeeded him in the baronetage owing to the death of his two brothers in their infancy. He was born at Buckminster in the year 1637, while his grandfather the first baronet was living, and was baptised, according to the register, Oct. 31, in the same year.† His mother was a daughter of Sir John Coke, of Melbourne, in Derbyshire, one of the principal secretaries of state to Charles I., in whose house Baxter planned his "Saints' Everlasting Rest." Notwithstanding the honour conferred upon the Hartopps by this unfortunate monarch, it is probable that they adhered to the cause of the parliament, in connexion with the noble house of Rutland.‡ The civil wars

* In the Buckminster Register there is the following entry relating to this Sir Edward :

"I, William Lloyd, vicar of Buckminster, in the county of Leicester, having power, by virtue of a statute in that case made, to license sick persons within my parish, to eat flesh upon such days as are prohibited by such statute ; do, by these presents, license and authorise the right worshipful the Lady Frances Earle, wife to Sir Richard Earle, Bart., and Mrs. Anne White, wife to Thomas White, Esq., being both in the house of Sir Edward Hartopp, their father, at Buckminster, in the county of Leicester, Baronet; and being both sick and weak, (the one miscarrying of a child, the other lying in childbed); and also Thomas Pacie, and Margaret Thorpe (servants to the right worshipful Sir Edward Hartopp, Bart.) being both of them sick of agues, to eat flesh during the time of their sickness, for the better and more speedy recovery of their healths. Dated at Buckminster, the 27th day of April, 1631.

"WILLIAM LLOYD."

Sir Nathaniel Powell obtained a license of Archbishop Juxon for himself, his sons and daughters, and six guests whom he should at any time invite, to eat flesh in Lent, provided it was done soberly and frugally, with due grace said, and privately, to avoid scandal: thirteen shillings and four-pence being paid to the poor of the parish. *Lyson's Environs of London*, iii. 119.

† John, son of Sir Edward Hartopp, Bart., and dame Mary, his wife, baptised Oct. 31, 1637.

‡ The *Mercurius Aulicus* contains the following article of intelligence, in which Sir E. Hartopp's name occurs: "Colonel Gervase Lucas (governor of Belvoir castle for the king) understanding that the committee of Leicester was gone to Melton Mowbray in that county, to assess the countrey, and gather up the rents of all such as are not as perfect rebels as themselves, sent intelligence to Sir Richard Byron, governor of Newark, desiring him to assist him with some horse and dragoones, and he made no doubt but to give him a very faire account of the ser-

commenced soon after the birth of Sir John; and the neighbouring country was the scene of some severe skirmishes. The steeple of the church at Buckminster, which commands a view of the adjacent counties, and, as the inhabitants report, can be seen from the German ocean, was used as a watch-tower in the war time; and the remains of a chimney, with shutters to the bell windows, indicate that a guard was stationed here to give notice of an approaching enemy.* The king's garrisons at Newark, Belvoir Castle, and Burleigh House, frequently ravaged this part of the country; and the family estates most likely suffered from the incursions of the cavaliers. Sir Edward Hartopp, the first baronet, died at the commencement of Cromwell's protectorate, and was buried at Buckminster; his son, the father of Sir John, died a short time previous to the Restoration; and afterwards the family seem to have been located at Stoke Newington near London.

Sir John Hartopp, into whose household Watts entered as a tutor, was one of the most eminent of the lay nonconformists; and steadily adhered to the dissenting interest when the throne, the church, and the nobility, were most hostile to it. At an early period of his life he cast in his lot among the independents; and enjoyed the friendship and correspondence of some of their most distinguished leaders. With Dr. Owen

vice; which Sir Richard very cheerfully assented to (knowing colonel Lucas both vigilant and faithful) and, therefore, furnished him with as many horse and dragoons as made him a body of three hundred in all. With these he marched away on Sunday last in the evening, Nov. 27, and was gotten to Melton Mowbray next morning by breake of day; whither he no sooner came, but presently he entered the town, and surprised the rebels, who were more in number than himself; not a man escaping but one who was coronet to Sir Edward Hartopp, nor any killed save one lieutenant, who was stubborne, and refused to submit himselfe to the conqueror." p. 690.

* This church contains four large bells, which are thus inscribed:

1. "Ex dono Richardi Hartopp, armigeri, 1657."
2. "God save his church, 1691."
3. "1649."
4. "Jhesus be oure spede, 1596."

he maintained an intimate correspondence; and continued a regular attendant upon his ministry and a member of his church till death divided them. Many of Owen's manuscripts came into his possession at his decease; and were contributed by him to the complete collection of his sermons, published in 1721. He was three times chosen representative in parliament for Leicestershire, his native county; he was also high-sheriff in 1671; and distinguished himself by his warm advocacy of the bill of exclusion, to prevent the Duke of York's accession to the throne. Sir John was much harassed by informers previous to the Revolution, and suffered on account of his religious principles, as the fines that were imposed upon him and a few others, amounted at one time to upwards of £7,000.* In the *Lyrics* there is a Latin ode inscribed to him, entitled "*Votum, seu vita in terris beata:*" "*Ad virum dignissimum Johannem Hartoppium, Baronettum,*" 1702.† His character is thus depicted by Watts, who preached his funeral sermon, and who was well qualified to bear testimony to it, on account of his long residence in his house: "When I name Sir John Hartopp," he observes towards the close of his discourse, "all that knew him will agree that I name a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian. He shone with eminence among persons of birth and title on earth; while his obliging deportment and affable temper rendered him easy of access to all his inferiors, and made him the delight of all his friends. He had a taste for universal learning, and ingenious arts were his delights from his youth. He pursued knowledge in various forms, and was acquainted with many parts of human science. Mathematical speculations and practices were a favourite study with him in younger years, and even to his old age he maintained his acquaintance with the heavenly bodies, and light and shade whereby time is measured. But the book of God was his chief study, and his divinest delight. His bible

*Noble's Mem. ii. 333—348.

† *Horæ Lyr.* lib. ii.

lay before him night and day, and he was well acquainted with the writers who explained it best. He was desirous of seeing what the Spirit of God said to men in the original languages; for this end he commenced some acquaintance with the Hebrew when he was more than fifty years old; and, that he might be capable of judging of any text in the New Testament, he kept his youthful knowledge of the Greek language in some measure to the latest period of life. Among the various themes of Christian contemplation he took peculiar pleasure in the doctrines of grace, in the display of the glories of the person of Christ, God in our nature, and the wondrous work of redemption by his cross. He adored him as his Lord and his God; and, while he trusted in his righteousness as the great Mediator, and beheld him as his crucified Saviour, he was ever zealous to maintain the honours due to his divine nature and majesty.

“His conversation was pious and learned, ingenious and instructive. He was inquisitive into the affairs of the learned world, the progress of arts and sciences, the concerns of the nation, and the interests of the church of Christ, and upon all occasions was as ready to communicate as he was to inquire. There are many of his friends who will join with me to confess, how often we have departed from his company refreshed and advanced in useful knowledge; and I cannot but reckon it among the blessings of heaven, when I review those five years of pleasure and improvement which I spent in his family in my younger part of life, and I found much instruction myself where I was called to be an instructor. His zeal for the welfare of his country, and of the church of Christ in it, carried him out to the most extensive and toilsome services in his younger and middle age. He employed his time, his spirits, his interest, and his riches for the defence of this poor nation, when forty years ago it was in the utmost danger of popery and ruin. His doors were ever open, and his carriage always friendly and courteous, to the ministers of

the gospel, though they were distinguished among themselves by names of different parties, for he loved all who loved Jesus Christ in sincerity. He chose indeed to bear a part in constant public worship with the protestant dissenters, for he thought their practices more agreeable to the rules of the gospel. He joined himself in communion with one of their churches, which was under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. John Owen, where he continued an honourable member under successive pastors to the day of his death. Nor was he ashamed to own and support that despised interest, nor to frequent those assemblies, when the spirit of persecution raged highest in the days of King Charles and King James the Second. He was a present refuge for the oppressed, and the special providence of God secured him and his friends from the fury of the oppressor. He was always a devout and diligent attender on public ordinances till the last years of his life, when the infirmities of age coming upon him confined him to his private retirements. But if age confined him, death gave him a release. He is exalted now to the church in heaven, and has taken his place in that glorious assembly, where he worships among them before the throne. There he has no need to relieve his memory by the swiftness of his pen, which was his perpetual practice in the church on earth, and by which means he often entertained his family in the evening worship on the Lord's day with excellent discourses, some of which he copied from the lips of some of the greatest preachers of the last age. There his unbodied spirit is able to sustain the sublimest raptures of devotion, which run through the worshippers in that heavenly state, though here on earth I have seen the pious pleasure too strong for him, and, while he has been reading the things of God to his household, the devotion of his heart has broken through his eyes, has interrupted his voice, and commanded a sacred pause and silence.”*

* Watts's Death and Heaven.

Sir John Hartopp married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of the Lord General Fleetwood ; and by this lady he became connected with the family of Cromwell. Besides Watts's pupil they had several daughters, and respecting the death of one in infancy, we have a letter written by Dr. Owen to the bereaved mother. Their daughter, Frances, married Sir Nathaniel Gould, Knt., who resided at Stoke Newington, with whom Watts was upon terms of intimacy. This gentleman who was a Turkey merchant, and some time governor of the bank, is thus apostrophised in the Lyrics :

“ When Gould commands his ships to run,
 And search the traffic of the sea,
 His fleet o’ertakes the falling day,
 And bears the western mines away,
 Or richer spices from the rising sun :
 While the glad tenants of the shore
 Shout, and pronounce him senator,*
 Yet still the man’s the same :
 For well the happy merchant knows,
 The soul with treasure never grows,
 Nor swells with airy fame.

“ But trust me, Gould, ’tis lawful pride
 To rise above the mean control
 Of flesh and sense, to which we’re ty’d ;
 This is ambition that becomes a soul.
 We steer our course up thro’ the skies :
 Farewell, this barren land :
 We ken the heav’nly shore with longing eyes,
 There the dear wealth of spirits lies,
 And beck’ning angels stand.”†

Lady Hartopp and her daughter, Mrs. Gould, died within a few days of each other in the year 1711. In his funeral sermon on the occasion, Watts pays the following tribute to their humble and unobtrusive virtues : “ May I be permitted

* Member of parliament for a port in Sussex.

† *Horæ Lyr.* lib. ii.

here, "says he," to make a short reflection on that mournful providence that has joined two lovely relatives in death, and given occasion for the sad solemnities of this day. The pious mother led the way to heaven a few days before the pious daughter followed, each of them the parent of a reputable family,* and the decendants from a progenitor whose name is in honour among the churches. As mutual affection joined their habitations in life, so the care of surviving friends has laid them to rest in their beds of earth together. I would copy a line from that most beautiful elegy of David, and apply it here with more justice than the psalmist could to Saul and Jonathan: '*Lovely and pleasant were they in their lives, and in death they were not divided.*' Silent were they and retired from the world, and unknown except to their intimate friends. Humble they were, and averse to public show and noise; nor will I disturb their graves by making them the subject of public praise."†

The families of Hartopp and Fleetwood, were connected by a double marriage; for whilst Sir John married a daughter of the old general, his sister Mary was united to a son. A commodious building, in Stoke Newington, probably erected in the early part of the 17th century, now divided into two dwellings, was the general's property and residence; and here he retired after the Restoration, and spent the remainder of his days in tranquil privacy. The parish register contains several entries respecting this family; and from this it appears, that his wife, the widow of Ireton, and the eldest daughter of Cromwell, was interred in the church in 1681.‡

* Mrs. Gould left two daughters: 1. Mary, wife of Sir Francis St. John of Longthorpe, Northamptonshire, Bart., who had issue, Frances, unmarried, and Mary, married to Sir John Barnard, of Brampton, in Huntingdonshire. 2. Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Cooke, Esq. of Stoke Newington, who died without issue. To Mrs. Cooke reference will hereafter be made.

† Watts's Death and Heaven.

‡ "Bridget Fleetwood was interred in the church of Newington, Sept. 5, 1681." *Par. Reg.*

To Fleetwood Dr. Owen and Sir John Hartopp appear to have been strongly attached; and though the royalists accuse him of cowardice and fanaticism, yet cowardice, as Mr. Orme remarks, was not a common vice in the leaders of the commonwealth,* and fanaticism was in that day always charged upon those, who recognised the aid of providence in the success of their exertions. His latter days were pious and exemplary, and though he suffered severely in declining life from spies and fines, owing to his nonconformity, yet he remained steadfast to the principles he had so long professed. Neal remarks, soon after the accession of James II. "great were the oppressions of those who frequented the separate meetings in several counties; the informers broke in upon Sir John Hartopp, and Mr. Fleetwood, and others at Stoke Newington, to levy distresses for conventicles: the like at Enfield, Hackney, and all the neighbouring villages near London."† Fleetwood died whilst Watts was in the academy, but with the family of his son, Smith Fleetwood, Esq., he appears to have maintained a friendly intercourse. The poem inscribed "To Mr. C. and S. Fleetwood,"‡ undoubtedly refers to the sons of this gentleman, the great grandchildren of the Protector.

From his connexion with the Hartopp family, Watts reaped many important advantages. His situation amply supplied all his wants; he was introduced to a respectable circle of acquaintance; and in the conversation and society of the baronet, he was furnished with an example of piety and virtue. To his pupil he was ever warmly attached; and his diligent attention to his improvement, is evident from the scholastic works he published, which were originally prepared for the use of his young charge. In the dedication of his "Logic" to him, he observes, "It is fit the public should receive through your hands what was written originally for the assistance of your younger studies, and was then presented to you. It was

* Orme's Life of Owen, p. 364.

† Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, v. 12.

‡ Horæ Lyr. lib. ii.

by the repeated importunities of our learned friend, Mr. John Eames, that I was persuaded to revise the *Rudiments of Logic*. I will not presume that this little book is improved since its first composure in proportion to the improvements of your manly age; but when you shall please to review it in your retired hours, perhaps you may refresh your own memory in some of the early parts of learning." In a stanza of one of the lyric poems he thus mentions his pupil:

"TO JOHN HARTOPP, ESQ.

"THE DISDAIN.

"1700.

"Hartopp, I love the soul that dares
Tread the temptations of his years
Beneath his youthful feet.
Fleetwood, and all thy heavenly line,
Look through the stars, and smile divine,
Upon an heir so great.
Young Hartopp knows this noble theme,
That the wild scenes of busy life,
The noise, th' amusements, and the strife,
Are but the visions of the night,
Gay phantoms of delusive light,
Or a vexatious dream."*

Mr. Hartopp married a daughter of Sir Joseph Wolfe of Hackney, knight and alderman of London. He appears to have been treading in the steps of his revered parents at the time of their decease, though there is reason to suppose, that his intercourse with the dissenters afterwards was not so frequent and intimate. But, both as to his religious character and dissenting principles, I am unable to speak positively after the year 1722, the time of his father's decease. At this period, in the dedication of Watts's "*Death and Heaven*," he

* *Horæ Lyr.* lib. ii.

thus refers to him: "Forgive me, if I take the liberty to say, it is with a sort of fond pleasure that I have beheld your victories over the most dangerous scenes and temptations of youth; and every step in your progress towards perfect triumph is an addition to my joy. The world and the church hold their eyes fixed upon you; and, perhaps, the souls of your sacred ancestors look down from on high to observe your conduct. You know I pretend to no authority to pronounce effectual blessings upon you; but you will accept the sincere good wishes of a man who loves you, and is zealous for your felicity in the upper and lower worlds. May the best of mercies descend daily on yourself, your lady, and your little offspring. May the closet, the parlour, and public assemblies, be constant witnesses of your piety; and the house where a Sir John Hartopp dwells, be a house of prayer and of praise in every generation. Such a lovely scene, with such a long and joyful prospect, will advance the satisfactions of my life, and give pleasure, even in a dying hour, to him who had once the honour to be your affectionate monitor." No information further can be gleaned respecting him, except that he lived in comparative retirement, and died at Bath in the year 1762, being the last of the elder branch of the Hartopps in the male line.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

The four following letters are here introduced on account of their connexion with the individuals noticed in this chapter. The two first are from the Appendix to Asty's Memoirs of Doctor Owen, 1721. Mr. Asty was assisted in the compilation by Sir John Hartopp, and the letters were probably furnished by him.

*He left two daughters: the eldest, Sarah, married Joseph Hurlock, Esq. of Fort Marlborough in Bencoolen, whose only child, Anne, married Edmund Cradock Bunny, Esq., of Four-Oaks Hall, Warwickshire, who assumed the name and arms of Hartopp in 1796.

“DR. OWEN TO LADY HARTOPP.

“Dear Madam,

“Every work of God is good ; the Holy One in the midst of us will do no iniquity ; and all things shall work together for good unto them that love him, even those things which at present are not joyous, but grievous ; only his time is to be waited for, and his way submitted unto, that we seem not to be displeased in our hearts, that he is Lord over us. Your dear infant is in the eternal enjoyment of the fruits of all our prayers ; for the covenant of God is ordered in all things, and sure : we shall go to her, she shall not return to us. Happy she was in this above us, that she had so speedy an issue of sin and misery, being born only to exercise your faith and patience, and to glorify God’s grace in her eternal blessedness. My trouble would be great, on the account of my absence at this time from you both, but that this also is the Lord’s doing ; and I know my own uselessness wherever I am. But this I will beg of God for you both : that you may not faint in this day of trial ; that you may have a clear view of those spiritual and temporal mercies wherewith you are yet entrusted, all undeserved ; that sorrow of the world may not so overtake your hearts, as to disenable to any duties, to grieve the Spirit, to prejudice your lives, for it tends to death. God in Christ will be better to you than ten children, and will so preserve your remnant, and so add to them, as shall be for his glory and your comfort ; only consider, that sorrow in this case is no duty, it is an effect of sin, whose cure by grace we should endeavour. Shail I say, be cheerful ? I know I may. God help you to honour grace and mercy in a compliance therewith. My heart is with you, my prayers shall be for you, and am, &c.

“J. OWEN.”

“TO CHARLES FLEETWOOD, ESQ.

“Dear Sir,

“The bearer has stayed long enough with us, to save you the trouble of reading an account of me in my own scribbling; a longer stay I could not prevail with him for, though his company was a great refreshment to me. Both you and your whole family, in all their occasions and circumstances, are daily in my thoughts; and when I am able to pray, I make mention of you all without ceasing. I find you and I are much in complaining: for my part I must say, and is there not a cause? so much deadness, so much unspirituality, so much weakness in faith, coldness in love, instability in holy meditations, as I find in myself, is cause sufficient of complaints; but is there not cause also of thanksgiving and joy in the Lord? Are there not reasons for them? When I begin to think of them I am overwhelmed; they are great, they are glorious, they are inexpressible. Shall I now invite you to this great duty of rejoicing more in the Lord? Pray for me that I may do so; for the near approach of my dissolution calls for it earnestly: my heart has done with this world, even in the best and most desirable of its refreshments: if the joy of the Lord be not now strength unto it, it will fail. But I must have done. Unless God be pleased to affect some person or persons, with a deep sense of our declining condition, of the temptations and dangers of the day, filling them with compassion for the souls of men, making them fervent in spirit in their work, it will go but ill with us. It may be these thoughts spring from causeless fears; it may be none amongst us has an evil a barren heart but myself: but bear with me in this my folly; I cannot lay down these thoughts until I die; nor do I mention them at present, as though I should not esteem it a great mercy to have so able a supply as

Mr. C*, but I am groaning after deliverance ; and being near the centre, do hope I feel the drawing of the love of Christ with more earnestness than formerly : but my naughty heart is backward in these compliances. My affectionate service to Sir John Hartopp and his lady, and to the rest of your family when God shall return them unto you. I am, &c.

“ J. OWEN.”

“ TO CHARLES FLEETWOOD, ESQ.

“ Dear Sir,

“ Although I am not able to write one word myself, yet I am very desirous to speak one word more to you in this world, and do it by the hand of my wife. The continuance of your entire kindness, knowing what it is accompanied withal, is not only greatly valued by me, but will be a refreshment to me, as it is even in my dying hour. I am going to him whom my soul has loved, or rather, who has loved me with an everlasting love ; which is the whole ground of all my consolation. The passage is very irksome and wearisome, through strong pains of various sorts, which are all issued in an intermitting fever. All things were provided to carry me to London to-day, according to the advice of my physician ; but while the great Pilot is in it, the loss of a poor under-rower will be inconsiderable. Live and pray, and hope and wait patiently, and do not despond ; the promise stands invincible, that he will never leave us nor forsake us. I am greatly afflicted at the distemper of your dear lady. The good Lord stand by her, and support and deliver her. My affectionate respects to her and the rest of your relations, who are so dear to me in the Lord.

* David Clarkson, B. D., chosen co-pastor with Dr. Owen, in July, 1682. He was a fellow of Clare-Hall, Cambridge ; tutor to Archbishop Tillotson ; and one of the ejected ministers. He was the author of several learned works against diocesan episcopacy, against liturgies, with some minor productions.

Remember your dying friend with all fervency. I rest upon it that you do so, and am yours entirely.

“August 22, 1683.*

“J. OWEN.”

“TO SIR JOHN HARTOPP.

“——— My duty, my obligations, and my inclinations, do all concur in the esteem I have for you both; and I do make mention of you daily in my poor supplications, and that with particular respect to the present condition of your lady. That God who hath revealed himself unto us, as the God who heareth prayer, will yet glorify his name, and be a present help unto her in the time of trouble. In the meantime, let her, and you, and me, strive to love Christ more, to abide more with him, and to be less in ourselves. He is our best friend. I pray God with all my heart, that I may be weary of every thing else but converse and communion with him; yea of the best of my mercies, so far as at any time they may be hindrances thereof. My wife presents her humble service unto your lady and yourself, as doth also, Sir, &c.

“J. OWEN.”

“TO MR. ISAAC WATTS.

“London, May 30, 1696.

“Dear Sir,

“Though nothing could be more acceptable to me than your last letter, yet I wish you had employed the former part of it on a better subject, and not in loading me with compliments as unexpected as undeserved. The poison is the more dangerous, because the less suspected; for you have shown such an extreme address, that seeming to say little you have said all. I thought, after that free confession I have

* Owen died two days after the date of this letter, Aug. 24, 1683.

made, your friendship would have restrained you from tempting my vanity with such unnecessary praises on a trifle I owned myself too much inclined to be fond of; nay, to deal freely, I found my infirmity at that time so prevailing, that I could hardly persuade myself at first that you complimented. But I will leave this subject, since to be over-obstinate in refusing praise, is not always an argument of modesty, any more than a man's declaiming against himself in company, only because he would be contradicted. I give you many thanks for that testimony of your gratitude, as you are pleased to call it; and though I must own it a little incorrect, yet you may believe me, if I think it has some beauties which deserve a particular admiration. As for your request, that I would criticise on it, I hope you will excuse me when I have declared to you, that I have neither judgment nor ill-nature enough for such an undertaking. Perhaps, too, there is a grain of policy in the case, and I am unwilling to destroy the good opinion you seem to have of my abilities, by putting me on such an attempt. In hopes that you will not on your part neglect this paper correspondence between us, nor fail to make me an expected return, I here send you some verses, that were written some time ago, and given, together with a drawing, to a lady who is a great admirer of those two sister-arts. I should, perhaps, discover too much of my vanity, if I should tell you, that in some of the lines I have imitated the incomparable Waller; but a little ambition you know is necessary to poets, and though I have reason enough to expect the same success, that Horace prophesies of the imitators of Pindar, yet I have sometimes been inclined to fancy the design and some of the verses, particularly the six last, not altogether unlike him.

“ ‘VERSES PRESENTED TO A LADY WITH A DRAWING (BY THE AUTHOR) OF CUPID.

“ ‘When generous Dido in disguise caress'd
This god, and fondly clasp'd him to her breast,

Soon the sly urelin storm'd her tender heart,
And amorous flames dispers'd through every part;
In vain she strove to check the new-born fire,
It scorn'd her weak essays, and rose the higher;
In vain from feasts and balls relief she sought,
The Trojan youth alone employ'd her thought;
Yet fate oppos'd her unrewarded care,
Forsaken, scorn'd, she perish'd in despair.

“ ‘No such event, fair nymph, you need to fear,
Smiles, without darts, alone attend him here;
Weak, and unarm'd, not able to surprise,
He waits for influence from your conqu'ring eyes.
Heaven change the omen, then, and may this prove
A happy prelude to successful love!’

“JOHN HUGHES.”

CHAPTER VI.

1697—1703.

ASSISTANT TO DR. CHAUNCEY.

BEGINS TO PREACH.—ASSISTANT TO DR. CHAUNCEY.—NOTICES OF THE CHAUNCEY FAMILY.—PERSECUTED BY LAUD.—WATTS'S LOVE OF RETIREMENT.—“HAPPY SOLITUDE.”—SATIRE UPON WILLIAM III.—DAVID POLHILL, ESQ.—KENTISH WORTHIES.—PETITION THE COMMONS.—POETICAL EPISTLE TO MR. POLHILL.—ILLNESS OF WATTS.—DEATH OF MR. GUNSTON.—POEM TO HIS “DEAR MEMORY.”—VISITS TUNBRIDGE AND SOUTHAMPTON.—RETIREMENT OF DR. CHAUNCEY FROM MARK LANE.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHURCH.—INVITE MR. BRADBURY AND MR. BEREMAN.—NOTICE OF EDWARD TERRY.—WATTS CALLED TO THE CHARGE.—ORDINATION.—DEATH OF WILLIAM III.—CORRESPONDENCE.

It was upon his birth-day, July 17th, 1698, when twenty-four years of age, that Watts preached his first sermon, while residing in the family of Sir John Hartopp. Upon a visit soon afterwards to his friends at Southampton, he preached to the congregation there; and so highly were his public labours appreciated, that, during the same year, he was invited to assist Dr. Chauncey at Mark Lane. As Sir John Hartopp was a member of this church, it is probable that his influence was exerted upon this occasion. It seems likely, however, that Watts still continued his connexion with the baronet's household, associating his ministerial exercises with the instruction of his young charge.

"Began to preach after I had pursued university studies above eight years, July 17, 1698.

"Went to Southampton, and preached there several times, in a visit to my friends, Aug. 1698.

"Preacht as Dr. Chauncey's assistant, in ye church at Mark Lane, Feb. 1698-9.

"1698-9, Cousin John Chapma. of Portsm. died."*

Mr. Watts was the morning preacher at Mark Lane, Dr. Chauncey occupying the pulpit himself in the afternoon.

Dr. Isaac Chauncey, whose pulpit Watts was called partially to occupy, though a divine of respectable learning, was a very unpopular preacher, so much so as to have occasioned a considerable decline in the congregation over which he presided. An assistant was, therefore, wanted to counteract the lethargic ministry of the pastor; and one of such promising talents was calculated to revive the drooping interests of the church. The Chaunceys were descended from a Norman family which came over to England with the Conqueror; they were seated at Yardley-Bury, in Hertfordshire, in the reign of Elizabeth; and subsequently became of great note among the puritans and nonconformists. The father of Dr. Isaac, Charles Chauncey, B. D.† was appointed to the Greek chair in the university of Cambridge; in 1627 he became vicar of Ware in his native county,‡ and was the author of the *ἐπὶ κρισις*, prefixed to Leigh's *Critica Sacra* upon the New Testament. Upon the publication of the book of Sports, he was ordered to desist from preaching on the Sunday afternoon, in order to afford his people an opportunity for pursuing their profane amusements; but opposition to these

* Watts's MS.

† He was fifth and youngest son of George Chauncey, Esq., and great-uncle to Sir Henry Chauncey, Knight, author of "The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire." *Biographia Brit.* iii. 482.

‡ Afterwards minister also at Marston Lawrence in Northamptonshire. *Prynne's Canterburies Doome*, p. 94. 1646.

innovations exposed him to the vengeance of the haughty Laud; and the puritan was twice summoned by the prelate before the court of high commission.* An ignominious recantation was there wrung from him by his cruel oppressors; but so deeply affected was he at his sinful compliance, that he withdrew to New England, bewailing to the last hour of his life his weakness in the hour of trial.† Isaac Chauncey, one of the sons of this good man,‡ appears in the list of ejected ministers, being deprived, by the act of uniformity, of the living of Woodborough in Wiltshire. After his ejection he became pastor of a congregational church at Andover; but subsequently removed to London with the intention of

* Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 134, 135; Prynne. Cant. Doome, p. 362; Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 34. The charge alleged against him the first time, was, that he had declared in a sermon, that there was a great increase of *popery*, &c. in the church: the second time he was prosecuted for opposing the *railing-in* of the communion table at Ware. In Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts's Bay, there is a letter of Mr. Chauncey's to Mr. Cotton, referring to his troubles. vol. i. 259.

† This recantation was as follows: "Whereas I, Charles Chauncey, clerk, late vicar of Ware, in the county of Hertford, stand convicted * * * * I do now before this honourable court, acknowledge my great offence, and protest I am ready to declare upon oath, that I am now persuaded in my conscience, that kneeling at the communion is a lawful and commendable gesture; that the *rail* is a decent and convenient ornament, and that I was much to blame for opposing it; and do promise from henceforth, never by word or deed to oppose that, or any other laudable rites and ceremonies used in the church of England.

"CHARLES CHAUNCEY."

In opposition to this recantation, his last will and testament contained the following declaration: "I do acknowledge myself to be a child of wrath, and sold under sin, and one who hath been polluted with innumerable transgressions and mighty sins * * * and especially my so many *sinful compliances with, and conformity unto, vile human inventions, and will worship, and hell-bred superstitions, and other evil things patched to the service of God, with which the English mass book, I mean the Book of Common Prayer, is so fully fraught.*" Prynne. Cant. Doome, p. 95. 97. 100; Rushworth, vol. ii. part ii. p. 301. 316; Mather. Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 135.

Mr. Chauncey was president of Harvard College from 1654 to 1671.

‡ There were six children; Isaac, Ichabod, Barnabas, Nathaniel, Elnathan, and Israel, all ministers; the four last in New England, the two first ejected in the mother country. Near the town of Westborough (Mass.) there was a swamp which went by the name of Chauncey Pond, from a report that one of the Chaunceys lost his life in it.

practising as a physician. Here, however, he was called by the church in Mark Lane from his retirement, to succeed their deceased pastor, Mr. Clarkson; and, in the eleventh year of his ministry among them, Watts was chosen to be his assistant.

The conduct of Watts in the important station he now occupied, did not disappoint the sanguine expectations of his friends. If the attachment of the people to him is any criterion to guide us, we have abundant proof, that, in the discharge of his ministerial duties, he was laborious and exemplary. With some it was a matter of regret, that he confined himself so closely to his study, and did not mingle with society so much as seemed desirable. But a natural timidity of disposition, and an eager search after knowledge, contributed to foster a love of retirement, and, in connexion with his severe personal afflictions, sufficiently account for the seclusion which in after-life he sought. His habits, health, and natural temperament, unfitted him for much intercourse with the bustling world. In large promiscuous parties he was generally silent; when the eyes of strangers were upon him he shrunk from the task of putting himself forward, and willingly surrendered to others the honour of leading the evening's conversation.* He had no words to waste upon the idle groups who haunted the circles of fashion; a kind of intellectual avarice prevented him from casting his pearls away with a careless hand; he was a servant of the altar, not the high-priest of the drawing-room. An acute writer has remarked, that it is the province of mediocrity to talk, but of genius to observe; and it is singular how many of those with "the pale cast of thought upon their brow," have been defective in conversation. Virgil, Isocrates, Descartes, Chaucer, Addison, and Goldsmith, had no talent for colloquial discourse; the intellectual wealth they had amassed, lay in solid bars, not in current coin. In the circle of his

* Private information.

own immediate friends, however, Watts's social qualities appeared; the atmosphere of home, and the presence of those by whom he was beloved, seemed to remove his embarrassment, excite the powers of his mind, and awaken the sensibilities of his heart; and by the household hearth he was the sprightly companion, the imaginative poet, and the devout Christian. In a poem, entitled "Happy Solitude," inscribed to Thomas Gunston, Esq. written soon after he became assistant to Dr. Chauncey, he seems to refer to the complaints of his friends; and vindicates the secluded life he adopted:

"CASIMIRE, BOOK IV. ODE 12, IMITATED.

" Quid me latentem, &c.

"The noisy world complains of me,
That I should shun their sight, and flee
Visits and crowds and company.
Gunston, the lark dwells in her nest
Till she ascends the skies;
And in my closet I could rest
Till to the heavens I rise!"——

At this period the nation was torn by contending political factions; and though Watts's habits and feelings kept him aloof from the broils of the times, yet, when the hero of the Revolution was defamed by an anonymous libeller, he took up his pen to rebut his aspersions. An infamous satire, written by a nameless author, against William III. entitled, "Advice to a Painter," being put into his hands by David Polhill, Esq. he returned him a poem* in answer to it. It must be confessed, that Watts indulges in exaggerated praise of the monarch; the personal virtues and private character of William, will, by no means, warrant his eulogistic verse: yet a sufficient apology may be found for the writer, in the public advantages which accrued to the dissenters from his

* Lyrics, lib. ii.

reign. The oppressions they had endured from the Stuart family, and the toleration they enjoyed under their successors, might lead them to look with a too partial eye upon their deliverer, and, perhaps, in some instances, to palliate his errors and excuse his failings.

Mr. Polhill, one of the celebrated "Kentish Worthies," was connected with the family of Lord Deputy Ireton; and Watts was probably introduced to his acquaintance through the medium of Sir John Hartopp. His grandfather appears to have been a royalist; for, in 1643, he was imprisoned by the parliament. The father, Thomas Polhill, married the eldest daughter of Ireton, and this connexion, most likely, changed the politics of the family, as their eldest son was distinguished for his zeal against the exiled Stuarts, and firm adherence to the cause of William. He was born in the year 1673, and, after travelling on the continent, accompanied by Dr. Mead, the celebrated physician, he took possession of the family estate at Otford, in the county of Kent, where he lived beloved by a numerous tenantry, and respected as an upright and active magistrate. The disposition shown by the parliament to thwart the measures of William against the designs of France, drew Mr. Polhill from his retirement; and, in connexion with some others, he was sent by the Kentish freeholders, with a petition to the commons, to assist the king with the necessary supplies.* So highly was the house exasperated by the exercise of this constitutional right, that Mr. Polhill and his companions were taken into custody

*The petition originated at the Maidstone quarter-sessions, April 29, 1701, and was signed by the chairman, the grand jury unanimously, and twenty-three justices of the peace. The deputation consisted of William Colepeper the chairman, Thomas Colepeper, David Polhill, Justinian Champneys, and William Hamilton, Esquires. On the members for the county hesitating to present the petition, on account of the violence of the commons, the deputies declared their intention themselves of knocking at the door of the house; and Mr. Colepeper added in language similar to Luther's well-known resolve, that if every tile upon the chapel of St. Stephen was a devil, he would present the petition. Mr. Meredith, one of the members, at last undertook the task.

by the sergeant-at-arms; the warrant of the speaker transferred them to the prison at the Gate-house; and in the course of a furious debate, the confiscation of their estates, and the infliction of a double tax upon the county, was advocated. These violent and ill-judged measures only rendered the deputation popular, so that their release at the termination of the session was hailed by the acclamations of assembled thousands, and Mr. Polhill's return to his mansion at Ottford was most enthusiastically welcomed by the sturdy yeomanry. In several parliaments he was afterwards member for the city of Rochester; and, on the decease of Mr. Topham, in 1730, he was appointed Keeper of the Records in the tower. The spirited conduct of Mr. Polhill upon this occasion, drew from Watts's pen another epistle, when, upon the accession of Queen Anne, the liberties of the country were again threatened:

"TO DAVID POLHILL, ESQ.

"AN EPISTLE.

"December, 1702.

I.

"Let useless souls to woods retreat,
Polhill should leave a country seat
When Virtue bids him dare be great.

II.

"Nor Kent,* nor Sussex* should have charms,
While Liberty, with loud alarms,
Calls you to councils and to arms.

III.

"Louis, by fawning slaves ador'd,
Bids you receive a baseborn lord;†
Awake your cares! Awake your sword!

* The counties where he had country-seats.

† The poet is here guilty of injustice; for the question of the legitimacy of James's son, the old Pretender, has been long set at rest. A book was, however, reprinted at Cologne, in 1701, referring to Louis XIV., entitled "The Great Bastard Protec-

IV.

“Factions amongst the Britons* rise,
And warring tongues, and wild Surmise,
And burning Zeal without her eyes.

V.

“A vote decides the blind debate ;
Resolv'd, ‘’Tis of diviner weight
To save the steeple than the state.’”

VI.

“The bold machine† is form'd and join'd,
To stretch the conscience, and to bind
The native freedom of the mind.

VII.

“Your grandsires' shades, with jealous eye,
Frown down to see their offspring lie
Careless, and let their country die.

VIII.

“If Trevia‡ fear to let you stand
Against the Gaul with spear in hand,
At least petition§ for the land.”

tor of the Little One.” Various medals were also struck in England to countenance this calumny, viz.

1. William III. habited as a Roman emperor, trampling upon a serpent, and supporting Mary wearing the crowns of her triple kingdom ; her shield is suspended from an orange tree, entwined with roses and thistles. In the distance appears James II., and Father Petre bearing away the young prince, who is playing with a windmill, (alluding to the report that the young prince was the son of a miller). P. A. F. the initials of the artist's name. *Leg. Deo Vindice Justitia Comite. Rev. Boats landing troops near a castle. Leg. Contra Infantem Perditionis. Ex. Expeditio Navalis Pro Libertate Anglie. MDCLXXXVIII. Diam. 1 $\frac{7}{8}$. Cab. Hunter.*

2. A French ship ; Father Petre upon a lobster holds the young prince playing with a windmill. *Leg. Allons Mon Prince, Nous Sommes En Bon Chemin. Ex. Jac. Edvard Supposee 20 Juin. 1688. Rev. The Pretender's arms ; a shield, bearing a windmill ; above, a jesuit's cap, whence depends a double rosary, inclosing the motto Honi Soit Qui Bon y Pense : a lobster is suspended instead of a George. Leg. Les Armes et l'Ordre Du Pretendu Prince Des Galles. Diam. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. Cab. Royal.*

* The contentions in parliament.

† The bill against occasional conformity, 1702.

‡ Mrs. Polhill of the family of the Lord Trevor.

§ Alluding to the former Kentish petition.

A threatening illness of five months, interrupted Watts's public labours, soon after his connexion with Dr. Chauncey, at the close of which he visited his family at Southampton, to try his native air for the recovery of his health. The annexed extract from his MS. mentions several domestic incidents; his visits to his friends; the only record we have of this interesting period of his life. Referring to his settlement with Dr. Chauncey, he observes:—

“And a little while after my fever and weakness began,

“Paid another visit to Southampton of five weeks,

. July 1, 1699.

“Another June, 1700.

“1699—1700. Feb. Mr. Wm. Adams dyed.

“1700, March 30, Grandmo. Tanto.

“May 22, Mr. John Poole.

“Nov. 11, Mr. Thos. Gunston.”

Mr. Gunston, whose death is here recorded, was the much-beloved friend of Watts, in whose company he spent some of his happiest hours, and whose early decease was a source of the most poignant grief. This gentleman was the brother of Lady Abney, and owned the manorial property of Stoke Newington. His father, John Gunston, Esq. was attached to the cause of nonconformity, and befriended many of the persecuted ministers when exposed to the aggressions of arbitrary power. When Dr. Manton was imprisoned in the Gatehouse, for refusing the Oxford oath, the Lady Broughton, his keeper, placing the keys at his disposal, allowed him an opportunity of visiting his friend Mr. Gunston at Newington. The mantle of the father descended upon the son; and owing to his sincere piety and conscientious principles, he became the bosom friend and confident of Watts. A row of “reverend elms” in the neighbourhood of the family mansion was consecrated to their friendship. The ancient manor-house, associated with the names of Elizabeth and her favourite Leicester,

had been just taken down; and a modern erection in its place was nearly finished, -when Mr. Gunston was taken away by death. A funeral poem to his "dear memory" is inserted among the Lyrics, evidently a hasty and irregular composition, which, if it adds no reputation to the poet, evinces the sincerity of his friendship, and does honour to the virtues of the deceased.

He says,*

"Oft have I laid the awful Calvin by,
And the sweet Cowley, with impatient eye,
To see those walls, pay the sad visit there,
And drop the tribute of an hourly tear:
Still I behold some melancholy scene,
With many a pensive thought, and many a sigh between.
Two days ago we took the evening air,
I, and my Grief," &c.

This poem was presented to Lady Abney, then the Lady Mayoress, with an introductory letter.

The illness of Watts returned in the summer of 1701, and from June to November he was wholly incapable of preaching.

"Went to ye Bath by ye advice of Physicians, June 9, 1701.

"From ye Bath to Southto. July, 1701.

"Thence to Tunbridge, Sept. 3, 1701.

"Returned to Newington Nov. 3, and to preaching at Mark Lane, Nov. 1701.

"So yt I was detained from study and preaching 5 mo. by my weakness. Except one very short discourse at Southto. in extreme necessity. Dr. Chauncey, having left his people, Aprill, 1701, and I being returned to preach among em, they called me to ye pastoral office, Jan. 15, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$."†

The resignation of Dr. Chauncey was occasioned by his unpopularity as a preacher; the introduction of controverted topics in theology into the pulpit, dissatisfied his hearers; and the decrease of his congregation, determined him to quit the

* Lyrics, lib. iii.

† Watts's MS.

ministry. In the fiery dispute which ensued upon reprinting the works of Dr. Crisp, he had taken a prominent part; attacking Dr. Williams, and the adherents of what was called the Neonomian doctrine, with great asperity. The frequent references which he made in his sermons to this unhappy controversy, the importance attached to certainly minor points of the Christian faith, and the acrimony which could stigmatize the impugner of Crisp with Socinianism, contributed to render his public exercises, naturally dry and scholastic, still more unprofitable to his people. Another defect in Dr. Chauncey's preaching was, his frequent dwelling on the discipline of the church, to the neglect of the doctrines of the gospel; the cheering truths of the Christian system were abandoned for the dry discussion of points of order; and thus while the external arrangements of the tabernacle were minutely examined, a vail seemed to be cast over the glory and mysteries within. A ministry of such a character, even when seconded by a graceful diction, and attractive eloquence, is sure to disappoint the spiritual worshipper; it has no power to warm and to refresh the heart, to excite and quicken the pulsations of devotional feeling; the Sun of Righteousness is deserted, for those cold and wandering lights, which are too feeble to illuminate, too sickly to cheer, and too vagrant to direct.*

Upon relinquishing his charge of the church in Mark Lane, Dr. Chauncey was appointed to the tutorship of an academy which still exists at Homerton. This situation he filled with credit to himself, and benefit to the church; and continued in it till his death in the year 1712. His successors in the institution were Dr. Thos. Ridgley and Mr. John Eames, F. R. S., of the latter of whom Watts is reported to have said, that he was the most learned man he ever knew. The vacancy

* Dr. Chauncey died Feb. 28, 1712. Some notices of him, in connexion with the family, were drawn up by his grandson, entitled, "Life of the Rev. President Chauncey, written at the request of Dr. Stiles, by the Rev. Dr. Chauncey of Boston, May 23, 1768." It is printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. vol. x. 171.

occasioned by the retirement of Dr. Chauncey, was not supplied until the succeeding year, and during the greater part of that period Watts was unable through illness to discharge any public duty. A church meeting appears to have been held April 15, 1701, at which the Rev. William Bereman, a former assistant of Mr. Caryl, and a member of the church, was called upon to preside. This gentleman was requested to preach during the church's vacancy; and a call was given unto him to the pastoral office, but he declined the invitation, probably owing to the infirmities of age.* In the following month an invitation to Mr. Watts was contemplated; but the alarming indisposition with which he was seized in June, deprived his friends for some time of the hope of seeing him settled in Mark Lane. In September the church invited the Rev. Thos. Bradbury, then of Newcastle, to the charge; but after the interchange of a few letters, the negotiation dropped. Mr. Watts returned in November with recruited health to his work, and the choice of the church ultimately falling upon him, the call of a united and affectionate people, he was induced to accept in the following year.

“Accepted it March 8, and was ordained March 18, 1702”†

This step was not, however, taken without considerable hesitation and reluctance: the frequent indisposition to which he was subject, rendered him apprehensive of being unequal to the proper discharge of the pastoral duty; and he appears to have submitted various plans to the church for their speedy settlement without him. In the letter which contains his final adhesion to their wish, he mentions three “reverend divines,” members of the church, whom he had recommended to their notice as qualified for the vacant pastorship.

It is probable, that two of the ministers, to whom Watts refers, were the Rev. Thos. Bereman, and Edward Terry, M.A.:

* Church book.

† Watt's MS.

it is certain that they were members of the church at the time of Dr. Chauncey's secession; but who the third individual was does not appear. Mr. Bereman, of whom but little is known, was ejected by the Act of Uniformity from the lectureship of St. Thomas's, Southwark: his farewell sermon to his flock, from Acts, xx. 17, is in the London collection. After his ejection, he became one of the first members of the church which Mr. Caryl gathered; and being possessed of considerable property he declined taking a pastoral charge, but assisted occasionally the neighbouring ministers. Dr. Calamy describes him as "a very pious and sober person, and a good preacher."* He continued a member at Mark Lane until his death, October 7, 1703, when his fortune, which was considerable, was bequeathed for charitable purposes.† Mr. Terry was the son of the Rev. Edward Terry, who accompanied Sir Thomas Roe in his embassy to the Great Mogul; and was ejected from the living of Greenford Magna, in the county of Middlesex, which his father had occupied. He studied in University College, Oxford, where he proceeded M.A.; and distinguished himself by a funeral oration which he pronounced at the interment of the master of his college, Dr. Joshua Hoyle, Regius Professor of Divinity, and a member of the Assembly of Divines. Mr. Terry after the Revolution assisted Dr. Chauncey, and continued in the church until his death, which took place suddenly, March 8, 1716. He was blind for some years previous to his decease, but was accustomed to employ persons to read to him, in which he took great pleasure.‡ Dr. Calamy describes him as "of a very mild dispo-

* Calamy's Account, p. 25; Palmer's Noncon. Mem. i. 191.

† "This alms-house, situate in Alms-house Yard, in Hoxton, was built about the year 1701, by Mr. Baremere (Bereman) a presbyterian minister, for eight poor women, who have only a yearly allowance of half a chaldron of coals each." *Maitland. Hist. of London*. Palmer states this to be incorrect, that the stipend was larger, and paid quarterly. *Noncon. Mem.* i. 192. Mr. Bereman left various other charitable bequests.

‡ Palmer. *Noncon. Mem.* ii. 447, 448.

sition, of a blameless life, and very charitable; much honoured for his work's sake, and a lover of peace and truth."* These two valuable ministers were among Dr. Chauncey's people at the period of his retirement; and when Watts speaks of having proposed to the church three reverend divines, who were members, for their acceptance, it is not improbable that his attention was directed to them.

The views and feelings with which Mr. Watts entered upon the pastoral office, will best appear, from the public declaration of his accepting the call of the church, which he made at his ordination, inserted at the close of this chapter. This service was conducted by the following ministers: Matthew Clarke,† John Collins,‡ Thomas Ridgley,§ Benoni Rowe, and Thomas Rowe, his tutor. Mr. T. Rowe preached upon the occasion to the people, from Jer. iii. 15: "*And I will give you pastors according to mine heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding.*" Mr. William Pickard, a deacon of the church, inquired of them respecting their agreement to the call, which they unanimously affirmed. It is a striking and singular coincidence, that the day on which Watts accepted the pastoral office, the dissenting churches lost their tried friend and protector in the person of William III.

"1702, March 8, Morning, K. Wm. died."||

The health of the king had been long declining, but an accidental fall from his horse, which stumbled, owing to some earth which had been loosened by a mole, accelerated his death. The advocates of intolerance embraced the opportu-

* Wilson, Diss. Chur. i. 292.

† Pastor of the church in Miles Lane.

‡ Co pastor with the Rev. Robert Bragge in Lime Street, Paved Alley.

§ Pastor of an independant church now extinct in Thames Street, and one of the successors of Dr. Chauncey in his academical duties.

|| Watts's MS.

nity to defame the character of the departed monarch ; and his decease was celebrated in various parties, with the same convivial rites with which the republicans are charged with reference to the execution of Charles. Such infamous and indecent proceedings are only calculated to rouse an indignant feeling in the minds of the good and virtuous ; and to these ribald jests, the highly-coloured panegyrics upon the king, in which his friends indulged, may probably be attributed. Upon this occasion the pen of Watts was not idle, and an “ Epitaph on King William III. of glorious memory,”* celebrates his worth, and the writer’s gratitude for that happy event which drove a baffled tyrant from our shores.

CORRESPONDENCE.

“ TO MR. ISAAC WATTS.

“ London, 1697.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I cannot easily signify to you, with what eagerness I snatch this occasion of making the most unfeigned acknowledgments for the many obligations you have been pleased to lay upon me ; a duty which your modesty would never permit me to do in your presence, and which my gratitude, the best quality I can boast, will not let me omit, now I have you at this advantage.

“ I know you are in pain, for fear I am preparing for you a banquet of your own praises, a food which most other people can devour very heartily, and be in no danger of a surfeit ; and had I any quarrel against you, I would not desire a better revenge, and yet would say nothing that would look the least like flattery ; so that you are now wholly at my mercy, and in no capacity of defending yourself, or putting by my passes ;

* Lyrics, lib. iii.

but since you cannot think me ignorant of what is so well known to all your friends, and since too you may gather by what I have said, with reference to one perfection, your modesty, how well I am acquainted with all the rest, I will take pity on you, and forbear so agreeable a subject. See here, Sir, what a command you have over me, when I dare not so much as offer you your own, lest I displease you; but am forced to make even this an instance of the esteem I have for you, that I will not tell you how great it is. I give you many thanks for your witty and diverting letter; you need not have used arguments to persuade me, that the characters you have drawn in it are true copies of nature, for in requital I could send you some of another hue, that have fallen within the circle of my observation, monsters so hideous and deformed, that, drawn by a poet, they would be thought no less extravagant, than the thunder-defying hero* of Statius before the walls of Thebes. Fools indeed (of whom you complain) are a very troublesome sort of insects, but they only buzz about your ears, and never bite deep; the villain is the beast of prey, that leaps upon you from his den, and tears you in pieces. These are the proper objects of rage, the others of contempt; and this, perhaps, makes the difference between the satires of Horace and Juvenal, for the first of them only rallies, and the latter declaims. Do you think you could possess your soul in patience, if you had to do with a fellow, who, under the veil of a most unsuspected affection, should be carrying on a plot for your ruin; who should make use of all the most endearing acts of friendship, only to east a blind before your eyes, and procure all opportunities to make you a sacrifice to his interest or revenge? The footpad, like an honest rogue, bluntly bids you ‘stand and deliver;’ but some there are who will caress and embrace you, whilst their thoughts are employed to swallow down your estate, if not cut your throat; and if they do it but cleverly and with some

* Capaneus.

address, so as not to fall within the letter of the law, they wipe their mouths, and pronounce themselves harmless;—‘O villain! villain! smiling villain!’ Think not that I am writing at random, for I assure you I have an original in my eye, after which I make this picture; innumerable others there are of the same black list, but with different degrees of deformity: to be particular, there is the physician, who purges you into a skeleton with his poisonous doses, and calculates the time of your cure by the number of his fees; the man of statutes and reports, who practises on your estate as the other does on your health:

‘Sir, quoth the lawyer, not to flatter ye,
 You have as good and fair a battery,
 As heart can wish, and need not shame
 The proudest man alive to claim;
 For if it be so, as you say,
 Marry, quoth I, you’ve got the day.’

HUDIBRAS.

And yet, perhaps, as soon as you are gone, he takes gold of your adversary to betray your cause. There are your statesmen, too, who live like fleas by sucking the blood of the body politic: and here, indeed, the streams of corruption, that run through all our public offices, were a large field for satire; for, if all be true that an honest bold fellow tells us in a late pamphlet, I do not believe Rome was worse when Jugurtha said, that ‘the city itself would be set to sale, could they hear of a purchaser.’ It were endless to enumerate all the particular species of rogues: both court and camp are filled with them, and at the exchange every day at two you may meet them in swarms. In short, to say no more, ’tis a foolish and villanous world, and so let us rub through it as well as we can, remembering only, that some degrees of compliance are requisite to carry us on smoothly. There is an honest sort of hypocrisy that is the allowed language of all mankind, and this is no other than a general courtesy of behaviour, which

will not suffer us to speak truth at all times and in all places. Therefore, we must not be more honest than wise, unless we are willing to be kicked about the world like footballs, that are suffered to stay with nobody. In the meantime I think myself happy in one whom I dare call my friend, as I hope you will believe, on the other hand, that I am

“Yours sincerely, and without reserve,

“JOHN HUGHES.”

“TO DAVID POLHILL, ESQ.

“1698.

“An answer to an infamous satire, called ‘Advice to a Painter;’ written by a nameless author against King William III. of glorious memory.

“Sir,

“When you put this satire into my hand, you gave me the occasion of employing my pen to answer so detestable a writing; which might be done much more effectually by your known zeal for the interest of his majesty, your counsels and your courage, employed in the defence of your king and country: and since you provoked me to write, you will accept of these efforts of my loyalty to the best of kings, addressed to one of the most zealous of his subjects, by

“Sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

“I. WATTS.”

“TO MR. ISAAC WATTS.

“Southampton, March, 1700.

“Dear Brother,

“In your last you discovered an inclination to oblige the world by showing it your hymns in print; and I heartily

wish as well for the satisfaction of the public as myself, that you were something more than inclinable thereunto. I have frequently importuned you to it before now, and your invention has often furnished you with some modest reply to the contrary, as if what I urged was only the effect of a rash and inconsiderate fondness to a brother; but you will have other thoughts of the matter when I first assure you, that that affection, which is inseparable from our near relationship, would have had in me a very different operation, for instead of pressing you to publish, I should with my last efforts have endeavoured the concealment of them, if my best judgment did not direct me to believe it highly conducing to a general benefit, without the least particular disadvantage to yourself. This latter I need not have mentioned, for I am very confident whoever has the happiness of reading your hymns (unless he be either sot or atheist), will have a very favourable opinion of their author; so that, at the same time you contribute to the universal advantage, you will procure the esteem of men the most judicious and sensible.

“In the second place you may please to consider, how very mean the performers in this kind of poetry appear in the pieces already extant. Some ancient ones I have seen in my time, who flourished in Hopkins and Sternhold’s reign; but Mason now reduces this kind of writing to a sort of yawning indifference, and honest Barton chimes us asleep. There is, therefore, great need of a piece, vigorous and lively as yours, to quicken and revive the dying devotion of the age, to which nothing can afford such assistance as poetry, contrived on purpose to elevate us even above ourselves. To what may we impute the prevalency of the songs, filled with the fabulous divinity of the ancient fathers, on our passions? Is it, think you, only owing to a natural propensity in us to be in love with fable, and averse to truth in her native plainness? I presume it may partly be ascribed to this; that as romance has really more need of artifice than truth, to set it off, so it generally

has such an abundance more, that it seldom fails of affecting us by making new and agreeable impressions. Yours now is the old truth, stripped of its ragged ornaments, and appears, if we may say so, younger by ages, in a new and fashionable dress, which is commonly tempting.

“And as for those modern gentlemen, who have lately exhibited their version of the Psalms; all of them I have not seen I confess, and, perhaps, it would not be worth while to do it, unless I had a mind to play the critic, which you know is not my talent; but those I have read, confess to me a vast deference to yours, though they are done by persons of no mean credit. Dr. Patrick most certainly has the report of a very learned man, and, they say, understands the Hebrew extremely well, which indeed capacitates him for a translator, but he is thereby never the more enabled to versify. Tate and Brady still keep near the same pace. I know not what sober beast they ride (one that will be content to carry double), but I am sure it is no Pegasus: there is in them a mighty deficiency of that life and soul, which is necessary to raise our fancies and kindle and fire our passions, and something or other they have to allege against the rest of adventurers; but I have been persuaded a great while since, that were David to speak English, he would choose to make use of your style. If what I have said seems to have no weight with you, yet you cannot be ignorant what a load of scandal lies on the dissenters, only for their imagined aversion to poetry. You remember what Dr. Speed says:

‘So far hath schism prevail’d, they hate to see
Our lines and words in couplings to agree,
It looks too like abhorr’d conformity :
A hymn, so soft, so smooth, so neatly drest,
Savours of human learning and the beast.’

And, perhaps, it has been thought there were some grounds for his aspersion from the admired poems of Ben. Keach, John Bunyan, &c. all flat and dull as they are; nay, I am much out

if the latter has not formerly made much more ravishing music with his hammer and brass kettle.

“Now when yours are exposed to the public view, these calumnies will immediately vanish, which methinks should be a motive not the least considerable. And now we are talking of music, I have a crotchet in my brain, which makes me imagine, that as chords and discords equally please heavy-eared people, so the best divine poems will no more inspire the rude and illiterate than the meanest rhymes, which may in some measure give you satisfaction, in that fear you discover, *ne in rude vulgus cadant*, and you must allow them to be tasteless to many people, tolerable to some, but to those few who know their beauties, to be very pleasant and desirable; and, lastly, if I do not speak reason, I will at present take my leave of you, and only desire you to hear what your ingenious acquaintance at London say to the point, for I doubt not you have many solicitors there, whose judgments are much more solid than mine. I pray God Almighty have you in his good keeping, and desire you to believe me,

“My dear brother,

“Your most affectionate kinsman and friend,

“ENOCH WATTS.”

“TO LADY ABNEY.

“July, 1701.

“Madam,

“Had I been a common mourner at the funeral of the dear gentleman deceased,* I should have laboured after more of art in the following composition, to supply the defect of nature, and to feign a sorrow; but the uncommon condescension of his friendship to me, the inward esteem I pay his

* Her brother Mr. Gunston.

memory, and the vast and tender sense I have of the loss, make all the methods of art needless, whilst natural grief supplies more than all.

“I had resolved, indeed, to lament in sighs and silence, and frequently checked the too-forward muse : but the opportunity was not to be resisted ; long lines of sorrow flowed in upon me ere I was aware, whilst I took many a solitary walk in the garden adjoining to his seat at Newington ; nor could I free myself from the crowd of melancholy ideas. Your ladyship will find, throughout the poem, that the fair and unfinished building, which he had just raised for himself, gave almost all the turns of mourning to my thoughts ; for I pursue no other topics of elegy than what my passion and my senses led me to.

“The poem roves, as my eyes and grief did, from one part of the fabric to the other : it rises from the foundation, salutes the walls, the doors, and the windows, drops a tear upon the roof, and climbs the turret, that pleasing retreat, where I promised myself many sweet hours of his conversation ; there my song wanders amongst the delightful subjects, divine and moral, which used to entertain our happy leisure ; and thence descends to the fields and the shady walks, where I so often enjoyed his pleasing discourse ; my sorrows diffuse themselves there without a limit : I had quite forgotten all scheme and method of writing, till I correct myself, and rise to the turret again to lament that desolate seat. Now, if the critics laugh at the folly of the muse, for taking too much notice of the golden ball, let them consider, that the meanest thing that belonged to so valuable a person, still gave some fresh and doleful reflections : and I transcribe Nature without rule, and represent friendship in a mourning dress, abandoned to deepest sorrow, and with a negligence becoming woe unfeigned.

“Had I designed a complete elegy, Madam, on your dearest brother, and intended it for public view, I should have followed the usual forms of poetry, so far, at least, as to spend

some pages in the character and praises of the deceased, and thence have taken occasion to call mankind to complain aloud of the universal and unspeakable loss: but I wrote merely for myself, as a friend of the dead, and to ease my full soul, by breathing out my own complaints; I knew his character and virtues so well, that there was no need to mention them while I talked only with myself; for the image of them was ever present with me, which kept the pain at the heart intense and lively, and my tears flowing with my verse.

“Perhaps your ladyship will expect some divine thoughts, and sacred meditations, mingled with a subject so solemn as this is. Had I formed a design of offering it to your hands, I had composed a more Christian poem; but it was grief purely natural for a death so surprising that drew all the strokes of it, and, therefore, my reflections are chiefly of a moral strain. Such as it is your ladyship requires a copy of it; but let it not touch your soul too tenderly, nor renew your own mournings. Receive it, Madam, as an offering of love and tears at the tomb of a departed friend, and let it abide with you as a witness of that affectionate respect and honour that I bore him; all which, as your ladyship’s most rightful due, both by merit and by succession, is now humbly offered by,

“Madam,

“Your ladyship’s most hearty

“and obedient servant,

“I. WATTS.”

“Feb. 8, 1702.

“TO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST ASSEMBLING IN

MARK LANE, LONDON.*

“Beloved in our Lord,

“When you first called me to minister the word of God among you, I took the freedom to acquaint you, that in

* Extracted from the Church Book.

the chief doctrines of Christianity I was of the same mind with your former reverend pastor, Dr. John Owen, who being dead yet speaketh; and I have been glad to find, by three years' experience, that you retain the same principles that he preached among you. Now, since, through your great affection and undeserved respect to me, you have thought fit to call me to the great and solemn office of a pastor, I cannot but take the same freedom to hope, that you are of one mind with him in the chief points of *church discipline*. Though I call no man master upon earth, nor confine my belief to the judgment of another, yet I cannot but own, that, in the study of gospel order, I have found much light and assistance from his works, and from those of your late reverend pastor, Dr. Isaac Chauncey : but being desired by you to give some hints of my principles in writing, in order to future satisfaction, and continuance of peace and love (if the Lord shall fix me with you), I have here briefly written a few things, whereby you may discover something of my knowledge in the mind and will of Christ concerning his churches.

“1. I believe that Jesus Christ, the king of saints, has given command and power to his saints, to form themselves into spiritual societies and corporations, for his public glory, and their own edification.

“2. That every society of saints, covenanting to walk with God and one another in all the rules and institutions of the gospel, is a church of Christ.

“3. That every such church has power to increase its own number by the addition of members, or to purge itself of corrupt members, before it be organized, and made complete, by having fixed officers among them.

“4. That this society of saints ought to look on themselves more nearly united, and related to one another, than to other Christians; and, consequently, to pray with and for each other, to visit one another, to exhort, comfort, and assist one another, and to maintain such a love and communion to and with each

other, as that they may look like fellow-members of the same body.

“5. The members of such an incomplete church, before any pastor is settled among them, may pray together, and exhort one another; yet this church has not power in itself to administer all ordinances among them. But when they have chosen a proper officer to be over them in the Lord, and when he is ordained by their public call, his public acceptance, and by solemn separation of him to the work by fasting and prayer, then unto the officer is this power committed.

“6. It follows thence, that though the pastor be named or chosen to this office by the people, yet his commission and power to administer all divine ordinances is not derived from the people, for they had not this power in themselves; but it proceeds from the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the only King of his church, and the principle of all power; and he has appointed in his word, that the call of his church, and solemn ordination, should be the means whereby his ministers are invested with this authority.

“7. That in the ordination of a pastor to a particular church, our Lord Christ, as the supreme Governor and Head of his church, sets him in an office of spiritual rule over a willing people, who freely commit themselves to his care; even as Christ also, in and by his word and his providence, now commits them unto his care and charge, of which he must give an account.

“8. Hence it follows, that pastoral acts, such as teaching, feeding, guiding, and overseeing the flock; exhorting, re-proving, comforting them; are not performed in the name of the people, but in the name, stead, and place of Christ, by the pastor, as his representative in that church, and as his ambassador to it; as a shepherd, in ruling, leading, and feeding his flock, acts not in the name of the sheep, but in the name and place of him that owns them, and that has committed them unto his care; and, therefore, these pastoral acts are to

be received by the people, as clothed with the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, so far as they agree with his mind and will according to these scriptures: 2 Cor. v. 20. 'Now, then, we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God.' John, xiii. 20. 'He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me.' And this regard is also due to such acts of the pastor from every member, because they have given themselves up to him in the Lord.

"9. Yet I believe, that even with regard to these pastoral acts, Christ has given to his churches so far a judgment of discretion, that they are not bound to submit blindly to the government of the pastor, unless he approve himself therein to act according to the mind and will of Christ in his word: and it is the neglect of this consideration that has brought in that unbounded authority, and usurped dominion of the priests, and that implicit faith and blind obedience of the people, in the antichristian church.

"10. I believe also, that in all those other exercises of church order, which are not merely acts of the pastor, but also acts of the church; such as receiving and casting out members, appointing places of stated or occasional worship, setting apart days of prayer, and times for church meetings; a pastor ought to do nothing without the consent of the people: and though the *whole* office of a pastor herein lies not merely in declaring the mind and consent of the church, yet this is *part* of that business and service that he oweth to the church.

"11. That in the admission of members into the church, it is necessary that the people be well satisfied with the person they receive into their fellowship, as well as the pastor to receive him into his care; and that the church has liberty to make objections, if they are dissatisfied with his fitness for church communion: nor can the pastor receive in any member, or cast out any one, contrary to the mind of the people, or without their actual free consent.

“ 12. I believe, that when the pastor admits a member, upon the profession of his faith and hope, and the satisfaction of the church, he doth, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the consent of the church, receive him into fellowship with Christ, and with that church, in all gospel privileges and ordinances.

“ 13. The duties of a pastor are chiefly such as these : preaching and labouring in the word and doctrine ; praying earnestly for his flock in public and private ; administering the seals of the covenant of grace, baptism, and the Lord’s supper ; being instant in season and out of season, teaching and exhorting, comforting and rebuking with all long-suffering and doctrine ; contending for and preserving the truth ; approving himself an example to the flock ; visiting the sick and the poor ; praying with them and taking care of them ; making inquiries into the state of his flock, especially as to spiritual affairs ; endeavouring to stir up and promote religion in their households and families ; and labouring, by all means and methods of Christ’s appointment, to further their faith and holiness, their comfort and increase : and it is the duty of the people to attend upon his ministrations, to pray for him, to encourage and support him ; and, whereinsoever he acts according to the will of Christ, to receive him with all due regard.

“ 14. That it is the proper business of the pastor also, to present persons and cases to the church, and to ask the votes or consent of the church, as one that is set to go before the flock ; except when he is necessitated to be absent ; or, through any indisposition, incapable when present ; or where the pastor himself is so far concerned in the case to be proposed, as may render it improper for him to propose it.

“ 15. For the better performance of all these things, and by reason of the various necessities of a church, other officers are also appointed by Christ, of several names in scripture, especially for churches where the members grow numerous ; all

whose business is to assist the pastor in those affairs which cannot so fully be managed by himself alone, each of them according to their place, office, and business, which the Lord has appointed them unto in his word.

“Lastly, That in the management of every affair in the church there ought to be a spirit of gentleness, meekness, lowliness of mind, love, affection, and tenderness; both in the pastor and people, toward each other; for Jesus, the great Shepherd of his church, was most humble and compassionate, most gentle and meek; and his saints are called his sheep from their like dispositions; and that, the edification of the church being one great end for which Christ has given this office to his ministers, all lesser concerns and differences ought to be managed with a continual regard to this great end, and for the public honour of Christ in his churches.

“Thus I have given a short account of some of the chief principles of gospel order. If I am so unhappy in any of my expressions to be obscure, and to want explaining, I am ready at any time to declare my meaning, and also to give the reasons of my judgment on any of the foregoing articles, showing that they not only agree with the judgment of your reverend pastors aforenamed, but, which is more considerable, that they are all, in my apprehension, suitable to the will of Christ, concerning churches and pastors revealed in his word.

“Christian friends, dearly beloved, I cannot but tell you, that while I have been writing these articles, especially the 7th, 8th, and 13th, I shrink at the very thoughts of your call of me to so weighty an office in the church of Christ, and I find such discouragements from the awfulness and greatness of the work, that it makes me cry out feelingly, ‘Who is sufficient for these things?’ And this inclines me still to suspend my answer, and to renew my request to you (though often in vain renewed) of quitting all thoughts of me, and choosing one, whose gifts, graces, and abilities, may be more capable

of discharging so vast a trust, and filling up the duties of so sacred an office.

“Yours in the service of the gospel,

“ISAAC WATTS.”

“FROM THE REV. T. ROWE’S CHURCH, TO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, OF WHICH THE REV. DR. CHAUNCEY WAS LATELY PASTOR.

“Forasmuch as our dear brother, Mr. Isaac Watts, who was with great satisfaction admitted a member amongst us, and hath since walked as becomes the gospel, to the glory of God, and to the honour of his holy profession, doth now desire his dismissal from us, we do, in compliance therewith, discharge him from his membership among us, in order to his being received by you, praying that his ministerial labours, and those gifts and graces wherewith the Lord Jesus Christ, the great head of the church, hath been pleased so richly to furnish him, may be abundantly blessed, to the conversion of souls, and your edification, to whose grace and blessing we do from our hearts commend both him and you.

“Subscribed with the consent of { THOMAS ROWE, PASTOR,
the church by { NATHANIEL PEACOCK,
JOHN ANTRIM.

“Feb. 26, 1702.”

“MR. WATTS TO THE CHURCH AT MARK LANE.

“Brethren,

“You know what a constant aversion I have had to any proposals of a pastoral office for these three years, ever since the providence of God called me first among you. You

know also that, since you have given me a unanimous and solemn call thereto, I have heartily proposed several methods for your settlement without me, but your choice and your affections seemed still to be settled and unmoved. I have objected warmly and often, my own indispositions of body, which incapacitate me for much service, and I have pointed often to three *reverend divines* that are members of this church, whose gifts might render them more proper for instruction, and whose age for government. These things I have urged till I have provoked you to sorrow and tears, and till I myself have been almost ashamed. But your perseverance in your choice and love, your constant profession of edification by my ministry, the great probability you show of building up this famous and decayed church of Christ, if I accept the call, and your prevailing fears of its dissolution if I refuse, have given me ground to believe that the voice of this church is the voice of Christ by you : and to answer this call I have not consulted with flesh and blood : I have laid aside the thoughts of myself to serve the interest of our Lord. I give up my own ease for your spiritual profit and your increase. I submit my inclinations to my duty, and in hopes of being made an instrument in the hands of Christ to build up this ancient church, I return this solemn answer to your call, that, with a great sense of my own inability in mind and body to discharge the duties of so sacred an office, I do, in the strength of Christ, venture upon it, and in the name of our Lord Jesus I accept your call, promising in the presence of God and his saints, my utmost diligence in all the duties of a pastor, so far as God shall enlighten and strengthen me ; and I leave this promise in the hands of Christ our Mediator, to see it performed by me unto you through the assistance of his grace and Spirit."

“ TO MR. ENOCH WATTS.

“ My dear brother,

“ I send you the following definitions, or perhaps rather descriptions, according to your request, being the shortest and most comprehensive that I can form upon the subjects.

“ Yours affectionately,

“ ISAAC WATTS.

“ The several opinions about religion, that are this day in England, are as follow : First, in respect of doctrine ; Atheists, Deists, Arians, Socinians, Quakers, Papists, Arminians, Sabatarians, Anabaptists, Calvinists, Baxterians, and Antinomians.

“ 1. ATHEISTS.

“ First, Deny the being of God. 2d, Say that the world is eternal, that it had no beginning, and shall have no end ; and that as men are continually born, and afterwards die, so successive generations shall last to eternity. Others indeed there are, who say the world was formed some thousands of years ago by atoms, or little particles of matter jumping together by chance, and that these atoms shall after some time fall to pieces again ; and afterwards, it may be, jump into new worlds—a very pretty conceit ! So that they believe these atoms to be from eternity to eternity. 3d, Hence it follows, that there is nothing in man distinct from his body, and that the soul is nothing but fine spirits, drawn from the blood, and playing about in the brain. 4th, Hence it follows, that they own no after state, but as the brute dies so dies the man, and the soul dies with the body. 5th, As a consequence of all this, they think they may indulge themselves in all manner of pleasures.

“II. DEISTS.

“First, They own there is a God. 2d, That this God is to be worshipped, *i. e.* by loving him, honouring, and having awful thoughts of him. 3d, They deny the scriptures to be the word of God, and so are called Antiscripturists. 4th, They deny the Trinity and Christ, and all the methods of the Christian religion that are particularly revealed in scripture, and oblige themselves only to perform the duties of natural religion, *i. e.* loving and honouring God in general, and sometimes praying to him and giving him thanks, and being honest among men. 5th, Hereby they suppose they so please God, that they shall be in an happy state hereafter, if there be any such thing, for some of them doubt whether there be or no.

“III. ARIANS.

“Arians are old heretics, the disciples of one Arius, above one thousand years ago, and in our times some men are apt to believe his errors, which are, First, That Christ is not real and true God, equal with the Father, but only a creature created before all things else, and God made use of him before he made the world. This notion they build upon the false interpretation of 1 John, i. 2, 3, and Colos. i. 15, 16. 2d, That Christ is called God only in respect of his office; that is, his doing miracles, his instructing the world, and such like. 3d, They deny the Holy Spirit to be a person in the Godhead, and so overthrow the Trinity, and hence they are called Antitrinitarians.

“IV. SOCINIANS.

“There was one Socinus, in Calvin’s time, who revived the heresy of Arius, but explained it after another manner. First, the Socinians deny Christ to be real God, and yet they own the scripture to be the word of God as well as the Arians.

2d, They say Christ did not die to satisfy divine justice for our sins, but only to confirm the truth of his doctrine, and to give us a good example. They deny a Trinity of persons in the Deity ; they deny original sin, and say that children sin by imitation, not from corrupt nature. The foundation of their errors is, that they make reason the interpreter of scripture, and generally believe the soul sleeps with the body till the resurrection.

“ V. QUAKERS.

“ First, They did generally shake and quake at their first coming up, which was about fifty years ago, and thence had their name. 2d, They deny all ordinances, and say, they are above them. 3d, They affirm perfection in this life, and deny that Jesus Christ, who died at Jerusalem, to be true God. They own a light within, which they call Christ and God, and say it is in every man if he would attend to it, and they follow the motions of this light within in all their actions. This gives them the name of Enthusiasts. Though they do not utterly deny scripture, yet speak meanly of it, say it is a dead letter, and that they do not need it, because they have the Holy Spirit in them, &c. they deny honour, and therefore they salute none. In their first rise they had a great many mad frantic fits, and strange. They are lately divided into two sects, one of them follow Penn, of the notions aforementioned, the other George Keith and Mead ; and it is said, they own Christ the Son of God, satisfaction by him, and justification through him, and are by little and little leaving the old Quakers’ principles.

“ VI. PAPISTS.

“ They deny original sin in that extent as Calvinists own it: also justification by faith alone, perseverance, assurance, &c. They own the doctrine of meritorious works, tradition of

equal authority to scripture, the worship of God by images, and transubstantiation, the constant sacrifice of the mass, perfection in this life, and works of supererogation, invocation of saints, prayer for the dead, implicit faith, or believing whatever the pope says, purgatory, the pope's supremacy over the church, seven sacraments, and other things contrary to the reformed churches.

“VII. ARMINIANS.

“There was one Pelagius of old, that invented several opinions about free-will, and against free-grace; those that followed him strictly were called Pelagians; those that allowed more to free-grace were called Semi-Pelagians, almost the same with modern Arminians, called also Remonstrants, and by the common people Free-willers. Their notions are; that God elects none to salvation but on the account of that faith he foresees in them. 2d, That faith and sincere obedience are made the conditions of justification and salvation, just as Adam's perfect obedience would have entitled him to eternal life, and so God reputes this imperfect obedience for perfect, having released the rigour of the law upon the account of Christ's satisfaction, that God sent him to die without any particular design to save any particular person by it, but only to redeem all men in general, and now he applies salvation to all that believe and repent. That Christ so far redeemed all men, that none shall be condemned for original sin; nay, they are ready to say, there is no original sin, or at least nothing in that extent, as Calvinists make it, that a natural man may use common grace, so as to attain saving grace and at last salvation. That all the grace that God gives towards the conversion of a sinner, is nothing but persuading him and enlightening his understanding; but some go farther and say, that God gives some little touches to the will of man, to move him to believe and repent, but all of them say, that after all a man is left indifferent.

They say God gives a believer grace enough to persevere, but he may not use it, and so fall. That there is no certainty of perseverance in this life, and consequently no certainty of salvation without particular revelation.

“VIII. SABBATARIANS.

“There are those who go by the name of Seventh-day-men, because they suppose the Jewish sabbath is not abolished, and therefore they observe our Saturday for their sabbath. They are against baptizing infants. Many of them now only assert a happy state of the church to be expected.

“IX. ANABAPTISTS.

“They differ not from Calvinists in their doctrine, unless in the article of infant baptism. They generally deny any children to be in the covenant of grace, and so deny the seal of the covenant to them. They deny baptism by sprinkling to be real and true baptism. In church government generally Independents.

“X. CALVINISTS.

“So called from John Calvin, a great reformer ; his doctrine the same with the Assembly’s Confession of Faith.

“XI. BAXTERIANS.

“From Mr. Richard Baxter, whose design was to reconcile Calvin and Arminius ; his Body of Divinity is part of the one and part of the other. The one God has elected some which

shall certainly be saved, and others to whom the gospel is preached have sufficient grace given them; that is, they have common grace, which if they improve well they shall have saving grace according to Arminius. They own, according to Calvin, the merits of Christ's death to be applied to believers only; but also that all men are in a state capable of salvation. Mr. Baxter says, there may be a certainty of perseverance here, and yet he cannot tell whether a man may not have so weak a degree of saving grace as to lose it again: a-kin to Arminius.

“But so long as Mr. Baxter owns no salvation, but by the salvation and merits of Christ, and no application of these without believing, and no true faith but what is the gift of God: hence there is sufficient ground to believe that his opinions, and his followers, who are generally not so wide as himself, are not so exceeding dangerous as some men think them, and we may believe them true Christians, though they may differ in many things from the confession of faith, and the general opinions of the reformers and reformed churches.

“XII. ANTINOMIANS.

“Those called Antinomians now-a-days take not so much care in expressing the Calvinistic doctrine, which most of them pretend to own, and so vent dangerous errors under such dangerous expressions as these: 1st, That God sees no sin in his people, and therefore saints need not ask pardon. 2d, Christ was a murderer, a blasphemer, &c. because he had those sins imputed to him. Christ believed and repented for us as well as died for us. We must not try our assurance or the goodness of our estate by our graces or sanctification; there is no use of the law in driving a man to Christ, and therefore not to be preached. God loves a man never the better for holiness, nor an elect person the worse for unholiness: Christ is a believer's sanctification, so far that he need not seek it in himself

to evidence justification : faith is not so properly an acceptance of Christ as an assurance that he is ours.

“The several opinions about religion are, secondly, in respect of discipline and order. The three chief in England at present are called by the names of Episcopacy, Presbytery, and Independency.

“I. EPISCOPACY.

“These are those called Conformists, or the Church of England. 1st, They own that a bishop is an officer appointed by Christ to oversee churches and their pastors, and in their hands are placed the keys of admission and excommunication of every particular church. 2d, All ordination of ministers ought to be by bishops. 3d, That the church, or these heads of it, have power to impose ceremonies. 4th, Hence they worship God in a ceremonious way ; as the cross in baptism, bowing at the high altar, kneeling at the sacrament, the surplice, and many other things testify. 5th, They not only allow but impose forms of prayer, and use little else. 6th, Though their great pretensions and chief subjects of their sermons be peace, and love, and unity ; though they own these ceremonies to be indifferent in their nature, and believe the dissenters worship God aright ; yet have they almost persecuted them to death for not conforming. But it is hoped this persecuting tenet does not belong to their church, but only was authorised and encouraged by men of power.

“II. PRESBYTERY.

“The true and original notion of Presbytery is, that God hath appointed a synod, or class, or assembly of ministers, or elders, to be superior in power and government to any particular church or officers thereof. 2d, That these synods, or

councils, have power ministerially to determine controversies in faith and discipline, and that any person in a church may appeal to them for any injury received from any church; but this opinion is almost worn off in England. The tenets of the Presbyterians of our times and day are: 1st, That a minister ought to be ordained by the laying of the hands of other elders or ministers after examination, fasting, and prayer. 2d, That a minister may be ordained so as to have power given him to administer ordinances in general, even before he takes the charge of the church upon him. 3d, That there is no need of any new ordination when they are called to a particular congregation. 4th, That it is the office of a minister to rule in the church, and the people's duty to consent, though generally the minister will not do any thing in the church without their consent. 5th, If all the church are willing any church act should be done, yet it must not be done without consent of the minister. This is called the minister's having a negative voice, but this is contrary to rigid Independents. 6th, Their doctrine is generally Calvinistical, but many of those who are called Presbyterians have of late years inclined more to Mr. Baxter. 7th, They preach, that good knowledge and a sober conversation are not sufficient evidences of a good state; and yet usually inquire no farther than of the knowledge and conversation of those they admit into their churches; hence it follows, they are larger in church discipline than Independents. 8th, Most of them own the office of deacons in a church, but generally deny any ruling elders distinct from ministers, and yet many of them think it convenient to choose two or three men of their church to inspect the conversations of others.

“III. INDEPENDENTS.

“There were some of the Independents heretofore called Brownists, some of whom were very irregular in the management of church affairs, but they are not to be found now: the

tenets of rigid Independents are ; 1st, That every church hath all the power of governing itself in itself, and that every thing done in a church must be by the majority of the votes of the brethren. 2d, That every church has its minister ordained to itself, and that he cannot administer the ordinances to any other people, and if he preaches among others it is but as a gifted brother. But the generality of Independents follow rather Dr. Owen's notions ; their tenets are such as these : 1st, That the power of church government resides in the pastors and elders of every particular church, and that it is the duty of the people to consent ; and, nevertheless, because every act in a church is a church act, they never do any thing without the consent of the people, though they receive no new authority by the people's consenting. 3d, They generally think a minister not to be ordained but to a particular church, though many of them now think that, by virtue of communion of churches, he may preach authoritatively, and administer the ordinances to other churches upon extraordinary occasions. 4th, That it is not absolutely necessary that a minister be ordained by the imposition of hands of other ministers, but only requisite that other ministers should be there present as advisers and assistants when he is ordained by the church ; that is, set apart by their choice, his acceptance, mutual fasting and prayer. 5th, They generally hold more to the doctrine of Calvin than Presbyterians do. 6th, They think it not sufficient ground to be admitted a member, if the person be only examined as to his doctrinal knowledge and sobriety of conversation ; but they require with all some hints, or means, or evidences of the work of grace on their souls, to be professed by them, and that not only to the minister but to the elders also, who are joint rulers in the church. Though this profession of some of their experience is generally made first to the minister, either by word or writing, but the elders always hear it, and are satisfied before the person is admitted a member. 7th, These relations, which the Independents re-

quire, are not (as some think) of the word or scripture, or time, or place, or sermon, by which they were converted ; for very few can tell this ; but only they discourse and examine them a little of the way of their conviction of sin, of their being brought to know Christ ; or at least ask them what evidences they can give why they hope they are true believers, and try to search whether there be sincerity in the heart, as much as may be found by outward profession, that they may, as much as in them lies, exclude hypocrites.”

CHAPTER VII.

1703—1712.

FIRST YEARS OF HIS MINISTRY.

CHURCH IN MARK LANE.—MR. CARYL.—DR. OWEN.—ILLNESS OF WATTS.—STATE OF THE MINISTRY IN THE ESTABLISHMENT AND AMONG THE DISSENTERS.—REMOVES TO MR. HOLLIS'S.—MRS. OWEN'S DEATH.—MR. PRICE CHOSEN ASSISTANT.—DREADFUL STORM.—COMMEMORATIVE SERMONS.—CONGREGATION REMOVES TO PINNERS HALL.—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF LOCKE.—UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.—MR. SHUTE AND DE FOE.—ESSAY AGAINST UNCHARITABLENESS PUBLISHED.—ANECDOTE OF THILLOTSON.—PRINTED A REFORMATION SERMON.—ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETIES FOR REFORMATION OF MANNERS.—DELUSIONS OF THE FRENCH PROPHETS.—THE CAMISARS.—NICHOLAS FATIO, MAXIMILIAN MISSON, AND ELIAS MARION.—MR. LACY AND SIR RICHARD BULKELEY JOIN THE PROPHETS.—DISAPPOINTED IN THE RESURRECTION OF DR. EMMS.—MEETING-HOUSE IN BURY STREET BUILT.—SACHEVEREL RIOTS.—MEMORANDA CONCLUDES.—MR. SHALLOT.—MRS. PICKARD.—INSCRIPTION IN CHESHUNT CHURCH.—CORRESPONDENCE.

THE church with which Watts was now settled, is remarkable for the number of ejected ministers who have presided over it,* and the distinguished characters who have been enrolled among its members. It was founded by the celebrated Joseph Caryl, the author of the voluminous commentary on the book of Job; and consisted of some of his former hearers at St. Magnus, of which living the act of uniformity deprived him.† He preached to them as often as the rigour of the times would allow, sometimes probably at his own residence in Bury Street, but afterwards he had a meeting-house in Leadenhall Street. After the death of Mr. Caryl, which took place Fe-

* See Appendix F. † Wilson's Hist. of the Diss. Churches, vol. I. p. 252.

bruary 5, 1673, the church invited his friend, Dr. John Owen, to become their pastor, who having a small congregation in the neighbourhood, both interests agreed to unite.* The first time they assembled together was on the 5th of June, in the same year, when Dr. Owen preached to them from Colossians, iii. 14: "*And above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness.*" Mr. Caryl left behind him one hundred and thirty-six communicants; Dr. Owen brought with him thirty-five; so that the united church consisted of one hundred and seventy-one members. The union of religion with rank and station, was not then of such rare occurrence as at the present. In the list of members of this church, we find the names of Lord Charles Fleetwood, Sir John Hartopp, Colonel Desborough, brother-in-law to the Protector, Colonel James Berry, Lady Abney, Lady Hartopp, Lady Vere Wilkinson, Lady Thompson, and the eccentric Mrs. Bendish.

Nineteen years elapsed from the time of Dr. Owen's death to Watts's accession to the pastorship; and during the close of that period, the church and congregation gradually declined. The settlement of Watts with them, whose character, piety, and talents were now widely known and appreciated, was regarded by them as an auspicious event. His immediate friends anticipated beneficial results to the cause of religion; and the people among whom he was called to labour, indulged sanguine hopes of largely profiting by his instructions. But Providence frequently sees fit to mar our expectations, to cloud our prospects, and to deprive us of the objects of our affectionate solicitude. It is by this painful yet salutary discipline, that the Christian is most effectually taught to withdraw his dependance from man, and to place it beyond the influence of human vicissitudes. By fresh inroads of sickness, the newly-appointed pastor was disabled from the discharge of ministerial duty; and the painful necessity was speedily imposed upon the church, of providing him an assistant in his labours.

* Orme's Life of Owen, p. 362.

“Visited my friends at Southto. July, 1702.

“Seized with violent Gaundise and cholic 3 weeks after my return to London. And had a very slow recovery—8 or 9 weeks’ illness. From Sept. 8 or thereabout, to Nov. 27 or 8.

“This year (viz.) 1702, by slow degrees removed from Newington to Mr. Thos. Hollis’s in the Minories.”*

The commencement of Watts’s public labours at Bury Street, leads me to advert to the state of the different religious parties in the nation at that era. Perhaps there has been no period since the Reformation, when the ministry of religion in the establishment exercised so little beneficial influence upon the people, as at the accession of Queen Anne. The zeal which had animated the puritans and the first nonconformists, was contemptuously denounced by the clergy as fanaticism; and nearly half a century elapsed before the awakening voice of Whitfield and Wesley roused any of them from their dream. The church, in the language of Archbishop Leighton, was “a fair carcase without a spirit;” the clergy, according to Burnet, were “the most remiss in their labours, and the least severe in their lives of any in Europe.” Nor is this strong language any violation of the bounds of truth. The establishment was denuded of its most illustrious worthies, when the Bartholomew divines, in an evil day, were cast forth; and the spirit of piety, with very few exceptions, alike deserted the altar and the pulpit. The doctrines taught in the liturgy, homilies, and articles of the church were neglected, perverted, or their meaning explained away; the sermon on the sabbath was an ethical discourse or metaphysic disquisition, bought of the cheapest vender, or pilfered from the nearest shelf; and the majority of those who came to pray remained to sleep. Aversion to Calvinistic theology, hateful because the prevailing divinity of the commonwealth, became a test of orthodoxy with the episcopal divines; and many in

* Watts’s MS.

consequence not only plunged direct into Arminianism, but some into Arianism, and almost all became disciples of the Pelagian school. Dr. Southey indeed tells us, that "from the Restoration to the accession of the house of Hanover the English church could boast of its brightest ornaments and ablest defenders, men who have never been surpassed in erudition, in eloquence, or in strength and subtilty of mind." This may be true : but the very powers with which they were gifted, being perverted, occasioned the mischief which we lament ; for, instead of being employed in advocating the "truth as it is in Jesus," they were engaged in reducing Christianity to a philosophical system, and converting religion into a moral scheme. With all their Ciceronian eloquence and Attic purity, they knew not "the first principles of the doctrine of Christ" — they were the merest novices in theology — apostles of natural religion, rather than preachers of the revealed word — more familiar with Plato than Paul, with the ethics of Seneca than with the glories of the cross.

The state of religion among the dissenters, would appear to a superficial observer to have been still flourishing, though a closer inspection would bring to light in some instances symptoms of decline and decay ; they were hastening onwards to that trying passage in their history, when the Scylla of Antinomianism threatened them on the one hand, and the Charybdis of Socinian error on the other. A few churches were infected with the prurient theology of Crisp, while the seeds of speculative latitudinarianism were already sown. The Independents were chiefly in danger from the former evil, the Presbyterians from the latter ; an evil of far greater magnitude and more deadly character. But neither errors had at present any extensive operation, though they were silently insinuating their poison, and corrupting the pure and healthy streams that had in so many quarters fertilised the land. It is an unhappy circumstance, but one which the history of religion too plainly proves, that external prosperity has generally had

an unhappy influence upon it: its tone has been debased, its vigour has deteriorated, its purity become alloyed, when basking in the sunshine of a royal smile: in ease and security those energies have slumbered in the lap of effemination, which have been active at the post of duty in times of danger and of dread. I doubt not but the annals of nonconformity can furnish an illustration of the truth of these remarks, without giving an unqualified assent to the popular paradox, that persecution only nourishes that which it is intended to destroy. The change effected by the reign of William in the civil condition of the dissenters; the countenance given to them by the patriotic monarch and his far more noble-minded consort, had its evil as well as its good—that laxity and supineness which became so palpable and strongly marked under the second George, had its commencement, if I mistake not, beneath the sceptre of Nassau. The evil day was put off by the tumultuous reign of Anne; the signs of the times portended the return of Stuart principles with the return of Stuart blood to the throne; and the plague of Laodicean apathy, which afterwards seized upon the churches, was delayed by the threatening aspect of the political horizon. Why should it not be the case in the moral as well as in the natural world, that beneficial effects are produced by the instrumentality of agencies in themselves apparently unkindly and destructive—that storms should infuse a purer air, generate a healthier atmosphere, and disperse the fatal miasms that collect in the stillness and tranquillity of the heavens? It is certain, that the self-devotion of Baxter, the zeal and labours of Owen, the winning sweetness and polished diction of Bates, the almost more than mortal piety and eloquence of Howe, belong to the era of persecution; and the cold philosophy of Lardner, the moral lections of Kippis, the stiff and starched critical essays of Benson, and the dry effusions of a Socinianised ministry, to the period when “the churches had rest.”

At the opening of the eighteenth century, many of the me-

metropolitan dissenting ministers were worthy successors of the illustrious names, "the chiefs of mighty men" of a former age; they were eminent not only for their literary character, but evangelical piety and orthodox sentiments. The principal divines among the Presbyterians were, Dr. William Harris of Jewry Street—Mr. Thos. Reynolds at the Weigh-house, who greatly distinguished himself in the trinitarian controversy on the orthodox side—Dr. Grosvenor of Crosby Square—Mr. B. Robinson at Little St. Helen's, one of the four authors of the tract written against the Arian scheme—Mr. N. Taylor of Salter's Hall, who is eulogised by Doddridge as the "dissenting South"—Dr. Dan. Williams at New Broad Street, the founder of the Red-cross Street library—Mr. John Shower at the Old Jewry—Dr. E. Calamy of Prince's Street, Westminster—and Mr. W. Tong of Salter's Hall, one of the most attractive preachers of his day: among the Independents may be named Mr. J. Collins and R. Bragge, copastors at Lime Street, probably the most numerous and opulent congregation in the metropolis—Mr. Mat. Clarke of Miles's Lane, one of Watts's most intimate friends—Dr. Ridgley of the Three Cranes, Thames Street—Mr. Dan. Neal of Silver Street, the well-known historian—Mr. J. Nesbit of Hare Court—Mr. Dan. Burgess of New Court, a divine of the old puritan school—and Mr. T. Bradbury, at this time an assistant at Stepney. Their prevailing mode of sermonising speaks well for the intelligence and zeal of their congregations; for assuredly discourses of half the length or half the diffuseness, would shake the allegiance of a modern audience. The principal fault of the nonconformist divines was, a disposition to expand their subjects to their widest extent; not merely to illustrate the general sentiment of the text, but to eke out a meaning from its minutest parts, and if possible extract a lesson from the most obstinate word and barren particle. Hence their sermons partook largely of the prolixity and verbosity of the early puritans, though the want of condensa-

tion was amply compensated by enlarged views of divine truth, an extensive acquaintance with theology, and a peculiar richness of biblical illustration. But an unhappy change was at hand in the history of some of the dissenting churches; when ministers and people abandoned the faith of their fathers, and deserted the ark of the covenant to seek after vanity and lies. A metaphysical and philosophic divinity struck its tendrils round the hitherto luxuriant vine of nonconformity; the high and glorious spiritualities of religion were stripped of their distinctive and emphatic character; the devotion of the heart evaporated into an intellectual principle; and the conversion of the soul was frittered down into a mere natural process of mental enlightenment and cultivation.

It is probable that up to this period Watts had resided in the house of Sir John Hartopp, at Stoke Newington; but finding the distance inconvenient, he removed into the city, to be near the scene of his labours. The term of his residence in the baronet's family was upwards of six years, including his frequent visits to Southampton and Tunbridge. The gentleman with whom he lodged in the Minorities, was the father of Mr. Thos. Hollis, the munificent benefactor to Harvard College, Massachusetts, who resided in that part of the city. The important services rendered by this family to the church, demand for them an honourable notice in this place. Mr. Hollis was born in Sheffield, and brought up under the ministry of Mr. Fisher, one of the ejected ministers of that town. Removing to London, where he spent the remainder of his life, he amassed considerable property by mercantile pursuits, which he liberally expended in supporting the interests of religion. He built at his own expense meeting-houses at Rotherham and Doncaster, with permanent benefactions for the support of schools attached to them; and in Sheffield, his native town, the erection of alms-houses for the residence of sixteen poor persons, attested his generosity. Though a Baptist in sentiment, he was upwards of sixty years a member of

the Independent church at Pinner's Hall, and died during the pastorate of Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, at an advanced age, in the year 1718.* Mr. Thos. Hollis, jun., a member of the same church as his father, was equally eminent for piety and liberality; and Harvard college is indebted to him for valuable donations of books, philosophical apparatus, and the foundation of two of its professorships.†

“Mrs. Owen, Dr. Owen's widow, died, Jany. 18, 1703-4”‡

This lady was the widow of Thomas D'Oyley, Esq. brother to Sir John D'Oyley of Chiselhampton, near Stadham in Oxfordshire; and was united to Dr. Owen in June, 1677.§ She was descended from a family of distinction, at Kingston-Russel in Dorsetshire, of the name of Michel. The biographers of Owen describe her as eminent for good sense, piety, and an affectionate temper. She brought the doctor considerable property, which, in addition to his own fortune, enabled him to keep his carriage and country-house at Ealing, near Acton, in Middlesex, which he made his principal residence. After his death she continued a member of the church in Mark Lane under his successors Clarkson, Chauncey, and Watts, the last of whom preached her funeral sermon, on the 30th of January, 1703. To this lady Mr. Gilbert devotes the following lines in one of his epitaphs upon the doctor :

“Dorothea vice, non ortu, opibus, officiusve, secunda
Laboribus, Morbis, senioque ipso elanguenti
Indulgentissimam etiam se nutricem præstitit.”

“June—Mr. Samll. Price was chosen by ye church to assist me, 1703.”||

This gentleman was indeed a kindred spirit, and in him

* Dr. Jeremiah Hunt's funeral sermon for T. Hollis.

† Crosby's Hist. of the Baptists, vol. iv. p. 229. Dr. Colman's sermon on his death, entitled, “The Friend of Christ and his People.” Boston, April 1, 1731.

‡ Watts's MS.

§ Owen's Will.

|| Watts's MS.

Watts found an effective colleague and an affectionate friend. The connexion thus formed between them subsisted upwards of forty years, and was regarded by both parties as a peculiarly happy event. Mr. Price was a native of the principality, and received his academical education under Mr. Timothy Jollie, at Attercliffe near Sheffield. When chosen assistant at Mark Lane, his public services were so acceptable to the congregation, that during Watts's alarming illness, in 1713, he was elected joint-pastor. Some further notices of this excellent man we shall then have occasion to introduce. The whole of the year 1703 appears to have been one of suffering to Watts; in August he was again at Tunbridge for the benefit of his health; and some time probably elapsed before he was adequate to resume his pulpit labours.

“Augt. I went to Tunbridge, and stayd there 7 weeks, with scarce any benefit. For the waters, thro’ some defect of my stomach, did not digest well.

“Dec. After having intermitted, in a great measure, a method of study and pursuit of learning 4 years, by reason of my great indisposition of body and weakness of head (except what was of absolute necessity for my constant preaching), and being not satisfied to live so any longer, after due consideration and prayer, I took a boy to read to me and to write for me, whereby my studies are much assisted. Dec. 1703.

“1703, Nov. 26. Ffriday night and Saturday morning, the great and dreadful storm.”*

The tempest here referred to filled the whole kingdom with terror, and was the cause of immense commercial loss, and many melancholy accidents. It commenced between eleven and twelve at night, and covered the country with ruin between the Loire in France and the Trent in England. The historians of the times, give an affecting account of the dismal appearance of the district which was subject to its ravages:—

* Watts's MS.

houses unroofed—steeple blown down—stacks of corn scattered abroad—vessels dismasted or wrecked—and upwards of eight thousand persons drowned. “The wind,” says Oldmixon, “blew west, south-west, and grumbled like thunder, accompanied with flashes of lightning. It threw down several battlements and stacks of chimneys at St. James’s palace; tore to pieces tall trees in the park; and killed a servant in the house. The guard-house at Whitehall was much damaged, as was the banquetting-house. A great deal of lead was blown off Westminster abbey; and most of the lead on churches and houses either rolled up in sheets or loosened. The pious and learned prelate, Dr. Richard Kidder, bishop of Bath and Wells, and his lady, were killed by the fall of part of the old episcopal palace at Wells. The bishop of London’s sister, Lady Penelope Nicholas, was killed in a like manner at Horseley, in Sussex, and Sir John Nicholas, her husband, grievously hurt.”* The queen appointed a national fast, on account of this awful visitation, stating in her proclamation, that “we most humbly acknowledge it to be a token of the divine displeasure, and that it was the infinite mercy of God that we and our people were not thereby wholly destroyed.”† The dissenting congregations appear to have generally observed the day; and for some years afterwards commemorative sermons were preached at the meeting-house, Little Wild Street, London.‡ The event seems to have had a beneficial

* Oldmixon’s England, iii. 319.

† Upwards of 800 houses, 400 windmills, and 250,000 timber-trees were thrown down; 100 churches unroofed; 300 sail lost upon the coast; 900 wherries, barges, &c. destroyed on the Thames; the Eddystone lighthouse, built by Winstanley, was overthrown; and 15,000 sheep, besides other cattle, perished by the overflowing of the Severn.

‡ See “An Exact Relation of the late Dreadful Tempest, &c. faithfully collected by an Ingenious Hand, to preserve the Memory of so Terrible a Judgment. *Nos fatis agimur Variis: Contenditur fatis*,” p. 24. “The Storm, or a Collection of the most Remarkable Casualties and Disasters which happened in the late Dreadful Tempest, both by Sea and Land,” 8vo. p. 272. This was written by De Foe. The most singular production relating to this event is entitled, “A Warning from the Winds. A Sermon preached upon Wednesday, January xix. 1703-4.” This

effect upon the nation; attention was awakened to the state of public morals; the strife of party was hushed for a season; and both in and out of the establishment a laudable desire was evinced, to make the calamity subserve to promote the interests of practical piety.

“Visited my friends at Southto. . . . May, 1704.

“Removed our meeting-place to Pinner’s Hall, and began expositions of Scripture Jun. 1704.

“August 31, 1704. Bro. Richard marryd.

“Joseph Brandley, my first servt., went away, Dec. 1704, and Edwd. Hitchen came.”*

The dilapidated state of the building in Mark Lane, where Watts’s congregation had hitherto assembled, was the occasion of its removal to Pinner’s Hall. This place for more than a century was one of the most celebrated meeting-houses among the dissenters; here the Tuesday morning lecture was commenced at the Indulgence in 1672; and here the first names in the annals of nonconformity, Baxter, Owen, Bates, Manton, and Howe, preached to crowded audiences. The lease of Pinner’s Hall was held by an Independent church under Mr. Wavel; but as it was only occupied in the forenoon, it was let to various congregations for the afternoon service. Dr. Singleton’s people, who worshipped here a considerable time, removed in 1704 to Lorimer’s Hall, and Mr. Watts’s congregation appears to have been the next occupant. The meeting-house, though small, had six galleries, and was, therefore, capable of accommodating a considerable number.

was written by Joseph Hussey, a minister at Cambridge. He regards the event as a punishment inflicted on account of that “general contempt in England, under Gospel Light, cast upon the Work of the Holy Ghost, as to his Divine Breathings upon the Souls of Men.” He connects with it a “Laborious Exercitation upon Eph. ii. 2. about the Airy Oracles, Sybils, Prophetesses, Idolatry, and Sacrifices of the Elder Pagan Times; to defend this Text against the common mistake, that the Winds are raised by Satan, under the Divine Permission.” It is a most curious, learned, yet fanciful performance.

* Watts’s MS.

It was occupied by Mr. Watts's people until the close of the year 1708, when they removed to a new chapel in Bury Street, St. Mary Axe. The lease of Pinner's Hall expired in the year 1778; the church became then extinct; and the building has since been appropriated to commercial purposes.

The illness and death of Locke, during the course of this year, were noticed by Watts's pen. Perhaps no individual did more in his day, to advance the cause of religious liberty, and to promote an enlightened toleration, than this distinguished philosopher. The recent memorials of his life, from the pen of his noble descendant, Lord King, show him to have been in principle a firmer dissenter than is generally supposed; and the bold stand he made against the bigotry of the times, might well cause his death to be lamented. There are three poems in the *Lyrics*, entitled "To John Locke retired from Business;" "On Mr. Locke's dangerous illness some time after he had retired to study the Scriptures;" and "On Mr. Locke's Annotations upon several parts of the New Testament left behind him at his death." To this latter production there is the following note appended: "Mr. Locke's annotations on Rom. iii. 25, and paraphrase on Rom. ix. 5, have inclined some readers to doubt whether he believed the deity and satisfaction of Christ. Therefore, in the fourth stanza, I invoke Charity, that by her help I may find him out in heaven, since his notes on 2 Cor. v. ult. and some other places, give me reason to believe he was no Socinian, though he has darkened the glory of the gospel and debased Christianity."* The lines, for which these words seem apologetical, commence

"Sister of Faith, fair Charity,
Show me the wondrous man on high,
Tell how he sees the Godhead, 'Three in One.'"

The latitudinarian tendency of Locke's creed is evident from the paper entitled "*Adversaria Theologica*;" a decided leaning to the Arian school appears in some of his other works;

* Hor. Lyr. lib. ii.

but the above notices of him are interesting, as they plainly show, that the writer's own theological sentiments betrayed as yet no tinge of the latitudinarianism of him he panegyricised.

"Visited Southton. July, 1705.

"Published my poems,* Dec. 1705.

"Augt. 1705, Mr. Tho. Rowe, my Tutor dyed.

"Went to Southton. May 18, 1706; returned again with butt small recruit of health, July 5. Went to Tunbridge Aug. 8.

"Returned much stronger, Aug. 30.

"Mr. Benoni Rowe, my intimate friend, dyed, April, 1706.†

*See chap. viii.

† Mr. Benoni Rowe was the younger brother of Mr. Watts's tutor, and pastor of the independent church in Fetter-Lane. He is described as possessing "an accurate judgment, and a considerable stock of useful learning, to which he joined excellent talents for preaching, and a most lively and engaging conversation." *Life of Mrs. Rowe*, p. 7. He was the father of the husband of the justly celebrated Mrs. Eliz. Rowe. Mr. Watts is wrong as to the date of his death, which took place on the 30th of March, 1706. The family vault of the Rowe's in Bunhill fields, has the following inscription:

"Here lyeth the body of
JOHN ROWE,
Sometime Preacher in the Abbey of Westminster,
Who died, October, xii.
in the 52nd year of his age,
Anno, 1677.

Near this tomb
Lies the body of the late learned and pious
MR. THEOPHILUS GALE.

Under this stone is the body of
MR. THOMAS ROWE,
The eldest son of Mr. John Rowe,
Late Minister of the Gospel in London.
He departed this life the xviii. day of August,
In the year of our Lord 1705,
In the 49th year of his age.

Here also lies the body of
MR. BENONI ROWE,
Minister of the Gospel in London,
Who departed this life the 30th day of March,
In the year of our Lord 1706,
In the 49th year of his age."

“Bro. Thomas marry’d, May 9th, 1706.

“Union of Eng. and Scot. May 1, 1707.”*

The union of the two kingdoms here referred to, was an event in which the dissenters were deeply interested: they regarded it as necessary to secure to the crown the protestant succession, and to the country in general the reformed interest. Their services were frequently employed by the ministry, in carrying this much-opposed project; and Mr. Shute, afterwards Lord Viscount Barrington, a name which will frequently occur in the following pages, was sent as the representative of the English dissenters into Scotland to negotiate. De Foe, another nonconformist, was also employed in furthering the scheme;† and a slight acquaintance with the history of the union is sufficient to show, that but for the efficient support of the body, the measures of the government would have sustained a temporary defeat. The ministers of the three denominations went up with a congratulatory address to the queen, and the event was celebrated by a public and general thanksgiving.

Early in the year 1707, Mr. Watts printed an “Essay against Uncharitableness, wherein the secret springs of that Vice are traced, and the Mischievous Effects of it briefly surveyed; written to expose that most Unchristian Iniquity of Censures, Church-Anathemas, on the account of smaller disputables in Christianity.”‡ “Publisht Essay against Uncharitableness, April, 1707.”§ But one edition of this piece was published, though a reprint was often called for: it was soon after incorporated in a larger work, entitled,

* Watts’s MS.

† De Foe was the author of many appeals to the nation upon this subject, and illustrated the advantages of a union in a tract founded upon the well-known northern proverb:

“If Skiddaw hath a cap,
Seruffel wotts full well of that.”

‡ Works, vol. ii. pp. 506—529. Leeds edit. 8vo.

§ Watts’s MS.

“Orthodoxy and Charity united.” The benevolent mind of the writer witnessed with pain the dissensions that occurred among those who held the cardinal truths of Christianity; dissensions about the external ritual of devotion, vestures, ceremonies, forms of prayer, and the various points which separated the dissenters from the hierarchy; and he ardently wished to see them again united, if not within the pale of an establishment, at least in charitable sentiments and practices towards each other. It would have been well for the cause of religion, had all nonconformists and churchmen partook of this kindly feeling, overlooked their little differences and petty jealousies, and been as united in effort as they were zealous in exertion; but, unhappily, the spirit of party was allowed to predominate, and the momentous interests of the truth were too often sacrificed to sectarian bigotry on the one hand, and priestly intolerance on the other.

Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?

By orthodoxy the author understands all those doctrines which were generally received and professed by protestants at the Reformation; and he advocates the extension of a fraternal love towards all those who agree here, however widely in other respects they may differ. The page of ecclesiastical history exhibits a dark record of the evils of intolerance; the eastern and western churches alternately anathematised each other; awful delinquencies in practice were venial, when compared with circumstantial differences in opinion; and the sword, the argument which bigotry always employs when practicable, was drenched in blood, to enforce a uniformity in every punctilio of faith and observance. The same spirit, though in a modified degree, degrades the annals of protestant Christendom; a rail in the sanctuary, a robe over the priest, or a table position at the communion, has frequently engendered irreconcilable animosity; and he who could not interpret the word “church” with the episcopalian as a diocese, or with the independent as a company of

faithful men, or with the presbyterian as a consistory of elders, has been cast off as a novice in theology, and a heretic in religion. Cicero notices and brands this wretched exclusionism, "*vestra solum legitis, vestra amatis, cæteros causa incognita condemnatis.*"* In the reign of Queen Anne, when Mr. Watts published his essay, this spirit especially characterised the high-church party; and the object of their greatest ambition seemed to be, to cripple the energies and destroy the usefulness of the dissenters. It was a significant reproof which Tillotson gave to Beveridge, who scrupled to read the brief for the relief of the French protestants, as contrary to the rubric: "Doctor, doctor, charity is above rubrics."†

"Went to Southton. July; returned July. Went to Tunbridge, Aug.; returned Sept. 3.

"All this year my health has been increasing.

"Published my Hymns and Spll. Songs, July, 1707.‡

"Overturned in a coach without hurt, Oct. 5, 1707."§

In the autumn of this year, Mr. Watts printed a sermon preached at Salter's Hall, before the societies for the reformation of manners in the cities of London and Westminster. "Preached a Reformation Sermo. and printed it, Oct. 6, 1707."|| These societies were established in the year 1692, under the patronage of William III., and were conducted by both dissenters and churchmen. They were intended to check the dissolute morals of the people; to abolish the houses of ill fame that swarmed in the metropolis; to provide for the instruction of ignorant and vagrant children; and to procure a more decorous observance of the sabbath. The taste of the age is thus described by a keen and accurate observer of the times:

"One man reads Milton, forty Rochester."

* "*De Nat. Deorum.*" † Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 131. ‡ See chap. viii.

§ Watts's MS. || Watts's MS. Works, vol. i. pp. 625—641. Leeds edit. 8vo.

The publication of the Book of Sports, by James I., and the patronage extended to it by his unfortunate son, opened the flood-gates of vice and irreligion; and, after the Restoration, the licentiousness in which the court of Charles II. indulged, to show their contempt of fanatical strictness and puritanical precision, lowered the national character, and led the people, influenced by the example of their superiors, into the grossest sensuality and crime. It was not until after the Revolution that any attempt was made by the religious public to stem the torrent of profligacy; for the nonconformists, insecure and oppressed in the exercise of their own religion, could only mourn in secret over the evils of the times. The example and influence of Queen Mary gave rise to the first attempts to reform the nation; in consequence of an address from the commons in 1698, a proclamation was issued for preventing and punishing immorality and profaneness, and an act of parliament was passed to the same effect.* Mr. Watts bears his testimony respecting the vicious lives of his countrymen; and represents it as become a common proverb abroad, "he swears like a Briton; he is as drunk as an Englishman; as lewd and profane as a Londoner." The reformation societies were certainly, from the testimony of contemporary historians, instrumental in effecting much good; many of the asylums of vice, by their means, were broken up; and a striking improvement in the public morals was soon visible. "England," says a writer in the year 1706, "bad as she is, is yet a reforming nation. Let any man look back to the days of King Charles II., when rampant vice overran the court, when all sort of lewdness spread over the face of authority. Let him view the example of the late royal pair; let him look into the examples now reigning, and tell me. Is it nothing to dethrone the devil and depose his agents? To disarm the factors of hell, and banish rampant vice?"†

*Tindal, iii. 374.

† De Foe, Review, iii. 613, 614. This imprudent man, but acute observer,

The sermon by Mr. Watts is founded upon an historical passage: Aaron and Hur holding up the hands of Moses when interceding in behalf of Israel against Amalek; from which he infers the duty of the ministry and the community at large, to assist and support the magistracy in a righteous administration of the laws.*

An extravagant delusion agitated the nation, and especially the religious world, about this period, introduced by some French emigrants, who pretended to possess the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit, and to be the founders of a new dispensation of religion. The power of working miracles, and the gift of prophecy, they advanced as the credentials of their divine mission. "This fancy," says Calamy,† "had been at work in France, in 1703, and many fell in with it. An attempt was made to relieve and recruit, assist and supply, those that were in this way of thinking, when our English fleet went into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in 1704. These people in France were

remarks: "I must note, and I am sure I do it with a great deal of justice, that, in the first two years of her majesty's reign (Anne), when the high-flying party had the ascendant over our councils, the kingdom of crime began, and May-poles and play-houses grew up like churches at the Reformation. This gives ground to the story of an old woman, who, having seen the music and dancing about one of their new May-poles on a Sunday, and remembering the blessed time when the sabbath used to be kept in that manner by authority, broke out into this most pious ejaculation about it: '*Good Lord, here's the old religion come again!*'"

*"An account of the Societies, &c. with a Persuasive to persons of all ranks to be diligent and zealous in promoting the execution of the Laws against profaneness and debauchery, &c. 1699, 8vo."

"An Account of the progress of the Reformation of Manners in England, Scotland and Ireland, and other parts of Europe and America, 1704, 4to."

The dissenters took a lively interest in the welfare of these societies, as the following imperfect list of published sermons, preached in their behalf by their ministers will show: 1697, John Howe, John Shower; 1698, Dr. Williams, Mr. Spademan; 1699, Dr. Calamy, Thos. Reynolds, Dr. Oldfield, Robert Fleming; 1700, Danl. Mayo, Timothy Rogers; 1701, Mr. Silvester; 1702, Dr. Harris; 1703, Mr. Tong; 1705, Dr. Grosvenor; 1706, Mr. Billingsley; 1707, Dr. Evans, Mr. Watts; 1708, Mr. Bradbury; 1709, Mr. John Newman; 1711, Mr. Matthew Clarke; 1713, Mr. Jer. Smith; 1715, Dr. Wright; 1716, Dr. Jer. Hunt; 1719, Mr. S. Rosewell.

† Cal. Life, ii. 71, 72, 73.

called Camisars, and strange and incredible stories were spread abroad concerning them. They were very fond of prophetic impulses, and abounded among the new converts in the Cévennes, and about Nismes and Uzez, and in all those parts. It was reported they were there guilty of great irregularities. They were vehemently opposed and run down, and at length suppressed by the Mareschals Montrevel and Villars. Some of them coming into England in 1706, with great vigour and earnestness endeavoured to spread their notions here, where they were but too well entertained. Their common cry among us was, that this new prophetic dispensation was to be proclaimed in every nation under heaven, beginning in England, and to be manifest over the whole earth within the short term of three years." One of the principal leaders of these enthusiasts was Mons. Nicholas Fatio Duilier, a Swiss, spoken of by Burnet as an incomparable philosopher and mathematician.* This learned fanatic had been professor of mathematics at Geneva; he was honoured with the friendship and correspondence of Sir Isaac Newton; but upon his arrival in England, he associated with his scientific pursuits the office of secretary to the Gallic school of prophecy. The other abettors of the novel faith, were Maximilian Misson, Elias Marion, and John D'Andè, all of whom were prosecuted by the government, for disturbing the public tranquillity. Fatio was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty marks, to stand in the pillory at Charing-cross, with the following inscription affixed to his hat: "Nicholas Fatio convicted for abetting and favouring Elias Marion, in his wicked and counterfeit prophe-

* Mons. Fatio was born in 1662; he resided at Utrecht as a tutor to two young gentlemen, Mr. Ellys and Thornton, during Dr. Calamy's residence there as a student. He was generally reputed a Spinozist; and Bishop Burnet says of him, "at twenty-two he was one of the greatest men of his age, and seemed to be born to carry learning some sizes beyond what it had yet attained." After his prosecution he retired to Worcester, where he died in 1753, upwards of ninety years old, to the last believing in the inspiration of the prophets.

cies, and causing them to be printed and published to terrify the queen's people."*

"This year ye French prophetts made a great noise in our nation, and drew in Mr. Lacy, Sir R. Bulkley, &c. 200 or more had ye agitations, 40 had ye inspiration. Proved a delusion of Satan at Birmingham, Feb. 3 or 4, 1707—8."†

Sir Richard Bulkeley, here mentioned, was a gentleman of considerable wealth and learning, which he employed in disseminating the notions of the Gallic prophets. Being deformed in person, he fully expected under the new dispensation to be made straight in a miraculous way; an event which, to his no small mortification and disappointment, did not occur before his death. He wrote in vindication of his party, and was answered by Calamy and Hoadley.‡ Mr. Lacy was a member of Dr. Calamy's own congregation at Westminster; his alliance with the enthusiasts led him to the most guilty excesses, and he terminated his career of infatuation a graceless debauchee. After abandoning a faithful wife and a numerous family, he connected himself with one of the inspired sisters, a woman in low life, which he blasphemously represented as quitting Hagar, and betaking himself to Sarah, by order of the Spirit.§ The whole imposture soon afterwards sunk into desuetude; for, the prophets having declared that

* Annals of Queen Anne's Reign, vol. vi. 371.

† Watts's MS.

‡ Calamy's "Caveat against the New Prophets, with a single sheet in answer to Sir Richard Bulkley's Remarks on the same. 1708."

Hoadley's "Brief Vindication of the Ancient Prophets, from the imputations and misrepresentations, &c. in a Letter to Sir Richard Bulkley, Bart. 1709."

§ Dr. Calamy gives us a curious account of the pretended "inspirations" and "agitations" of this licentious knave: "I went into the room where he sat, and walked up to him, and asked how he did, and took him by the hand and lifted it up, and it fell down flat upon his knees as it lay before. He took no notice of me, nor made me any answer; but I observed the humming noise grew louder by degrees, and the heaving in his breast increased, till it came up to his throat, as if it would have suffocated him. Then he at last proceeded to speak, or as he would have it taken, the Spirit spake in him. The speech was syllabical, and there was

one of their followers would rise from the dead on a specified day, to confirm the truth of their pretensions, the non-fulfilment of the prediction convinced the most credulous of the jugglery of which they had been the dupes. "May 25, 1708. The Prophetts disappointed by Mr. Emms not rising fro. the dead."* As the day fixed upon for the resuscitation of Dr. Emms approached, so much excitement prevailed that guards were stationed near the place of his burial, to suppress tumult and to prevent imposture; but the doctor slept soundly enough in his grave, and another instance was thus added to the tens of thousands already inscribed on the records of human folly, how liable man is to err, how powerful Satan is to deceive.

"Sister Sarah married, Feb. 1707—8.

"Pretender's invasion disappointed, March, 1708.†

"Went to Southto. and afterwards to Tunb. Aug. 2, 1708.

"Removed our meeting-place to Bury-Street, Sept. 29, 1708."‡

a distinct heave and breathe between each syllable; but it required attention to distinguish the words. I shall here add it, as far as my memory serves :

"Thou — hast — been — my — faith — ful — ser — vant ; — and — I — have — hon — our — ed thee : — But — I — do — not — take — it — well — that — thou — slight — est — and — op — pos — est — my — ser — vants — and — mes — sen — gers. — If — thou — wilt — fall — in — with — these — my — ser — vants, — thou — shalt — do — great — things — in — this — dis — pen — sa — tion ; — and — I — will — use — thee — as — a — glo — ri — ous — in — stru — ment — to — my — praise ; — and — I — will — take — care — of — thee — and thine : — but — if — thou — go — est — on — to — op — pose — my — ser — vants, — thou — wilt — fall — un — der — my — se — vere — dis — plea — sure."

"When the speech was over the humming and heaving gradually abated. I again asked him how he did. After some time he rose up, shook himself, and rubbed his eyes, like one just awaked out of sleep." *Life*, ii. 98.

* Watts's MS.

† Admiral Fourbin appeared off the Firth of Forth, at the head of a French fleet and army; but finding an English squadron ready to receive him, he steered northward in order to effect a landing. His attempt was defeated by a violent tempest, which scattered the fleet; so that he returned to Dunkirk from whence he embarked, with the loss of several ships, and upwards of four thousand men. The unfortunate and unjustly-suspected Lord Belhaven was arrested upon this occasion by the government, and died soon after his liberation on bail.

‡ Watts's MS.

Duke's Place, Bury Street, St. Mary Axe, the site of Mr. Watts's meeting-house, was occupied previous to the Reformation by the Priory of the Holy Trinity, one of the most celebrated of the metropolitan ecclesiastical establishments.* Its founder was Matilda, queen of Henry I, who at the instigation of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Beaumeis, bishop of London, conferred upon it many important privileges. The prior was always alderman of Portsoken-Ward, but generally appointed a substitute for the transaction of temporal matters. At the dissolution of the monasteries, this priory was among the first that were seized by Henry, on account of its riches, who gave it to Sir Thomas Audley, the then speaker of the house of commons, and afterwards lord chancellor. He erected a noble mansion on its site, and resided in it until his death, when it descended to the Howard family, by the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of Norfolk, which gave to the locality the name of Duke's Place. Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Thomas Wyat, and the Earl of Northumberland, had also houses in this neighbourhood, as well as the abbots of Bury, from whom Bury Street derived its name. In the time of Oliver Cromwell, the Jews, who now form its principal inhabitants, first settled in the district. The meeting-house built here for Mr. Watts's congregation, which still exists, is a substantial square building, with three galleries of considerable dimensions. Like most of the old dissenting chapels, the situation it occupies is certainly an ineligible one; but the difficulty of finding a favourable site in a crowded metropolis, and the necessity of retreating as much as possible from the inquisitorial eye of prowling informers, may account for the obscure recesses in which the fathers of nonconformity erected their homely sanctuaries. The expense of the building was not quite £.650; a trifling sum when compared with the cost of the large and elegant

* Wilson's Dissenting Churches, i. 251, quoting Strype's, Maitland's and Penant's Histories of London.

structures of more recent date. The original contract was with a Mr. Charles Great, who leased a part of his garden, viz. forty feet front, and fifty feet in depth, for a term of fifty years, at a ground rent of twenty pounds per annum. The chapel was opened by Mr. Bradbury, Oct. 3rd, and Mr. Watts's people were succeeded in the afternoon at Pinner's Hall, by a Baptist congregation under the care of Mr. J. Maisters.

"Terrible long snowy winter, 1708—9.

"Went to Southton. June — Tunbridg. Aug. 1709.

"Bro. R. came to settle in Londo. Oct. 7, 1709.

"Edward Hitchin, my servant, went away Dec. 31.

"March 1, 1709 — 10. The mob rose and pulled down the pews and galleries of 6 meeting-houses, viz. Mr. Burgess, Mr. Bradbury, Mr. Earle, Mr. Wright, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Ch. Taylor, but were dispersed by the guards under Capt. Horsey at 1 or 2 in ye morning."*

These riots were occasioned by the impeachment of that politico-religious incendiary Dr. Sacheverel, and occurred on the second evening of his trial. The toleration of the dissenters was a continual source of vexation to this high churchman and his party; and in the pulpit of St. Paul's he gave vent to his displeasure against the government in a seditious sermon, for which he was prosecuted. But this ill-judged proceeding only brought him into public notice, and invested a contemptible zealot with a martyr's sanctity. So excited were the populace in his favour, that they accompanied him from the Temple to Westminster Hall and back on each day of his trial, extolling his zeal for the church, and vociferating their hatred to dissent. The evening in question was illuminated with bon-fires, made of the pews and pulpits of demolished meeting-houses, the mob shouting "High Church and Dr. Sacheverel for ever!" Mr. Daniel Burgess and Mr. Bradbury

* Watts's MS.

were special objects of enmity, and had their persons and dwelling-houses threatened. The populace in several parts of the country sympathised with the metropolitan mobs in these violent proceedings; and at Wrexham Dr. Daniel Williams, Mr. Burgess, and the celebrated Hoadley, were buried, burnt, and drowned in effigy.*

“I bought a horse for my health, Appl, 1710.

“I rode down to Southton. and back again, June; and, according to ye account I kept, I rode above 800 miles from April 10 to Sept. 28.

“I removed from Mr. Hollis’s, and went to live with Mr. Bowes, Dec. 30; and John Merchant, my servt. came to me.

“Mr. Arthur Shallot sen. dyed, 4th Feb. 1710-11; and Mr. Tho. Hunt, merchant, and his wife dyed about the same time.

“Mrs. Ann Pickard dyed Appl. 7, 1711.

“Went to Southto. in June — returned July.

“Went to Tunbridge, Aug. returned, being under a disorder of my stomach and freqt. pains of the head. Found some relief at Tunbr. waters.

* Mr. Hughes, Watts’s fellow-student, draws a lively picture of the metropolis at this time, in a poem entitled, “Hudibras imitated. Written in the year 1710.”

“O blessed time of reformation,
That’s now beginning through the nation,
Black tinkers bawl aloud ‘to settle
Church-privilege’ for ‘mending kettle;’
The oyster-wenches lock their fish up,
And cry, ‘No presbyterian bishop;’
Some cry for ‘penal laws,’ instead
Of ‘pudding, pies and ginger-bread;’
And some for ‘brooms, old boots and shoes;’
Roar out, ‘God bless our commons house;’
Instead of ‘kitchen stuff,’ some cry,
‘Confound the late whig ministry;’
Rogues, that, like Falstaff, scarce know whether
A church’s inside’s stone or leather;
Yet join the parsons and the people,
To cry, ‘the church,’ but mean ‘the steeple.’

“If, holy mother, such you’ll own
For your true sons, and such alone,
Then heaven have mercy upon you,
But the deil take your beastly crew.”

“My Lady Hartopp dyed, Nov. 9; and Mrs. Gould, Nov. 15, 1711.”*

With this extract the private memoranda of Mr. Watts closes; and it must ever remain a subject of deep regret, that he has left us nothing further from his own pen, relative to his personal history and public labours. Of Lady Hartopp and Mrs. Gould we have already spoken: the other individuals whose decease is here noticed, were among Mr. Watts’s religious associates and friends. Mr. Arthur Shallot had the honour to be one of the founders of the first English charity school in the year 1687; he was a member of the presbyterian church in St. Thomas’s Southwark, under the care of Mr. Nathaniel Vincent, and was much beloved for his zeal and liberality. In connexion with Messrs. Samuel Warburton and Ferdinand Holland, members of the same church with himself, he erected a meeting-house in Zoar Street, which was occupied by a presbyterian congregation from the year 1687 to 1740. This place, which usually went by the name of Shallot’s Meeting, was afterwards let to a seceder from Mr. Wesley’s connexion,† and since his death, in 1756, it has been converted into a warehouse. To Mr. Shallot Watts inscribed an elegy to the memory of Mr. Thos. Gouge,‡ the minister of the ‘Three Cranes’ meeting, whom he highly esteemed and revered. It may not be out of place to introduce here an observation relative to this distinguished man, made in conversation with Dr. Gibbons:—“The greatest preachers,” he remarked, “in my younger time, were Mr. John Howe,§ and Mr. Thomas Gouge,|| whose strength lay

* Watts’s MS.

† Wesley’s Journals, ii. p. 30.

‡ Horæ Lyr. lib. iii.

§ Mr. Howe has a niche in the Lyric temple:

“Great man, permit the muse to climb,
And seat her at thy feet,” &c. *Lib* ii.

|| This Mr. Gouge must not be confounded with the ejected minister of St. Sepulchres of the same name. He was first pastor at Amsterdam; then at the Three Cranes, from about the Revolution to the year 1700, when he died.

in the illustration of scripture; Mr. Stennet* was, in his preaching, like a silver stream, which runs along without bush or stones to interrupt it." Mrs. Pickard was the wife of Mr. Thos. Pickard, a member and probably a deacon of the church in Bury Street. It was for this gentleman that the funeral sermon was preached, which is inserted at the close of this volume. The following inscription in Cheshunt church, against the south wall, relative to his son, was composed by Mr. Watts:

"In memory of
THOMAS PICKARD,
citizen of London, who dy'd suddenly,
Jan. 29, A. D. 1719-20,
ætat. 50.

"A soul prepar'd needs no delays,
The summons come, the saint obeys:
Swift was his flight and short the road,
He clos'd his eyes, and saw his God.
The flesh rests here till Jesus come,
And claims the treasure from the tomb."

Underneath this has been added at a subsequent period:

"In memory also of
Sarah Pickard, of Theobalds,
widow and relict of the above-mentioned
Thomas Pickard, and daughter of
Sir Robert Jocelyn, of Hyde Hall,
in this county, Bart.;
She dyed the 23 of June, 1759, aged 86,
full of piety as well as days."

* Mr. Stennet was minister of a sabbatarian congregation in Devonshire Square; he was the grandfather of Dr. Samuel Stennet.

"TO SARAH AND MARY WATTS.*

"Dear Sisters,

"Read the love of my heart in the first line of my letter and believe it. I am much concerned to hear of my mother's continued weakness. We take our share in these painful disorders of nature, which afflict her whom we honour and love. I know also that your hurries of business must be more than doubled thereby; but we are daily leaving care and sin behind us. The past temptations shall vex us no more: the months which are gone return not, and the sorrows which we hourly feel lessen the decreed number. Every pulse beats a moment of pain away, and thus by degrees we arrive nearer to the sweet period of life and bliss.

"Bear up, my dear ones, through the ruffling storms
Of a vain vexing world, tread down the cares,
Those ragged thorns which lie across the road,
Nor spend a tear upon them. Trust me, Sisters,
The dew of eyes will make the briers grow;
Nor let the distant phantom of delight
Too long allure your gaze, or swell your hope
To dangerous size. If it approach your feet,
And court your hand, forbid th' intruding joy
To sit too near your heart. Still may our souls
Claim kindred with the skies, nor mix with dust
Our better-born affections, leave the globe
A nest for worms, and hasten to our home.

"O, there are gardens of th' immortal kind,
Which crown the heavenly *Eden's* rising hills
With beauty and with sweets. No lurking mischief
Dwells in the fruit, nor serpent twines the boughs;
The branches bend laden with life and bliss
Ripe for the taste, but 'tis a steep ascent;
Hold fast the golden chain† let down from heav'n,

* This letter, greatly enlarged, is inserted in the Lyrics. It is addressed to Sarissa, his sister Sarah, probably after the death of his sister Mary.

† The gospel.

'Twill help your feet and wings. I feel its force
 Draw upward: fastened to the heavenly gate,
 It guides the way unerring. Happy eluc
 'Through this dark wild! 'Twas wisdom's noblest work,
 All join'd by pow'r divine, and every link is love.

"Sisters,

"Accept the sudden rapture kindly. The muse is not awake every day. If she has a moment's release from the lethargy, see, 'tis devoted to serve and please you. — &c.

"June 15, 1704."

"TO HENRY BENDISH, ESQ.

"With some verses upon his marriage.

"Aug. 24, 1705.

"Dear Sir,

"The following song was yours when first composed;* the muse then described the general fate of mankind, that is, to be ill matched; and now she rejoices that you have escaped the common mischief, and that your soul has found its own mate. Let this ode, then, congratulate you both. Grow mutually in more complete likeness and love; persevere and be happy.

"I persuade myself you will accept from the press what the pen more privately inscribed to you long ago; and I am in no pain lest you should take offence at the fabulous dress of this poem; nor would weaker minds be scandalised at it, if they would give themselves leave to reflect how many divine truths are spoken by the holy writers in visions and images, parables and dreams; nor are my wiser friends ashamed to defend it, since the narrative is grave, and the moral so just and obvious.

"ISAAC WATTS."

*The Indian Philosopher, Lyrics, lib. ii.

“ TO THE REV. JOHN SHOWER.*

“With an elegy upon the death of his daughter, Mrs. Anne Warner, who died of the small-pox, Dec. 18, 1707, at one of the clock in the morning, a few days after the birth and death of her first child.

“Reverend and dear Sir,

“How great soever was my sense of your loss, yet I did not think myself fit to offer any lines of comfort: your own meditations can furnish you with many a delightful truth in the midst of so heavy a sorrow; for the covenant of grace has brightness enough in it to gild the most gloomy providence; and to that sweet covenant your soul is no stranger. My own thoughts were much impressed with the tidings of your daughter's death; and though I made many a reflection on the vanity of mankind in its best estate, yet I must acknowledge that my temper leads me most to the pleasant scenes of heaven, and that future world of blessedness. When I recollect the memory of my friends that are dead, I frequently rove into the world of spirits, and search them out there: thus I endeavoured to trace Mrs. Warner; and these thoughts crowding fast upon me, I set them down for my own entertainment. The verse breaks off abruptly, because I had no design to write a finished elegy; and, besides, when I was fallen upon the dark side of death, I had no mind to tarry there. If the lines I have written be so happy as to entertain you a little, and divert your grief, the time spent in composing

* First pastor of the church in the Old Jewry, now lapsed into Socinianism. He was born at Exeter, and educated at Newington Green under Mr. Morton. His first sermon was preached in Mr. Vincent's meeting-house in Hand-alley, from Psalm, cxix. 30: “I have chosen the way of truth.” He travelled abroad with Sir Samuel Barnardiston, and at Geneva contracted an intimacy with the learned Turretin the younger. Mr. Shower afterwards resided at Utrecht and Rotterdam, owing to the persecution of the dissenters, with Mr. Howe, Mr. N. Taylor, Sir Patience Ward, and M. Papillon. He settled in England soon after the Revolution, and died beloved and respected, June 28, 1715.

them shall not be reckoned among my lost hours, and the review will be more pleasing to,

“ Sir,

“ Your affectionate humble Servant,

“ I. WATTS.

“ Decem. 22, 1707.”

“ TO THE REV. SAMUEL SAY.*

“ Dec. 23, 1708.

“ My dear friend,

“ Whether I have written to you since I received yours at Tunbridge I know not; for that I now thank you, yet I imagine that I have already thanked you, and that you are in my debt. I believe with you, that Mr. H.’s insisting so much on the duties of morality, and pressing them upon the motive of Christ’s example above and beyond all other motives, has been a reason why some persons have suspected him of Socinianizing, though he has several times, in the pulpit and in converse, exprest his sentiments very plainly opposite to Socinus in the great points of controversy. I wish he had always done it, and talked with caution in all places on those subjects. He has raised many scruples among many persons; but I quash them wherever I find them. Now, my dear friend, I would lay aside all thought of Mr. H. in what follows. Let me inquire of you, whether you imagine the great and glorious doctrines of the gospel were all contrived, and the affairs themselves transacted, merely to subserve a little morality; whether our great Lord Jesus Christ was incarnate and died, rose and lives, and gave such a gospel, chiefly that we might be just and kind to our neighbours (for those two things include all moral duties), or rather, whether the honour of the wisdom, grace, and justice of God, the glory of his Son Jesus Christ,

* Mr. Say was now at Lowestoft near Yarmouth.

and the eternal enjoyment of his own love, which his chosen ones obtain thereby, be not far the greater ends of God's contriving the gospel, and sending it among men; and, consequently, whether these ought not to be insisted on in our preaching at least as much as morality. You know me and my way, therefore I talk to you with freedom, and would have the very sense of your soul on this subject. I could quote St. Paul largely for this purpose, but you know his spirit; morality was not the chief ornament of it.

"My bookseller urges me to reprint my Hymns, and talks of another edition of the Poems. I earnestly beg you to point me those lines in either which are offensive to the weak and pious, and shocking and disgusting to the polite, or obscure to the vulgar capacity, or, in short, whatever you think should be mended, and if you please with your amendment; but I entreat it especially for the Hymns in a fortnight's time. Farewell, and love

"Your affectionate Brother

"in the gospel,

"I. WATTS."

TO THE SAME.

"March 12, 1709.

"My dear friend,

"Your two letters require a larger answer than I can now give, but I am ashamed of so long delay. I send you my thanks for those few remarks you were pleased to make on my Hymns. I easily believe a longer review of them would have afforded more numerous and more obvious grounds of friendly censure. The method I took was, to collect all the remarks together, that several friends had made by word or letter, and got a friend or two together, and spent a whole day in perusing and considering the remarks; I agreed

to their judgments I think in all things ; in the whole, there are near half a hundred lines altered, I hope always for the better. Some that were less offensive were let pass ; for the bookseller desired I would not change too much ; besides that lesser faults would not be spied by the vulgar, nor much offend the polite. But I have added above a hundred, and most of them to the First Book. I hope all now more approvable, for their chief design, than the foregoing edition. The printer, by the cold weather, and by working off a supplement of the New Hymns apart, has been made so dilatory, that he has not yet printed all the First Book. If, therefore, you see lines that are very unfit for Christian use, or evidently improper, or disagreeable to you in the Second or Third Books, point them out to me in a week or two, and oblige me further.

“ I rejoice, dear brother, when I find you concurring with me in the great ends of Christianity, (*viz.*) the glory of God’s perfections, as being much superior and infinitely preferable to our single or social human virtues and relative duties in this mortal mixed state. When I used the words (*mere morality*) I confined them to this sense, though I know the word *moral* has a larger extent when applied to the law, &c. But, vulgarly, we mean by it *second table duties*. Therefore, we have differed merely about a word, and I ask your pardon for the occasion. I am of your mind too, that *moral relative duties*, such as justice, goodness, truth, &c. and *solitary* — such as sobriety, temperance, &c. should be insisted on, and well intermingled with the diviner part of the gospel. It is a just remark, that a minister in the country knows the moral character of his hearers much better than in the city : perhaps we should have more reason to be large upon the second table, did we see so much neglect here as you do there.

“ I have received no notice from Mr. Lewis about what you wrote ; but I am utterly precluded long ago from serving any friend, having a near relation, for whom I have engaged

Mr. Shute's interest, whenever any such kind of place falls ; and I believe Mr. Shute will oblige me. Farewell, dear friend, tell me when you design this way. Last week your mother and family were well.

“ I am yours affectionately,

“ I. WATTS.”

TO THE SAME.*

“ London, Nov. 1, 1709.

“ Dear Sir,

“ ’Twas at Tunbridge Wells I received your letter, with the account of Mr. Ward's ordination at Woodbridge. Just now I read a large narrative, by letter, of Mr. Scott's ordination to his church. Your remarks on two or three heads give me occasion for the same.

“ You speak of yourself and the rest of your order as wanting a name. I think you are ministers of Christ, and ordinary evangelists. A person whose gifts have been approved by a church of Christ, and its elders, who devotes himself solemnly and publicly to the work of the gospel, who is thereupon sent forth to preach by the elders and brethren of a church, with a word of exhortation and prayer, is, in my opinion, a minister of the gospel, and has not only authority to preach, but also to baptize. The Lord's supper being an ordinance of communion with one another, &c. seems to require a more particular union and relation to a single church: but if any are otherwise minded, I shall not be angry with 'em. Note, if there are no elders in a church which sends forth a minister, it is (at least) prudentially necessary to have the approbation and assistance of neighbouring elders, if such can be had. But I can't tell how to make any thing necessary to consti-

*It appears from this Letter, that Mr. Say had not yet been ordained over any particular church.

tute a minister that involves a necessity of succession from the apostles' days.

"The laying on of hands can never be proved from scripture to be an essential requisite to ordination that I can find, nor that an office is thereby ordinarily conveyed; but it has been a sign in use in all ages, agreeably to, and derived from, the nature of things, when a superior has prayed for a blessing on an inferior, or when any thing has been devoted to sacred use; I could use it, therefore, on all such occasions, with great freedom, or omit it, according as might be most agreeable to the church where I minister; and if I were to be removed by providence twenty times, I could submit so often to the imposition of hands.

"I hear you were at Mr. Scott's public ordination; I hope all things will succeed well there, and that God will give him prudence to conduct his affairs with success to the gospel, honour to God, and good to souls.

"I shall be glad to hear of your ministry being blest sensibly for conversion. I hope you health: mine is as usual, my head capable of very little study; and I'm like to be deprived of assistance, Mr. Hollis being not willing to keep any servant for me in the house, having been, in some instances, a little incommoded by my servant. I owe you a Book of Hymns, if you can tell me how to convey it. Let me hear from you ere long.

"I am yours,

"I. WATTS."

FROM MR. SECKER, AFTERWARDS DR. SECKER, ARCH-
BISHOP OF CANTERBURY.*

"Gloucester, Nov. 18, 1711.

"Rev. Sir,

"Before I give you an account of the state of our academy, and those other things you desired me, please to

*This interesting letter was written at the age of nineteen, by Mr. afterwards

accept of my hearty thanks for that service you have done me, both in advising me to prosecute my studies in such an extraordinary place of education, and in procuring me admittance into it. I wish my improvements may be answerable to the advantages I enjoy; but however that may happen, your kindness has fixed me in a place where I may be very happy, and spend my time to good purpose, and where, if I do not, the fault will be all my own.

“I am sensible how difficult it is to give a character of any person or thing, because the most probable guesses we make very often prove false ones. But since you are pleased to desire it, I think myself obliged to give you the best and most impartial account of matters I can.

“Mr. Jones, then, I take to be a man of real piety, great learning, and an agreeable temper; one who is very diligent in instructing all under his care, very well qualified to give instructions, and whose well-managed familiarity will always make him respected.* He is very strict in keeping good orders, and will effectually preserve his pupils from negligence and immorality; and, accordingly, I believe there are not

Dr. Secker, Bishop of Oxford, and for several years Archbishop of Canterbury. He was brought up among the dissenters, and conformed, according to Calamy, in 1721. When elevated to the archiepiscopal dignity, “his friends and dependants,” says Archdeacon Blackbourne, “thought it necessary to represent, that his connexions with the dissenters had been extremely loose and unconfined.” Even the candid Bishop of London, Dr. Porteus, his biographer, asserts that he never communicated in any dissenting church. There is, however, positive evidence to the contrary; for the name of “Thomas Secker” occurs in a list of the members of Timothy Jollie’s church, in whose academy he was for some time a student. Secker, moreover, preached a probation sermon to a dissenting congregation at Bolsover, in Derbyshire. At this time it is related, that, having expressed himself to some ministers in terms strongly declaratory of his ambitious turn of mind: “Aye,” said one of them, “nothing will do for you, Secker, but conformity.” “No,” replied Secker, with indignation, “conform I never can.” From the above letter, it will be seen that Watts was one of his early patrons.

* It is surely not very creditable to the biographers of Secker, Dr. Porteus and Dr. Stinton, that they merely mention his tutor as ONE MR. JONES. The man whose system of instruction is detailed in this letter, and who educated Secker and the celebrated Dr. Butler, Bishop of Durham, deserved something more than this meagre notice.

many academies freer in general from those vices than we are. In particular, my bed-fellow, Mr. Scott,* is one of unfeigned religion, and a diligent searcher after truth. His genteel carriage and agreeable disposition gain him the esteem of every one. Mr. Griffith is more than ordinary serious and grave, and improves more in every thing than one could expect from a man who seems to be not much under forty; particularly in Greek and Hebrew he has made a great progress. Mr. Francis† and Mr. Watkins are diligent in study and truly religious. The elder Mr. Jones,‡ having had a better education than they, will, in all probability, make a great scholar; and his brother is one of quick parts.

“Our Logic, which we have read once over, is so contrived as to comprehend all Heereboord, and the far greater part of Mr. Locke’s Essay, and the Art of Thinking. What Mr. Jones dictated to us was but short, containing a clear and brief account of the matter, references to the places where it was more fully treated of, and remarks on, or explications of, the authors cited, when need required. At our next lecture we gave an account both of what the author quoted and our tutor said, who commonly then gave us a large explication of it, and so proceeded to the next thing in order. He took care, as far as possible, that we understood the sense as well as remembered the words of what we had read; and that we

* Afterwards Dr. Daniel Scott, with whom Dr. Gibbons was intimately acquainted. He was a very learned and amiable man. After he had studied under Mr. Jones, he removed to Utrecht for further education, where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, but never, I believe, entered on the work of the ministry. In the year 1741, he published a new version of St. Matthew’s gospel, with critical notes, and an Examination of Dr. Mills’s various readings. He published also in the year 1745, an Appendix to H. Stephens’s Greek Lexicon, in two volumes. He dedicated them to Dr. Seeker and Dr. Butler, who had been his fellow-students at Mr. Jones’s.

† Not improbably Mr. Henry Francis, for some time assistant in London to the Rev. Mr. John Foxon, and afterwards pastor of the church at Southampton.

‡ Mr. Jeremiahs Jones, the learned author of “A new and full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament.”

should not suffer ourselves to be cheated with obscure terms which had no meaning. Though he be no great admirer of the old logic, yet he has taken a great deal of pains both in explaining and correcting Heereboord, and has, for the most part, made him intelligible, or shown that he is not so.

“The two Mr. Jones’s, Mr. Francis, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Sheldon, and two more gentlemen, are to begin Jewish antiquities* in a short time. I was designed for one of their number, but rather chose to read logic once more; both because I was utterly unacquainted with it when I came to this place, and because the others having all, except Mr. Francis, been at other academies, will be obliged to make more haste than those in a lower class, and consequently cannot have so good or large accounts of any thing, nor so much time to study every head. We shall have gone through our course in about four years’ time, which I believe nobody that once knows Mr. Jones will think too long.

“I began to learn Hebrew as soon as I came hither, and find myself able now to construe, and give some grammatical account of, about twenty verses in the easier parts of the bible after less than an hour’s preparation. We read every day two verses a-piece in the Hebrew bible, which we turn into Greek (no one knowing which his verses shall be, though at first it was otherwise). And this with logic is our morning’s work.

“Mr. Jones also began about three months ago some critical lectures, in order to the exposition you advised him to. The principal things contained in them are about the Antiquity of the Hebrew Language, Letters, Vowels, the Incorruption of the Scriptures, ancient Divisions of the Bible, an account of the Talmud, Masora, and Cabala. We are at present upon the Septuagint, and shall proceed after that to the Targumim, and other versions, &c. Every part is managed

* A neatly written copy of Mr. Jones’s Lectures on Jewish Antiquities, in two volumes 8vo., is preserved in the Red-cross-street Library.

with abundance of perspicuity, and seldom any material thing is omitted that other authors have said upon the point, though very frequently we have useful additions of things which are not to be found in them. We have scarce been upon any thing yet, but Mr. Jones has had those writers which are most valued on that head, to which he always refers us. This is what we first set about in the afternoon ; which being finished we read a chapter in the Greek Testament, and after that Mathematics. We have gone through all that is commonly taught of Algebra and Proportion, with the six first books of Euclid, which is all Mr. Jones designs for the gentlemen I mentioned above, but he intends to read something more to the class that comes after them.

“This is our daily employment, which in the morning takes up about two hours, and something more in the afternoon. Only on Wednesdays in the morning we read Dionysius’s *Periegesis*, on which we have notes mostly geographical, but with some criticisms intermixed ; and in the afternoon we have no lecture at all. So on Saturday in the afternoon we have only a thesis, which none but they who have done with logic have any concern in. We are also just beginning to read Isocrates and Terence, each twice a week. On the latter our tutor will give us some notes which he received in a college from Perizonius.*

“We are obliged to rise at five of the clock every morning, and to speak Latin always, except when below stairs amongst the family. The people where we live are very civil, and the greatest inconvenience we suffer is, that we fill the house rather too much, being sixteen in number besides Mr. Jones. But I suppose the increase of his academy will oblige him to remove next spring. We pass our time very agreeably betwixt study and conversation with our tutor, who is always ready to discourse freely of any thing that is useful, and al-

* Mr. Jones was educated under Perizonius, in Holland.

lows us either then or at lecture all imaginable liberty of making objections against his opinion, and prosecuting them as far as we can. In this and every thing else he shows himself so much a gentleman, and manifests so great an affection and tenderness for his pupils, as cannot but command respect and love. I almost forgot to mention our tutor's library, which is composed for the most part of foreign books, which seem to be very well chosen, and are every day of great advantage to us.

“Thus I have endeavoured, Sir, to give you an account of all that I thought material or observable amongst us. As for my own part, I apply myself with what diligence I can to every thing which is the subject of our lectures, without preferring one subject before another; because I see nothing we are engaged in, but what is either necessary, or extremely useful for one who would thoroughly understand those things which most concern him, or be able to explain them well to others. I hope I have not spent my time, since I came to this place, without some small improvement both in human knowledge, and that which is far better; and I earnestly desire the benefit of your prayers, that God would be pleased to fit me better for his service both in this world and the next. This, if you please to afford me, and your advice with relation to study, or whatever else you think convenient, must needs be extremely useful, as well as agreeable, and shall be thankfully received by

“Your most obliged

“humble servant,

“THOMAS SECKER.”

CHAPTER VIII.

HORÆ LYRICÆ.—HYMNS AND SPIRITUAL SONGS.

REMARKS ON SACRED POETRY.—OPINIONS OF DR. JOHNSON.—“THE FIRST LYRIC HOUR.”—EXTRACT.—CASIMIRE SARBIIEWSKI.—CRITICISMS OF WATTS UPON HIS POETRY.—TRANSLATION BY MR. HEALD.—THE “DACIAN BATTLE.”—FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS OF THE LYRICS.—MISTAKE OF TOPLADY.—ALTERATION OF THE 100TH PSALM.—HYMNS TRANSFERRED INTO WESLEY’S COLLECTION.—NOTE TO THE EDITION OF 1763.—CONGRATULATORY POEMS FROM WATTS’S FRIENDS.—HYMNS.—ACCOUNT OF THEIR COMPOSITION.—PREVALENCE OF SACRED SONG.—HYMNS OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.—BOAT-SONG ON THE SAONE.—PLINY.—TERTULLIAN.—ORIGEN.—HILARY.—AMBROSE.—PRUDENTIUS.—CHRYSOSTOM.—MONKISH HYMNS.—VERSES SUNG IN THE CATHEDRAL OF MANS.—ST. THOMAS AQUINAS.—FUNERAL DIRGE.—REFORMATION.—LUTHER.—METRICAL VERSION OF THE ACTS.—KENN.—WATTS.—FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS.—MONTGOMERY’S REMARKS.—DEFECTS.—MODERN HYMNISTS.—THE WESLEYS.—CONCLUSION.

“YOUNG man,” said Sir Edward King to Watts in early life, “I hear that you make verses—let me advise you never to do it, but when you cannot help it.” The poverty and misfortunes which have been proverbially the inheritance of genius, seem to justify the prudence of this counsel; and to intimate that the cultivation of letters ought to be the recreation and not the employment of life, the improvement of leisure and not the business of existence. In this light Mr. Watts always regarded his poetical attempts; he did not allow them to interfere with the higher duties of his sacred calling; they filled up the hour of relaxation, and cheered the period of nervous depression, without infringing upon the engage-

ments which were incumbent in the season of health and strength. The great Milton was descending into the grave, when the author of the *Horæ Lyricæ* was born; and though the epic mantle of the dying bard did not fall upon his shoulders, it is certain that no one ever more nearly resembled him in his taste for devotional poetry, and aspirations after

“The fair humanities of old religion,
The power, the beauty, and the majesty.”

The first work that Mr. Watts published was the *Horæ Lyricæ*, and, in the opinion of Dr. Johnson, it entitled him to a honourable place in the temple of the “English Poets.” This opinion, notwithstanding the irregularity and obvious defects of many of the compositions, cannot justly be disputed; and, according to the award of the great critic, the name of the author is inscribed with that high and glorious priesthood, who, in the language of their mighty leader in his blindness,

“Feed on thoughts that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers.”

Some of his earliest attempts in verse have already been noticed. During his residence in the academy and at home, he seems to have sedulously cultivated this department of literature; and many of his pieces were privately circulated among his friends, before they appeared from the press. The publication of the *Lyrics* is referred to in the memoranda:

“Published my Poems, Dec. 1705.”*

Many of them appear to have been composed in the year 1694; and some are dated as early as 1691. The volume was received with the highest approbation by the religious public in Great Britain and America; it procured for its author the friendship of some of the most eminent characters of the day; and a second edition was called for in the year 1709.

Aristotle and Bacon, the two great masters of the philoso-

* Watts's MS.

phy of the ancient and modern world, agree in representing poetry as being of a more excellent nature than history; the latter assigning as his cause of preference, that the poet presents us with pure excellence and an unmingled grandeur, not to be found in the coarse realities of life or of history. It is, however, to be lamented, that poetry has been often diverted from its high and noble office, and employed to stimulate the passions of the disordered mind, and gratify the follies of a vain giddy world. In modern times especially it has been seldom enlisted in the cause of religion; and the examples of our elder poets, Spenser and Milton, have been rarely imitated by those who have succeeded to the inheritance of their genius. "Great men," says an inspired speaker, "are not always wise;" and this fact explains the neglect which sacred poetry has received from the master-spirits of the age. The unregenerate heart has no sympathy with "the truth as it is in Jesus" — its affections pay no homage to the beauty of holiness — the theme that was of old a stumbling-block to the refined and polished Greek, has not lost a tittle of its offensiveness to the natural man — and hence, however highly gifted the mind may be, it is not likely that genius should give forth its inspiration upon topics which it may inwardly nauseate. He who is a stranger to the influence of religion, will have no delight in the celebration of its mysteries — his feelings, hopes, and wishes will synchronise with the "things of the world" — the region of spiritual truth will have no charms to excite, no attractions to satisfy the gross and earthly appetite — and so long as the poet's lips remain untouched by the live coal from off the altar, he will not sing the songs of Zion — the harp of David will slumber in neglect upon the willows, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe, be in the feast. Had Shakspeare, Dryden, and Pope, known any thing of the "wisdom that cometh from above," they would have employed their powers in the service of the cross — their pages would have been gilded with the broad beams of the Sun of Righteousness — they would

have invested the ark of faith with the melody of song — and numbers might have been drawn in penitence and praise to the seat of mercy, and transferred from the earthly sanctuary to the heavenly temple. Pliny remarked of the celebrated sculptor, Phidias, that in his Jupiter he had given a new motive to religion; and the saying has a most felicitous application to the author of a devotional poem.

There is a passage in Dr. Johnson's *Life of Watts*, in which he propounds the singular and almost peculiar sentiments he entertained respecting the capabilities of religious poetry. He pronounces Watts's, "like that of others, unsatisfactory — the paucity of its topics," he remarks, "enforces perpetual repetition, and the sanctity of the matter rejects the ornaments of figurative diction — it is sufficient for Watts to have done better than others what no man has done well." This opinion is again advanced and elaborated by the critic in his *life of Waller*. That the sanctity of religion cannot be heightened by human art or effort, is readily acknowledged; but that the "ornaments of figurative diction" cannot be employed to advantage in its embellishment and illustration, is directly opposed to the testimony of experience. No poetry is so devotional, and at the same time so figurative, as that of *Judea*; and from the song of *Miriam* at the *Exodus* of *Israel*, to that of *Mary* at the advent of the *Holy One*, we find religion and verse happily and effectively united. The theme of the Hebrew bards, whether relating to the outpouring of divine wrath, or the manifestation of heaven's mercy — the sorrows of penitence, or the confidence of faith — the progress of the gospel, or the renovation of the world — is always associated with the vivid colouring of imagination, and frequently assumes the character of wild and daring hyperbolism. "The doctrines of religion," it is further observed, "may indeed be defended in a didactic poem; and he who has the happy power of arguing in verse will not lose it because his subject is sacred." But matter of fact is again opposed to the critic;

for experience proves, that a “happy power” of argumentation upon the evidences of Christianity, may be far more effectively displayed in prose than verse; and assuredly a metrical version of the thirty-nine articles or the Nicene creed, would never be consulted but by the curious. The psalms and prophecies of Jewish literature, written under the inspiration of heaven, most clearly prove, that it is not a presumptuous meddling to sing of “mercy and of judgment;” and he who brings to their perusal, if not a critical taste, at least a devotional spirit, will see that the sanctity of religion is not impinged, but shadowed out to the mind’s eye more distinctly and palpably by an association with poetical embellishments.

The objection advanced against sacred poetry, on account of the “paucity of its topics,” may be satisfactorily refuted by every Christian, who examines into his own experience, unfolds the volume of revelation, and looks abroad upon the fields of nature. Instead of religion being confined and limited in its range, it embraces as many subjects as the rays of light that are continually streaming around us, or the moments that compose the sum total of our existence. To the man of contemplative piety, the whole visible creation becomes one great temple; to him the floods clap their hands; the trees of the field rejoice and are glad; and the mountains break forth into singing, in adoration of the supreme Intelligence. Every sun that shines, and every star that twinkles — every forest that waves, and every ocean that roars — every mountain that rises, and every valley that sweeps — leads him to the Creator’s footstool; and from every part of the earth’s surface, there ascends, to the eye of faith, a mystic ladder reaching up to heaven, and the “Lord God is above it.” As Watts beautifully sings in one of his Lyrics:

“What are my eyes, but aids to see
The glories of the Deity
Inscrib’d with beams of light
On flowers and stars?”—————

Strictly speaking, indeed, a poet may sing of nature without being entitled to be considered a sacred poet, just as a painter may produce a landscape without ranking with scripture artists. But the topics to which I have adverted, become in the hands of a religious man, materials for the sublimest devotional poetry — they are the types of the Almighty, to be found in glorious luxuriance in every corner of his creation — and in their contemplation the devout soul is elevated to an intercourse with the great Invisible. The lines of Burns descriptive of connubial love, exactly explain the communion that subsists between the Christian and Jehovah in his works :

“There’s not a bonnie flow’r that springs
By fountain, shaw, or green,
There’s not a bonnie bird that sings,
But minds me of my Jean.”

If from the book of nature we turn to the book of God, the marvels of near six thousand years are presented to our attention, each bearing a sacred impress, supplying an infinite variety of subjects, adapted to the epic, tragic, and sentimental muse. Religion embraces all the perfections and works of Deity — creation, providence, and redemption — angelic visitations to the tents of eastern patriarchs — the incarnation, life, miracles, death, and resurrection of Christ — the gorgeous visions which flit like shadows in the mysterious twilight of the Apocalypse — the solemnities of universal judgment — the glorious heights of heaven — and the dark abysses of the unfathomed pit. The bible must become a sealed book to the Christian, the memory of his own experience fly forgotten as a dream, and the bright and beautiful world become a blank, before he can complain of the paucity of devotional topics.

“How many are thy thoughts of love !
Thy mercies, Lord, how great !
We have not words, nor hours enough,
Their number to repeat.”

Johnson's criticisms upon religious poetry partake the character and tone of his religious experience—timorous, embarrassed, and fearful. Whatever his idea of religion might be, he appears to have regarded it as something too sacred to be *enjoyed*; he sighed for it at a distance, but did not approach to its possession; he knew the fearfulness of the stricken penitent, but not the confidence of the believer; he confounded the triumph of faith, with the bold impiety of presumption; he dreaded puritanism, and lived in gloom. The motive that brought him to his Maker's footstool, was one of fear not of love; he looked up to him not as a Father reconciled, but as a Judge severe; his religion was a scheme of penance, not an act of trust; his devotions were the offspring of a guilty conscience, not the grateful outpourings of a renewed heart. The remarks upon sacred poetry are evidently tinged and impregnated with the religious horror that enwrapped his soul; to decorate with the cadence of verse that which had been uttered by inspired lips, he regarded as amounting almost to profanity; and hence he seems to deprecate the attempt as an insulting rivalry of the all-wise and perfect Mind.

The Lyric Poems are divided into three books, sacred to religion, friendship, and the memory of the dead. In one of Watts's early pieces, published when in the decline of life, he makes an interesting reference to his first cultivation of the muse. It is entitled "The First Lyric Hour," and is founded upon one of the odes of Casimire, in which the Polish poet describes his first attempts on the harp, and his commencing a poem :

"'Twas an unclouded sky : the day-star sat
On highest noon : no breezes fann'd the grove,
Nor the musicians of the air pursu'd
Their artless warblings ; while the sultry day
Lay all diffus'd and slumb'ring on the bosom
Of the white lily, the perfum'd jonquil,
And lovely blushing rose. Then first my harp,
Labouring with childish innocence and joy,

Brake silence, and awoke the smiling hour
 With infant notes, saluting the fair skies,
 (Heaven's highest work), the fair enamell'd meads,
 And tall green shades along the winding banks
 Of Avon gently-flowing. Thence my days
 Commenc'd harmonious; there began my skill
 To vanquish care by the sweet-sounding string.

"Hail, happy hour! O blest remembrance, hail!
 And banish woes for ever. Harps were made
 For heaven's beatitudes: there Jesse's son
 Tunes his bold lyre with majesty of sound,
 To the creating and all-ruling Power
 Not unattentive: while ten thousand tongues
 Of hymning seraphs and disembodied saints,
 Echo the joys and graces round the hills
 Of Paradise, and spread Messiah's name.
 Transporting bliss! Make haste, ye rolling spheres,
 Ye circling suns, ye winged minutes, haste,
 Fulfil my destin'd period here, and raise
 The meanest son of harmony to join
 In that celestial concert."*

Watts's muse is ever the handmaid of devotion; he rarely touches upon any topic which he does not press into its service; his poetic torch is kindled with the fire from off the altar; he visits Parnassus, but it is only on his way to Calvary. If he aims at poetical excellence, it is not so much to please as to convert the reader; his "high endeavour" is not to gratify the taste, but to amend the heart. The cheerful spirit of his piety infuses itself into all his compositions; there is nothing gloomy or melancholic; he seizes every opportunity of departing from the scenes of common life, to catch a glimpse of the bowers of Paradise, and to bask in the glorious sunshine of heaven.

* "Albis dormiit in rosis,
 Liliisque jacens et violis dices,
 Primæ cui potui vigil
 Somnum Pieriâ rumpere barbito," &c.

Casimire Od.

The charm of Watts's devotional poetry is its perfect *sincerity* — religion was with him not a theory but a principle, a predominant and all-pervading passion — his numbers flow from the heart and not from the lip. Writers upon sacred subjects, both in poetry and prose, but more especially the former, have generally failed, in the absence of an experimental knowledge of their theme; destitute of this, they have lost themselves in the opposite extremes of extravagance and insipidity. The truths of religion may be perfectly understood and symmetrically arranged, but, like the bones in the prophet's vision, the breath of heaven must come into them before they live. Sincerity, an intense and life-giving faith, is essential to the character of a religious poet; without it the imagination in vain aspires after a communion with the pure, the heavenly, and the immortal; the seraph's wing is wanting to raise it above the dust and darkness of an earthly sphere. The glorious outpourings of Hebrew poetry, are evidently the offspring of sincere devotion; a cloud of incense, rising from the altar of devout and grateful hearts to the throne of God, and meeting with as gracious a welcome there, as the ever-ceaseless cry of "Holy, Holy, Holy," from the ten thousand "blessed voices uttering joy" in the presence-chamber of the Deity.

To enter into a minute examination of a book so popular and common as the *Horæ Lyricæ*, may now seem needless; nevertheless in a memoir of Watts's life and writings, some critical notices of it will be expected.

In general, Watts, I think, is happiest in his shorter poems. He seems frequently to take up his pen for amusement, and to get tired if he proceeds beyond a certain distance. In his longer pieces he wants strength of wing to conduct him to the end of his journey with the same vigour as he begins it; his flight is irregular, uneven, and hurried; the commencement is bold and sprightly, and the conclusion tame and spiritless. The poem entitled, "Launching into Eternity," is an admirable specimen of easy, flowing rhythm, and appropriate ima-

gery. In the following well-known lines, the poet grapples with a higher theme, and does his *devoir* nobly :

“Eternal Wisdom, thee we praise,
Thee the creation sings ;
With thy lov'd name rocks, hills, and seas,
And heaven's high palace rings.

“Thy hand how wide it spreads the sky,
How glorious to behold!
Ting'd with a blue of heav'nly dye,
And starr'd with sparkling gold.

“There thou hast bid the globes of light,
Their endless circles run ;
There the pale planet rules the night,
The day obeys the sun.

“The noisy winds stand ready there,
Thy orders to obey ;
With sounding wings they sweep the air,
To make thy chariot way.

“*There, like a trumpet loud and strong,
Thy thunder shakes our coast ;
While the red lightnings wave along,
The banners of thine host.”*

Many of the Lyric poems are either imitations or translations of the odes of Casimire Sarbiewski, whom he designates, in his preface, the noblest Latin poet of modern times.* Some of his productions are indeed worthy the genius of Horace, though occasionally disfigured with fanciful conceits. The copy of Casimire's poems, in the quarto edition, which was in Watts's library, came into the possession of Dr. Gibbons, who found at the head of the twenty-ninth ode in

* Casimire was a Polish Jesuit, and born in 1547. Grotius and D. Heinsius affirm him to be equal to Horace. He was so partial to Virgil, that he began to imitate him in an epic poem, called the “*Lesciade*,” in twelve books, but his death at Warsaw, in 1640, put a stop to the work. His epigrams are much inferior to his odes. The best edition of his poems is that of Paris, in 1759. The Poles have always been celebrated for their pure Latinity, and, despite of modern innovations, the *Miscellanea Critica* of the University of Cracow, still appears in the Latin language. The Latin poetry of Szymonowicz, rivals that of Casimire.

the fourth book, entitled, "Ad Equites Polonos, anno 1630," the following high eulogium in his hand-writing, "Carmen sæculare Horatiano sublimius." In the Improvement of the Mind, we have Watts's judgment of his favourite poet: "You shall hear Altisino not only admire Casimire of Poland, in his Lyrics, as the utmost purity and perfection of Latin poesy, but he will allow nothing in him to be extravagant or faulty, and will vindicate every line. Nor can I much wonder at it, when I have heard him pronounce Lucan the best of the ancient Latins, and idolize his very weaknesses and mistakes. I will readily acknowledge the odes of Casimire to have more spirit and force, more magnificence and fire in them, and in twenty places arise to more dignity and beauty than I could ever meet with in any of our modern poets; yet I am afraid to say that *Palla subtilis è Luce, a robe stitched together of light*, has dignity enough for the dress of the Almighty, lib. iv. ode 7, l. 37, or that the man of virtue, lib. iv. ode 3, l. 44, *under the ruins of heaven and earth will bear up the fragments of the falling world with a comely wound on his shoulders*.

" ——— late ruenti
Subjiciens sua colla cælo
Mundum decoro vulnere fulciat;
Interque cæli fragmina." —

"Yet I must needs confess also, that it is hardly possible a man should rise to so exalted and sublime a vein of poesy as Casimire, who is not in danger now and then of such extravagances; but still they should not be admired or defended, if we pretend to pass a just judgment on the writings of the greatest men." But few of the odes of Casimire have been translated, and the English reader is principally indebted to Watts and Mr. Heald for an acquaintance with the Polish poet.*

* The annexed translation, by Mr. Heald, affords a favourable specimen of the poetry of Casimire.

"Ad Suam Testudinem.
 Sonori buci filia subtilis,
 Pendebis alta, barbite, populo;
 Dum videt aer, et supinos
 Solicitat levis aura frondes,
 Te sibilantis lenior halitus
 Perflabit Euri: me juvet interim
 Collum reclinasse, et virenti
 Sic temerè jacuisse ripa.
 Eheu! Serenum quæ nebulæ tegunt?
 Repente cælum? quis sonus imbrium?
 Surgamus. Heu semper fugaci
 Gaudia præteritura passu!"

Lib. ii.

I.

"In the high-towering poplar thus swinging,
 My lyre, hang suspended at ease;
 Thy strings, at wild intervals, ringing,
 When swept by the breath of the breeze.

II.

"The blue vault its full beauty displaying,
 Not a cloud the pure ether o'ershades,
 And in sighs his soft wishes betraying,
 The green foliage foud zephyr pervades.

III.

"Thus I leave thee to murmur and quiver,
 As whispers the slow-rising wind;
 While here, stretch'd on the banks of the river,
 I repose, in light slumbers reclin'd.

IV.

"Ha! along yon horizon dark-scowling,
 What tempest-fed shadows appear!
 Clouds! clouds rise incessantly rolling!
 Hark! the shower whistles loud on mine ear.

V.

"O my harp! my companion, my treasure!
 Let us rise, let us hasten away;
 'Tis thus flies the phantom of pleasure,
 With quick-step ever hast'ning away."

The Dacian Battle is one of the longest of Watts's poems; and is praised by Johnson for the vigorous and active imagination which it displays. It is a translation, with large additions, of a lyric ode of Casimire, entitled "*Celebris Polonorum de Osmano Turcorum victoria, prælio ad Chocimum Dacico Anno Domini 1621, Quarto Non. Sept. commisso parta.*"* An extract from the original poem, will give the reader some idea of the merits of the paraphrase:

"CASIMIR. LIB. IV. OD. IV.

"(Galesi Agricolaë Dacici cantus inducitur.)

"Dives Galesus, fertilis accola
Galesus Istri, dum sua Dacicis
Fatigat in campis aratra
Et galeas, clypeosq; passim, æ

"Magnorum acervos eruit ossium;
Vergente serum sub sole hesperum
Fessus rescdisse, et solutos
Non solito tenuisse cantu

"Fertur juvencos. Carpite, dum licet,
Dum tuta vobis otia, carpite,
Oblita jam vobis vireta
Emeriti, mea cura, tauri,

* "The famous victory obtained by the Poles over Osman, the emperor of the Turks, in the Dacian battle at Choczim, on the fourth of the nones of September, in the year of our Lord 1621." The authors of the *Universal History* give the following account of this battle: — "Osman, the Turkish emperor, perceiving that the Christian army was increased daily, proposed a general attack on their lines by the 28th of September, and led his troops in person. The janissaries began the attack by break of day, and fought with the most desperate fury for twelve hours, fresh troops constantly supplying the place of the fatigued, wounded, and slain. Ten times were the Turks repulsed, and as often were they led back to the attack by their bashaws, who charged under the immediate eye of the sultan, and were ambitious of distinguishing themselves. All their efforts were fruitless, the Poles were impenetrable, and the infidels were at last forced to sound a retreat, after having lost near 30,000 slain before the intrenchments. From the time the two armies had first faced each other, the different attacks cost the sultan upwards of 60,000 lives, the bulk of whom consisted of janissaries, the flower of the army, and the bulwark of the Othman empire. Disease and famine co-operated with the sword, and the Turkish army, which consisted of 300,000 men, was diminished to half that number." *Modern Univ. Hist.* vol. xxxiv. p. 185.

“Victor Polonns dum positâ super
 Respirat hâstâ, sic etiam vigil
 Sævusque. Piô quantis, Polone,
 Moldaviei tegis arma campi

“Thracum ruinas ! Quas ego Bistonum
 Hic cerno strages ? Quanta per avios
 Disjecta latè senta colleis ?
 Quæ Geticis vacua arma truncis ?

“Hac acer ibat Sarmata, (Thracibus
 Captivus olim nam memini puer)
 Hic ære squallenteis et auro
 Concanus explicuit catervas.”

LITERAL TRANSLATION BY DR. GIBBONS.

“Galesus, a rich yeoman on the banks
 Where rolls the fruitful Danube, tir'd his share
 In ploughing o'er his grounds, which oft upturn'd
 Helmets, and shields, and heaps of mighty bones ;
 But, when the sun hung o'er the western main,
 Relaxing from his toils, as fame reports,
 And loosing from the yoke his weary bulls,
 He held them pleas'd with an unusual song : —
 ‘ My fellow-labourers, my delightful care,
 In safety now enjoy the sweets of peace,
 And freed from labour at your pleasure rove
 The smiling meads, and crop the flow'ry food
 So long untasted, while upon his spear
 Leans the victorious Pole, but throws his eyes
 Watchful and fierce around. Brave countrymen,
 What ranks of Thracian enemies have fall'n
 By your resistless swords ! What carnage fill'd
 Moldavia's fields ! What piles of bucklers strow'd
 The pathless mountains ! What huge armour lay
 Wide scatter'd, of Mahometan limbs despoil'd !
 Here the fierce Sarmatans (for while a boy
 In Turkish slavery I mark'd their dress),
 And here the Concanans in order rang'd,
 Advanc'd all arm'd in radiant brass and gold.’ ”

In comparing the first with subsequent editions of the "Horæ Lyricæ," considerable alterations and improvements will be observed. The preface, in which Boileau's opinion as to the incompatibility of sacred subjects with a poetic dress is noticed, appeared in the second edition in 1709; and about seventy poems were added to the original collection during the author's life-time. But the first edition contained several pieces which were afterwards omitted, particularly metrical versions of the 1st, 3rd, 100th, and 131st Psalms, which now appear with some alterations in the imitations of the Psalms. There was also a sacred song, entitled "The Sufferings and Glories of Christ," which Watts's maturer judgment led him to throw into a different metre, and insert in the second book of the Hymns. The two first verses are annexed, as they stood originally in the Lyrics, and as they are remodelled in the Hymns:

"I long for a concert of heavenly praise,
To Jesus the God, the omnipotent Son;
My verse should awake in harmonious lays,
Could it tell half the wonders which Jesus has done.

"I would sing how he left his own palace of light,
And robes made of glory which dress'd him above;
Yet, pleas'd with his journey, how swift was his flight,
For he rode on the pinions of infinite love."

Lyr. edit. 1.

Toplady, who published a short account of Dr. Watts, singularly enough introduces this piece, word for word, as it appears in the Lyrics, first edition; and remarks, "There is a hymn which, to the best of my knowledge, has never yet appeared in print, and which seems, from the unfinished state in which he left it, to have been one of the last products of his poetic pen. This little poem, whose authenticity is unquestionable, and which, amidst all its inaccuracies, is replete with heavenly faith and poetic fire, deserves to emerge from

its long obscurity. Though capable of obvious correction and improvement, it shall be submitted to the reader *verbatim*, and without a single alteration, exactly as it was communicated to me." The verses are thus altered in the Hymns:

"Now for a tune of lofty praise,
To great Jehovah's equal Son!
Awake, my voice, in heavenly lays,
Tell the loud wonders he hath done.

"Sing how he left the worlds of light,
And the bright robes he wore above;
How swift and joyful was his flight
On wings of everlasting love."

Hymns, lib. ii. h. 23.

The noble version of the 100th Psalm, in Watts's imitations, is also an equally felicitous improvement of some jingling rhymes which first appeared in the Lyrics. Two stanzas will exhibit his happy method of retouching his compositions.* Three noble poems have been transplanted from the "Horæ Lyricæ" into the hymn-book of the Methodists, viz.: the hymns commencing, "Father, how wide thy glory shines;"

* In the Lyrics, first edition.

"'Twas God who gave life to our souls with a breath,
He fashion'd our clay to the figures of men;
And when we had stray'd to the regions of death,
He reduc'd his own sheep to his pastures again.

"We enter his gates with hosannahs and songs;
The arches resound with the notes which we raise;
Thus while our devotions are paid with our tongues,
Thy temple adores by repeating thy praise."

Lyr. edit. 1.

Altered in the Psalms.

"His sovereign power, without our aid,
Made us of clay and form'd us men;
And when like wandering sheep we stray'd,
He brought us to his fold again.

"We'll crowd thy gates with thankful songs,
High as the heavens our voices raise,
And earth, with her ten thousand tongues,
Shall fill thy courts with sounding praise."

Ps. 100.

“Eternal Power, whose high abode;” “He dies, the Friend of sinners dies.” The compositions dedicated to “Divine Love,” have been objected to, on account of the association of earthly passions with a theme so sacred; but this was not so much the fault of the author, as of the theology of the age in which he lived. In a note appended to the edition of 1736, he remarks, by way of apology, “Solomon’s Song was much more in use among preachers and writers of divinity when these poems were written, than it is now, which will afford some apology for the writer in his youngest years.” Similar blemishes might be pointed out in the devotional poetry of the Messrs. Wesley, and in far greater luxuriance in the hymnology of the Moravians: indeed, it is impossible for a writer to express himself upon such a subject in an evangelical manner, without employing terms upon which a vicious world may put an offensive gloss. Let an individual sit down to the perusal of Watts, with a mind purified from earthly thoughts, and renewed and hallowed by the Holy One, and he will find but few passages which do not give utterance, in strict accordance with the analogy of faith, to emotions which he has himself experienced.

The lyric poems of Watts must be criticised with an indulgent eye — as the mere amusements of a man of letters — the casual impulses of an imaginative mind — and not the serious and laboured efforts of a poet. He did not “gird himself up” to write — his effusions did not abstract him from the world, and result from daily and nightly invocation of ancient bards and sages — he was a pilgrim only to the Heliconian spring, and not a dweller by the mountain-fount. Hence he is frequently flat, prosaic, and excessively slovenly; he dresses up his thoughts like one who is travelling post-haste, and cannot stay to put himself in fashionable trim; if he cannot find a rhyme at once, he pushes on without one, with the greatest *nonchalance* as to his lameness. Notwithstanding these defects the “*Horræ Lyricæ*” has stood high in public esti-

mation; and eight editions of it appeared before the decease of its author. Attached to the later editions are several commendatory poems, sent to Mr. Watts chiefly in the year 1706, from the following individuals: Rev. J. Standen;* Mr. Henry Grove;† Philomela;‡ Eusebia;§ and Britannicus.||

The success which attended the publication of the *Lyrics*, determined Watts to prepare his *Hymns* for the press, and, accordingly, the first edition appeared in the year 1707. The favourable opinion which his brother Enoch expressed of them, had considerable weight with him; and in this instance the judgment of the critic was not misled by the partiality of the relative. Many of them were composed during his two years' residence at his father's house, to supplant the dry and pedantic compositions then in use in the meeting-house of his native town. The Rev. John Morgan of Romsey, Hampshire, in a letter to Dr. Gibbons, remarks, "The occasion of the Doctor's hymns was this, as I had the account from his worthy fellow-labourer and colleague, the Rev. Mr. Price, in whose family I dwelt above fifty years ago. The hymns which were sung at the dissenting meeting-house at Southampton, were so little to the taste of Mr. Watts, that he could not forbear complaining of them to his father. The father bade him try what he could do to mend the matter. He did, and had such success in his first essay, that a second hymn was earnestly desired of him, and then a third and fourth, &c. till in process of time there was such a number of them as to make up a volume." The offence thus given to his refined taste and critical ear by the homely psalmody of Southampton, led to the composition of the *Spiritual Songs*; and now, wherever the praises of the God of grace are celebrated in the

* Dissenting minister at Newbury in Berkshire, afterwards conformed.

† One of Watts's fellow students, a writer in the *Spectator*.

‡ Miss Singer, afterwards Mrs. Rowe.

§ Countess of Hertford, afterwards Duchess of Somerset.

|| Unknown.

costly sanctuaries of Christian lands, the krail of the wandering Caffre, and the habitation of the far-distant Polynesian, they are known, admired, and sung.

One of the most pleasing of the Greek writers, advances it as the sacred duty of mankind, to “hymn the gods,” who alone have endowed them with an articulate voice. This maxim has met with a universal recognition ; for all nations acquainted with either poetry or religion, have songs and verses devoted to the powers and attributes of their divinities. The poetry and mythology of the Greeks were intimately connected ; the former was the tongue of the latter ; it entered deeply into the celebration of its rites, gave popularity to its festivals, and immortality to its fictions. The hymns of Homer and Callimachus may have been intended merely for individual recitation ; but the choral song early accompanied the sacred ceremonial, the solemn and swelling tone of the dithyrambic hymns was heard in the religious festivals of the Athenians, and whilst the scenic exhibitions delighted the sight, the junction of music and verse ravished the ear. The literature of the Orientals exhibits the same harmony between religion and verse, the same union between the “sons of God” and the “daughters of men ;” and the Arab even now sits at the door of his tent, in the evening hour, chanting the moral apothegms and luscious dreams of the followers of the prophet. It is, however, especially in Judea that we see devotion and the muse dwelling together in unity — twin-sisters that God hath joined, going up to his house in company, worshipping hand in hand at the throne, weeping at the altar, and bowing in silent adoration before the glorious cloud, flashing in awful brightness from the holiest place. It is no extravagant assumption, that the lyre of Jubal was attuned to the harmony of verse ; and our great poet indulges the imagination, that the singing of the birds in Paradise initiated our first parents into the art of sacred song.

The word *ὑμνος*, hymn, is used by the Greek writers, to

signify those compositions which were sung in honour of the gods; and Gregory of Nyssa defines it to be a thanksgiving offered to God for the blessings we enjoy — ὕμνος ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἡμῖν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνατιθεμένη τῷ Θεῷ εὐφημία.* The early Christian church appears to have employed not only the Psalter in its religious services, but uninspired compositions upon sacred subjects. The first hymns were, however, probably of an inspired character, selected from the pages of the New Testament; as, the songs of Elizabeth, of Mary, and of Zacharias, Luke, i. 42, &c. the angelic hymn, “Glory to God in the highest,” &c. Luke, ii. 14; the cherubic hymn, “Holy, Holy, Holy,” &c. Rev. iv. 8; and the hymn of victory, ὕμνος ἐπινικίος, “Great and marvellous are thy works,” &c. Rev. xv. 3. To these short yet splendid specimens of sacred song, the “Alleluia,” &c. Rev. xix. 6, was generally added as an accompaniment;† and Sidonius Appollinaris, bishop of Clermont, relates that it was frequently sung by the boatmen on the Saone.‡ To the Christian, hunted from city to city by an infuriated priesthood, and often dragged to the amphitheatre to suffer for his faith, the thrilling episodes of the Apocalypse would be singularly appropriate; and many doubtless trod the thorny path of martyrdom, like Paul and Silas in their dungeon, glorifying their exalted Saviour in the language of the elders before the throne! At the close of the first century, or the commencement of the second, Pliny relates that the Christians met together on a stated day before it was light, to sing a hymn to Christ, as God; Tertullian, in the third century, speaks of singing psalms as a part of the public worship of the church; and Origen, a little later, speaks of

* Greg. Nys. in Psalm, xi.

† “Alleluia novis balat ovile choris.” *Paulin. Ep. ad Ser.* 12.

‡ “Curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum
Responsantibus Alleluia ripis
Ad Christum levat amnicum celeusma.”

Sid. Apoll. ii. ep. 10.

singing psalms and hymns to the Father in Christ, in melody, metre, and vocal concert. It was common also with many, in their household devotions, in seasons of outward tribulation or inward conflict, to give expression to their feelings, and to seek to strengthen the weak hands and to confirm the feeble knees, by having recourse to the melody of sacred song; and, hence, Tertullian refers to the practice of private singing in the family, as an argument why Christians should marry among themselves, in order to perform this duty more harmoniously.

It is certain that uninspired productions were introduced into the hymnology of the church at an early period, though since the Reformation some sects have entertained scruples as to their admission. Several of the fathers sought to edify their flocks by supplying them with devotional poetry; and instances are referred to by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*,* of private individuals composing hymns. Speaking of the mode of administering the Lord's supper, Tertullian remarks in his *Apology*, "After water is brought for the hands, and lights, we are invited to sing to God, according as each one can propose a subject from the Holy Scriptures or of his own composing."† Hilary of Poitiers, in the fourth century, presented his church with a collection of hymns; and the Milanese Christians, about the same period, were accustomed to assemble at night, to chant those composed by their bishop Ambrose. The Morning Hymn of the former, and the Evening Hymn of the latter, are simple and pleasing compositions.‡ Augustin describes the effect produced upon

* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. 17. lib. v. 28. lib. vii. 24.

† Apol. c. 39.

‡ The book of hymns attributed to Hilary, was printed at Paris, 1to. 1480. The Morning Hymn is well known, commencing,

"Lucis largitor splendide,
Cujus sereno lumine."

To Ambrose a considerable number of hymns are attributed; but critics point out

his mind by the psalmody of the church: "The hymns and songs of the church," says he, "moved my soul intensely, the truth was distilled by them into my heart, the flame of piety was kindled, and my tears flowed for joy. This practice of singing had been of no long standing at Milan. It began about the year when Justina persecuted Ambrose. The pious people watched in the church prepared to die with their pastor. There my mother sustained an eminent part in watching and praying. Then hymns and psalms after the manner of the east were sung, with a view of preserving the people from weariness, and thence the custom has spread through Christian churches."* In the fifth century, Prudentius of Saragossa increased but did not much enrich the sacred songs of Christendom, though the well-known passage in his Hymnus Epiphaniæ, has been often and justly admired.† Of the poetic treasures of the eastern church, during the primitive ages, no specimen has come down to us, with the exception of some verses appended upon doubtful authority to the works

twelve which possess a stronger claim than others to be of his production. The *Te Deum*, once given to him, is now ascribed to some unknown member of one of the Gallic churches. The following lines are from the Evening Hymn :

"Deus Creator omnium	Artus solutas ut quies
Poliq̃ue rector, vestiens	Reddat laboris nsui,
Diem decore lumine,	Mentesque fessas allevet
Noctem soporis gratiã :	Luctusq̃ue salvat anxios."

See Mr. Matthias's "Excerpta ex Hymnis Antiquis."

* August. Confess. lib. ix.

† The subject is, a congratulation of the innocents slain by Herod :

"Salvete flores Martyrum,
Quos lucis ipso in limine,
Christi insecutor sustulit,
Ceu turbo nascentes rosas.
Vos, primæ, Christi victimæ,
Grex immolatorum tener,
Aram ante ipsam, simplices,
Palmâ et coronis luditis."

Pruden. Kathemerinon.

Bishop Horne cites the passage in his Sermon on innocents' Day.

of Clemens Alexandrinus. When Chrysostom occupied the episcopal throne of Constantinople, the Arians were accustomed to parade the streets of the city, singing hymns strongly tinctured with the peculiarities of their creed; upon which the bishop, fearing the propagation of the heresy, furnished his choristers with some verses of his own production, in alliance with the opinions of the orthodox.

As we advance to the middle ages, hymns multiply upon us in abundance. The monastic clergy sought to maintain their hold upon the prejudices and affections of the people, by imposing devotional services. "The monasteries were schools of devotional music, and many times during the day the voices of the choir, were heard swelling from the neighbouring abbey 'over some wide-watered shore.' The labourer as he woke with the sun to his accustomed toil, or as in southern climates he reposed from the heat of the burning noon, or as he lingered weary on his return at evening to his dwelling; the traveller at midnight—all were reminded of their heavenly Father and Redeemer, by the solemn strain of the organ from the commanding minster, or the sweeter and gentler voices which pealed from the chapel of the convent." A fragment of a ballad composed by Canute the Dane, as he was sailing by the abbey of Ely, shows us the monks practising psalmody:

"Merry sang the monks in Ely,
When Canute the king was sailing by;
'Row, ye knights, near the land,
And let us hear these monks' song.'"

But the language of the choristers was an unknown tongue to the people; they responded to words the meaning of which they had not the ability to comprehend; and, hence, though the sacred strain might fascinate the listening ear, and awe the superstitious mind, it had no power to communicate religious knowledge, or excite devotional feeling. Yet there is a sweet simplicity and rugged grandeur about some of the old

monkish verses, however grating Leonine rhyme may be to classical ears. A few specimens of the hymnology of Catholicism may not here be inappropriate. The following lines are taken from a hymn, sung in the twelfth century in the cathedral of Mans, which Usher designates “*rythmos elegantissimos.*” The author was Hildebert, bishop of Anomanum or Mans :

“Extra portam, jam delatum,
Jam foetentem, tumulatum,
Vitta ligat, lapis urget ;
Sed, si jubes, hic resurget :
Jube, lapis revolvetur ;
Jube, vitta disrumpetur ;
Exiturus, nescit moras ;
Post quam clamas *Exi foras*
In hoc salo mea ratis
Infestatur a piratis :
Hinc assultus, inde fluctus :
Hinc et inde mors et luctus.
Sed tu, bone nauta ! veni ;
Preme ventos, mare leni ;
Fac abscedant hi piratæ,
Duc ad portum, salva rate.”

“Now from house and all things torn,
To his last home, he is borne,
Mouldering as all mortals must,
Earth to earth, and dust to dust ;
But though dreary be the tomb,
Thou canst dissipate its gloom ;
Speak, the teeming dust shall hear ;
Speak, the dead shall reappear :
They shall little brook delay
When thou sayest, ‘Come away.’
“On the wide sea as I go,
Oft I meet the plundering foe ;
War above, the waves beneath,
And in all things woe and death :
Thou who rulest with thy will,
Bid the raging winds be still ;
Chase the fearful foe away ;
Bring me safely on my way ;
And with peace and plenty blest,
Lead me to the port of rest”

The annexed stanzas are from a hymn for the great feast of *Corpus Christi*, a composition of St. Thomas Aquinas : —

“Lauda, Sion, Salvatorem,
Lauda, ducem et pastorem,
In hymnis et canticis ;
Quantum potes, tantum aude,
Quia major omni laude,
Nec laudare sufficis.

* * *

“With joyous hymns, O Sion, sing
Thy Saviour, Shepherd, Guide, and King :
To themes like this, to-day, belong
The chiefest praise of sacred song,
Too weak, though all its skill be spent
On this stupendous argument !

* * * *

“ Bone pastor, panis vere,
Jesu, nostri miserere,
Tu, nos pascis, nos tuere
Tu nos bona fac videre

In terra viventium

Tu qui cuncta scis, et vales,
Qui nos pascis hic mortales.
Tuos ibi commensales,
Cohæredes et sodales

Fac sanctorum civium.”

“ Jesu ! good Shepherd, living Bread,
Pity, protect us, watch and lead ;
And stretch forth thy forgiving hand,
To guide us to thy promis'd land.

“ Thou by whose grace all good is sent,
Omniscient and Omnipotent !
When life and all its pangs are past,
Oh, let us join thy saints at last ;
To us, their fellow-guests, be given
A joint inheritance in heaven !”

The hymn to the Holy Ghost, for the feast of Pentecost, is in a still sweeter and more poetic strain : —

“ Veni, Sancte Spiritus,
Et emitte cœlitus
Lucis tuæ radium.

Veni, pater pauperum,

Veni, dator munerum,

Veni, lumen cordium.

“ Come, Holy Ghost ! One ray of love,
From that perennial fount above,
Shoot down into my breast ;
Come, Father of the fatherless,
Whom none, but thou, console or bless,
Hearts' hope, hearts' light, hearts' rest.

“ Consolator optime,
Duleis hospes animæ,
Dulce refrigerium ;
In labore requies,
In æstu temperies,
In fletu solatium !”

“ Thou art our soul's most loving guest,
Of all her comforters the best,
Her stay and solace here ;
Rest to the weary and the poor,
Who suffer long and travail sore,
With none but thee to cheer !”

The celebrated dirge “ in commemoration of all the faithful departed,” is known through the medium of Rosecommon's translation : —

“ Dies iræ, dies illa,
Solvat sæculum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sybilla.

“ The day of wrath, that dreadful day,
Shall the whole earth in ashes lay,
As David and the Sybils say.

“ Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando iudex est venturus,
Cuncta strictè discussurus.”

“ What horror shall invade the mind,
When the strict Judge, who would be kind,
Shall have few venial faults to find !”

At the Reformation a new era in the history of religious verse commenced ; the protestant leaders at once threw off

the bondage of antiquated Latin rhythm, and taught the common people to sing in their own vernacular tongue the wonderful works of God. The sagacity of the reformers soon discovered the potent influence of verse, with its suitable melodies, upon the lower orders of society ; and those who had a poetical turn, composed hymns and sacred ballads,* which were chanted by their followers in the streets of the German cities and by the way-side. A more effectual mode could not easily have been devised, to render the scripture history familiar to the minds of the people ; and the ear of many a passenger was doubtless caught by the inspiring strain, and led to listen till the abominations of the papal hierarchy were renounced. Luther is said to have heard a poor man singing some printed rhymes under his window in Wittemberg, and when upon inquiry he learned the name of the author, he burst into tears, and rendered thanks to God for making such humble expedients conducive to the propagation of truth. Before parting with his family and friends in an evening, he usually sang a hymn ; and in his hours of dejection it doubtless proved a delightful restorative. Luther was himself a poet and musician, as well as reformer ; and his music, and many of his hymns, still hold a distinguished place in the protestant psalmody of the continent. That noble hymn and tune of his, “ Great God ! what do I see and hear,” has been long introduced here ; and it will be sung with solemn rapture by the faithful “ looking for the coming of the Son of Man,” until the perfected church shall join in the higher anthems of the blessed. The prevailing characteristic of his mind was strength ; it was rugged and inharmonious, yet full of noble daring and magnanimous resolve ; his words, it has been aptly said, were “ half battles.” His verse is full of the native vigour of his soul ; he comes before us strong in his

*The word Ballad was formerly used to signify a religious song. In some old English translations of the bible, the Song of Solomon is entitled the Ballet of Ballets.

righteous cause; impetuous as his own wild and voiceful Rhine: "High deeds, O Germans, we expect from you," was his motto.

As the doctrines of the Reformation were established in England, a passion for religious versification was excited; the old choral mode of worship was partially superseded; and many votaries of the muses, among the reformed ecclesiastics, seemed bent upon affording the singing lofts of the churches an unlimited supply of verse, by turning the whole bible into metre. In King Edward the Sixth's chapel, a metrical Acts of the Apostles was in use; and the royal ear was edified by listening to such inspiring strains as the following, sung by the courtly choir!

"It chaunced in Ieonium,
As they oft tymes did use,
Together they into did come
The sinagoge of Jeus.

"Where they did preache and only seke
God's grace them to atehieve;
That soe they speke to Jue and Greke,
That many did bilcve,"*

During the next two centuries, the art of sacred song made little or no advances. Among churchmen Sternhold and his coadjutor remained lords of the ascendant; while the nonconformists were content with the bald verses of Patrick, or

* "The Actes of the Apostles translated into Englyshe metre, and dedicated to the kinges most excellent majesty, by Cristofer Tye, doctor in musyke, and one of the gentylmen of hys graces most honourable chappell; with notes to eache chapter to synge, and alsoe to play upon the lute; very necessarye for studentes, after theyr studye, to fyle their wittes, and alsoe for all Christians that cannot synge, to read the good and godlye storyes of the lives of Christ his Apostles." 1553, printed by William Serres. The first fourteen chapters only were published, with a poetical dedication, "To the vertuous and godlye learned Prynce Edward the Sixth," in which the following stanza occurs:

"Unto the text I do not ad,
Nor nathynge take awaye;
And though my style be gros and bad,
The truth parceyve ye may."

singing was altogether banished from their services, lest it should betray to the informer the meeting-house, the glade or wood, in which the persecuted assembled. It was not until the time of Watts, that any collection of hymns appeared which deserved to be tolerated, either on the ground of poetical excellence, or adaptation to the purpose of congregational worship. To Milton, indeed, we are indebted for a few versifications of the Psalms, which are, however, unworthy of his fame; to bishop Kenn the church must ever express her obligations for three immortal hymns; four more were furnished by Addison, which shine among the brightest stars in the hemisphere of devotion: but these were desultory attempts, and never intended for the public service of the church. “Dr. Watts,” as Mr. Montgomery remarks, “may almost be called the inventor of hymns in our language: for he so far departed from all precedent, that few of his compositions resemble those of his forerunners; while he so far established a precedent to all his successors, that none have departed from it, otherwise than according to the peculiar turn of mind in the writer, and the style of expressing Christian truths employed by the denomination to which he belonged.” He is, therefore, with propriety placed by the poet of the Moravians at the head of the hymnists of our country: he may have been equalled, and, in some instances, surpassed by others; but far greater honour is due to him who invents the model, than to him who copies the design. It is the glory of Columbus to have first crossed the Atlantic, though many a statelier vessel, by a shorter and a safer track, has since performed the voyage.

The first edition of the Hymns has an essay appended to it, towards the improvement of psalmody, or an inquiry how the psalms of David ought to be translated into Christian songs; and how lawful and necessary it is to compose other hymns, according to the clearer revelations of the gospel, for the use of the church. The volume contained two hundred and twenty hymns, including the several doxologies, reckoning

each one of them as a hymn. In little more than twelve months this edition was exhausted, and a second appeared in the year 1709, according to the title-page, corrected and much enlarged. In comparing the two editions, considerable alterations will be found in several hymns, the suggestions of friends, and a large addition of new compositions. The following advertisement, dated April, 1709, prefixed by Mr. Watts, explains the nature of the alterations introduced: —

“ 1. There are almost one hundred and fifty new hymns added, and one or more suited to every theme and subject in divinity. Having found by converse with Christians, what words or lines in the former made them less useful, I have not only made various corrections in them, but have endeavoured to avoid the same mistakes in all the new composures. And whereas many of the former were too particularly adapted to special frames and seasons of the Christian life, almost all which are added have a more general and extensive sense, and may be assumed and sung by most persons in a worshipping congregation. 2. About fourteen or fifteen psalms which were translated in the first edition, are left out in this, because I intend, if God afford life and assistance, to convert the biggest part of the book of Psalms into spiritual songs for the use of Christians, yet the same numbers are applied to the Hymns, that there may be no confusion between the first and second editions.” To the seventh edition, which appeared in the year 1720, there is the following note, dated March 3rd. : “ Since the sixth edition of this book, the author has finished what he had so long promised, namely, the Psalms of David imitated in the language of the New Testament, which the world seems to have received with approbation, by the sale of some thousands in a year’s time. There the reader will find those psalms which were left out of all the later editions of these hymns in their proper places. It is presumed, that book, in conjunction with this, may appear to be such a provision for psalmody, as to answer most occasions of the Christian’s life;

and if an author's own opinion may be taken, he esteems it the greatest work that ever he has published, or ever hopes to do, for the use of the churches."

In eulogising the merits of Watts's hymns, I may lay myself open to the charge of being a partisan; I prefer, therefore, to adopt the language of a critic, against whom the plea of sectarian bias cannot in this instance be advanced; one whose judgment invests opinion with authority, and whose sincerity cannot be questioned. The author of the "Christian Psalmist" remarks, "Passing by Mrs. Rowe, and the mystical rhymers of her age, we come to the greatest name among hymn-writers; for we hesitate not to give that praise to Dr. Isaac Watts, since it has pleased God to confer upon him, though one of the least of the poets of his country, more glory than upon the greatest either of that or of any other, by making his 'Divine Songs' a more abundant and universal blessing, than the verses of any uninspired penman that ever lived. In his 'Psalms and Hymns' (for they must be classed together), he has embraced a compass and variety of subjects, which include and illustrate every truth of revelation, throw light upon every secret movement of the human heart, whether of sin, nature, or grace, and describe every kind of trial, temptation, conflict, doubt, fear, and grief, as well as the faith, hope, charity, the love, joy, peace, labour, and patience of the Christian, in all stages of his course on earth; together with the terrors of the Lord, the glories of the Redeemer, and the comforts of the Holy Spirit, to urge, allure, and strengthen him by the way. There is in the pages of this evangelist, a word in season for every one who needs it, in whatever circumstances he may require counsel, consolation, reproof, or instruction. We say this, without reserve, of the materials of his hymns; had their execution always been correspondent with the preciousness of these, we should have had a Christian Psalmist in England, next (and that only in date, not in dignity) to the 'Sweet Singer of Israel.' Nor is this so bold

a word as it may seem. Dr. Watts's hymns are full of 'the glorious gospel of the blessed God;' his themes, therefore, are as much more illustrious than those of the son of Jesse, who only knew 'the power and glory' of Jehovah as he had 'seen them in the sanctuary,' which was but the shadow of the New Testament church; as the face of Moses, holding communion with God, was brighter than the veil he cast over it when conversing with his countrymen."*

That Watts's hymns have faults, many and grievous faults, Mr. Montgomery admits; their most ardent admirers too, in the denomination where they are regularly used, acknowledge it; yet still they are most of them imperfections which might naturally be expected to connect themselves with a first hymnic enterprise. His most frequent failings are defective rhythm and prosaic phraseology; the want of rhymes between the first and third lines in the quarten measure, is sensibly perceived, and occasions the hymn sometimes to halt and stumble; whilst the harmony and beauty of the verse is too frequently destroyed by the insertion of proper names and scripture references, certainly out of the pale of poetry and good taste. These last are indeed sometimes put between brackets, and may be omitted in the singing without affecting the sense; but it would have been better had they been altogether expunged, as they offend the eye, spoil the programme of the hymn, and often remain at the disposal of our clerks, a race not over-blessed with keen perceptions and harmonious ears. Mr. Watts seems to have been sensible, that his rhymes, as Dr. Johnson remarks, were not "sufficiently correspondent," as he apologises for the defect in the frequent recurrence of scriptural and theologic terms, which admit but few words to chime with them. The period when he flourished was not so nicely critical as the present; pure and perfect harmony was not so rigidly required; what would now be regarded as false versification, was practised by the mighty masters of the lyre.

* Preface to *Christian Psalmist*, xix. xx.

The same inequality which characterises the lyric poems, may be perceived in many of the hymns; some of them begin well, often nobly, then become dull and puerile, and at the close recover their ground, and soar even to a higher elevation. An illustration of this occurs in two of Watts's finest compositions, which, though not inserted in his collection, evidently partake the hymnic character, and have been transferred from his lyrics into most succeeding selections. The first commences in the highest tone of sublimity and grandeur, but indulges an *Homeric nod* in the line printed in italics in the second verse, rallies again immediately, and plies a vigorous wing unto the close :

“Eternal Power ! whose high abode
Becomes the grandeur of a God ;
Infinite lengths beyond the bounds
Where stars revolve their little rounds.

“Thee while the first archangel sings
He hides his face behind his wings,
And ranks of shining thrones around
Fall worshipping and spread the ground.”

The other hymn is on the Resurrection, and celebrates in stirring strains the scenes of the cross and of the deserted tomb. It opens with a verse of stately and solemn magnificence, degenerates in the second into the merest drivelling, and concludes with a picture evincing the most consummate dramatic art :

“He dies ! the Friend of sinners dies !
Lo ! Salem's daughters weep around !
A solemn darkness veils the skies,
A sudden trembling shakes the ground.

“Come, saints, and drop a tear or two
On the dear bosom of your God ;
He shed a thousand drops for you,
A thousand drops of richer blood.”

Let it be, however, remembered, that Watts wrote without a model; that what he has achieved is purely the result of *inventive* genius; and our surprise will be, not that he failed so often, but that he accomplished so much. To succeeding practitioners he has been a landmark and a guide; they have had the benefit of his experience and designs, and have reaped important advantages from his successes and mistakes.

With all my partiality for Watts as a writer of religious song, I am not insensible to the defective tone and expression of some of his hymns, which betray, more indeed in phrasology than in spirit, the neighbourhood of a hyper-calvinistic school. The theology of his day was of a somewhat different mould to that embraced at the present by the majority of the dissenting churches; it had sterner features, and, at the same time, those which were more tumid; it spoke in severer accents to the sinner, and in a more glowing and mystic style to the saint; it delighted too much in presenting to the one the elements of gathering wrath, without a shelter from the storm, and in pampering the other with the gay and ardent fancies of impassioned eastern poetry. The Calvinism of Watts was of the moderate kind at the close of his career, so much so as to subject him to the charge of Baxterianism; yet still I am by no means certain, but that his connexion with Dr. Chauncey, a divine of the Crispian stamp, might give a colouring to his creed in early life. It would be an unprofitable task, to particularise the luscious phrases which savour of the school; phrases which might easily be altered to advantage, and which assuredly *ought* to have been long ago; which to a mind like Watts's will bespeak only the triumph of holy love, but which are apt to convey to unhallowed imaginations a licentious image, and thus degrade the Christian's fellowship with his Redeemer, by an association with terms indicative of human fondness and familiarity. The ardency of pious affection is indeed apt to express itself in the lan-

guage of animal passion ; the heart in communion with God will not stay to take the guage of a fastidious delicacy before it gives utterance to its desires ; but it by no means follows, that what is proper for the closet is adapted for the sanctuary. There is another fault which may be charged upon some of Watts's compositions, of an opposite character, but which proceeded from the same cause as the one just noticed. There is too little of that sweet persuasiveness, that melting tenderness, in which the gospel addresses the sinner ; while harsh expressions occur, breathing a spirit of vindictiveness, which unquestionably does not harmonise with the character of that God who delights in mercy, and which it borders upon downright impiety to offer up in praise to him. It would be a boon to the dissenting congregations, if some one, of kindred spirit and competent ability, and such an one doubtless might be found, would give his hymns the benefit of a careful correction and revision. The productions of Charles Wesley have been revised and expurgated and re-revised ; and the memory and claims of Watts imperatively demand a similar service.*

While such I honestly conceive to be the defects of Watts, I am still inclined to claim for him the highest place among the hymnists of our land. Many labourers have indeed since appeared in the field, some of undoubted talent, and all have trod in his steps ; yet his sacred songs remain as a whole un-

* There have been many *professed* improvements of Watts ; but none that have as yet come under my notice, appear to have fulfilled their object. In the hands of private speculators some of his hymns have been wretchedly mangled. A considerable number have been inserted in the "Church Hymn Book," chiefly used in the midland counties ; but the reverend compiler has not displayed much skill in his alterations. The almost faultless imitation of the 23rd Psalm, in the common metre, is amplified until its beauty is completely frittered away, and the imagery of the original, which Watts has preserved, is in several instances changed. The fourth resolution of the Congregational Union, at their last meeting, was the appointment of a sub-committee, to prepare a denominational hymn-book, as a supplement to that now in use ; and to the gentlemen there specified, Dr. Fletcher, Rev. J. Blackburn, Mr. Josiah Conder, and Mr. Henry Rogers, the task might safely be confided of revising the hymns of Watts.

surpassed and unequalled, and are far more generally used in the services of the church, than those of any of his successors. Charles Wesley approaches the nearest to him, but must yield the palm for originality, catholicity, and versatility of genius :* — Doddridge's hymns are distinguished by their unaffected piety, and engaging sweetness; but are often faulty in their poetry, and disfigured by a formal rhetoric : — Newton's compositions are clear and evangelical in their sentiments; but prosaic, sometimes wretched in their construction, and, besides, unfit for congregational use : — Cowper's mighty, yet sorely-crossed and troubled spirit, produced some hymns in the sunshine of his day, which delightfully embody the experience of the Christian heart; some also of high and solemn character, written in "the twilight of departing reason," on the verge of "blackness of darkness:" — Toplady, with all his churlishness, has struck off tones from David's harp, not inferior in vigour and musical intonation to any of his compeers : — Beddome's humble and unpretending verse, barren in poetry, will yet remain, for its instructive metrical aphorisms, a lasting blessing to the families of the righteous : — Heber's performances have probably been admired more, and deserve it less, than any of the preceding; for, though arrayed in the "purple and fine linen" of glittering diction, they are poor in

*In the recent edition of Mr. Wesley's works, published by the direction of the conference, there is the following notice. Mr. John Wesley remarks of his brother Charles—"His least praise, was his talent for poetry; although Dr. Watts did not scruple to say, 'that single poem, Wrestling Jacob, is worth all the verses which I have ever written.'" Upon this the editor observes in a note—"The late Mr. Robert Hopkins used to say, that in the early part of his life he was once in company with Mr. Wesley, and several other friends, when Mr. Wesley referred to the opinion which Dr. Watts had expressed concerning 'Wrestling Jacob;' and added, apparently with great emotion, 'O what would Dr. Watts have said, if he had lived to see my brother's two exquisite funeral hymns, beginning,

'How happy every child of grace,
'That knows his sins forgiven!
and
'Come, let us join our friends above,
'That have obtain'd the prize.'"

Wesley's Works, vol. xiii. p. 471.

thought and defective in spirituality :— these, and many others, whose names have perished, but whose contributions to the treasury of devotion have been preserved, have followed in the track of the nonconformist, their pattern and their guide.

One of Watts's principal excellences, that which peculiarly fitted him for his work as a writer of hymns, was the variety of his powers— in this respect he stands alone and unrivalled— surpassed by none of his successors. He travels with the Christian through the joys and sorrows of his pilgrimage, from the new-birth of spiritual feeling and character, to its glorious consummation in heaven. The different stages of religious experience, from the germinating seed to the full corn in the ear :— the various feelings which are called into operation in the believer's bosom, love, fear, hope, faith, despondency, and triumph :— the events, of which we either have been or shall be witnesses, birth, bereavement, sickness, recovery, death and judgment :— the progressive history of the church, from its first foundation, cemented with the blood of martyrs, to its final glory celebrated with angelic hymns :— all are touched upon with the inspiration of a poet, and the devotion of a saint— there is a song for every season, a supply for every want. Mr. Charles Wesley has indeed furnished a far greater mass of religious poetry : his productions of this kind, are said to amount to *forty-eight* distinct publications, from the duodecimo volume to the pamphlet of one or two sheets ; but there is in this large collection little variety of manner, and less variety of matter. Many of his pieces wear the exclusive aspect of the sectarian ; he casts his mite into the treasury of a party ; he writes as the " Poet of Methodism," not as the servant of the universal church. The paucity of his topics produces frequent repetition, a tiresome amplification of the same thought and theme ; and though this may be regarded an excellency or a defect, according as the religious opinions of his critic agree or differ from him, there can be no question

but that the *amount of genius* requisite for the composition of such hymns, was far *less* than that which Watts brought and employed in his task. The latter does not follow the narrow beaten causeway of sectarian theology; his hymns are more varied in their character, and catholic in their spirit; indeed, while he is every where consistent with the sentiments of his own denomination, I know of but few, if any, passages which a Christian of an opposite creed would hesitate to adopt. This circumstance has given to him an extended fame, and to his sacred lays a wide circulation; it has associated them with the churchman, the dissenter, and the Methodist; and “every sabbath, in every region of the earth, where his native tongue is spoken, thousands and tens of thousands of voices are sending the sacrifices of prayer and praise to God, in the strains which he prepared for them a century ago.”*

*In estimating the merits of these two great hymnists, Watts and Wesley, the greatest unquestionably that our country can boast, I should not hesitate to ascribe to the former greater skill in design, to the latter in execution; to the former more originality, to the latter more polish. Many of Wesley's flights are bold, daring, and magnificent. The spirit of the righteous man, resting secure amid the conflagration of nature's elements, and “clapping” its “wings of fire,” is a vision of surpassing grandeur, though the honour of the suggestion is, perhaps, due to Dr. Young. That fine hymn, commencing

“With glorious clouds encompass'd round,
Whom angels dimly see,”

is in the height of sublimity, though the thought and the expression belong to Milton:

—————“who sit'st above these heavens,
To us invisible or dimly seen.”

The favourite couplet,

“Enough for all, enough for each,
Enough for ever[more],”

is one of the felicitous expressions of Matthew Henry. Such imitations as these are, however, trivial, and are common with the best writers; but to the German hymnology Wesley is under deep and momentous obligations, which literary justice ought to have constrained him to acknowledge. Germany has long been proverbial for the number and excellency of its hymns; indeed I have heard them estimated by a competent judge at upwards of sixty thousand, whereas our language can boast of little more than two thousand. The connexion of the two brothers with the Moravians at the commencement of their career, opened unto them this rich mine

The faulty versification and inelegant construction of some of Watts's hymns, which have been pointed out as their principal defects, would never have occurred had they been written under the same circumstances as those of his Arminian successor. The former wrote principally in his youth, the latter in the full vigour of ripened manhood; to the former hymnic composition was an occasional recreation, to the latter at one period it was his chief employment. It is well known, that Mr. C. Wesley desisted from his itinerant ministry, and abandoned the fatiguing journeys of his brother, for an alternate residence in London and Bristol — the consequence of indolence say some, a just appreciation of his own powers say others. A considerable portion of his time was now devoted to poetical enterprise, to which he sedulously directed his talents; he measured the object before him in its height and length, and depth and breadth, and carefully trained and disciplined his spirit for his task :

“His soul was like a star, and dwelt apart.”

of devotional song; and some of the brightest gems in the Wesleyan collection have been dug from it. They are indeed most skilfully versified; but the merit of translation is widely different to that of original composition. Some of these continental grafts have been claimed by Mr. Montgomery, in his “Christian Psalmist,” for the Moravians; and Mr. Watson, in his recent “Life of Wesley,” acknowledges the claim, yet pleads correctly for their being Wesleyan *not* Moravian translations. Among these may be mentioned,

“Thou hidden love of God, whose height;”
 “Thee will I love, my strength, my tower;”
 “Shall I for fear of feeble man;”
 “O thou who camest from above;”
 “Now I have found the ground wherein;”
 “My soul before thee prostrate lies;”
 “Holy Lamb, who thee receive.”

In addition to these, it appears from the recently translated Memoirs of Gerhard Terstegen, that that splendid hymn, “Lo, God is here, let us adore,” and, “Ye virgin souls, arise,” belong to the German stock. The two last verses of the hymn, “What shall we offer our good Lord,” commencing, “O multiply the sower’s seed,” are taken from the Moravian German hymn, “High on his everlasting throne.” “O God, my God, my all thou art,” is from the Spanish. “Come, Saviour Jesus, from above,” is from the French. There are nine of Watts’s compositions in the collection.

But it was otherwise with Watts: none of those who had preceded him in this species of writing had attained any excellence, so as to stimulate his genius, and call forth his powers; the hymns in use were so miserably defective, and the task of surpassing them so easy, that he did not generally "gird up the loins of his mind." This is to be lamented, as the occasion of all his blemishes in composition. There is, however, far less appearance of *effort* in his hymns than in Wesley's; they are less strained and artificial, and bear in a higher degree the stamp of being the spontaneous effusions of devotional feeling. One of his highest achievements commences, "My God, the spring of all my joys," in which he avails himself of a beautiful idea from Gray's "Fragment on Vicissitude:"

"See the wretch that long has tost
On the thorny bed of pain,
At length repair his vigour lost,
And breathe and walk again;
The meanest floweret of the vale,
The simplest note that swells the gale,
The common sun, the air, the skies,
To him are opening paradise."

The sentiment in the concluding line is seized upon by the hymnist, and skilfully introduced in the third verse of the hymn. From Watts, however,[†] the idea receives a very different form of presentation; it ceases to be *descriptive*, and becomes *experimental*; it expresses not a feeling that is remembered merely, or gathered from a process of ratiocination, but one that is present with, and pervading the regenerated soul:

"The opening heavens around *me* shine
With beams of sacred bliss,
If Jesus shows his mercy *mine*,
And whispers *I am his.*"

The hymn is almost without "spot or blemish," if we except the last line of the fourth verse, which has certainly been

amended by Wesley ; for felicity of expression, strength and tenderness of feeling, and beautiful pictorial truth, it has never been surpassed ; it is a sublime communion with the Deity, made visible by the eye of faith, and brought near with the cords of love, giving birth to a majestic burst of impassioned and irrepressible joy and triumph.

Of all the compositions of Watts, his religious verse, including both psalms and hymns, have been most widely circulated, and most eminently useful. A copy was taken into Central Africa by Mr. Anderson, the fellow-traveller and brother-in-law of the unfortunate Mungo Park, and lately found by the Landers at Youri, hung up in the residence of a chieftain as *fetishe* or sacred. From his pulpit he instructed and edified a numerous and attentive auditory ; from his study he benefitted, by practical and doctrinal treatises, thousands who never heard the sound of his living voice : but from his closet he has given songs of praise to the churches, which will be used in their solemn assemblies and private devotions till time shall be no more, and have been employed by the delivered spirit soaring triumphant over death to its native skies. They have been instruments in the hand of God of improving the religious experience, and increasing the spiritual enjoyments, of his people ; rousing their deadened affections, enkindling the almost extinguished flame of love, prompting the longings of desire, and calling back, by the “voice of music” and the gushing of “sweet sound,” many a wandering sheep to the fold of his heavenly Father and Redeemer. When the syrens of heathen mythology warbled their soft and seducing airs, to draw the heedless into the gulf of unholy pleasure, some overcame the temptation by chanting divine hymns : the moral of the fable is correct and apposite ; for, in the experience of the pious, the evil spirit has not only been dispossessed, but his enticements resisted, when melody has been made with heart and lip unto the Lord. The hymns of Watts are purely spiritual, eminently holy and divine in their cha-

raeter; they were evidently written in the exercise of devout and heavenly affections, the words give utterance to the tone and temper of the heart; there is little of human speculation, but much of personal experience; they are not dry and sapless strains, but such as "angels might often delight to hear," throughout pervaded with the vital power of godliness; and, hence, they have been to the "planting of the Lord," as the dew, the shower, and the sunbeam to the planting of man. The mourner convinced of sin, and bending beneath his load of guilt, has oftentimes gone to the throne of grace, repeating some stanza imbued with the spirit of melting penitence and broken-hearted grief; the man of many woes, over whom the clouds of misfortune have gathered, has found a verse full of resignation, hope, and confidence, and has sung of mercy in the midst of judgment; the sufferer, to whom wearisome nights and days have been appointed, has been carried forward by gleams of future blessedness, which brighten upon the strains of Watts, in holy triumph and calm exultation, to the land where the weepers cease to weep; while thousands on the verge of death's dark river, have cheered surviving friends and sorrowing relatives, with tidings of the "sweet fields beyond the swelling flood," which have "stilled its tossing, hush'd its roar," and which have broke upon their ravished vision as they entered into the joy of their Lord.

"O let me glory! glory in my choice!
Whom should I sing but him who gave me voice!
This theme shall last, when Homer's shall decay,
When arts, arms, kings, and kingdoms, melt away!"

NOTE. Two statements have been made, with reference to Watts's Hymns, which ought not to pass unnoticed here, though the subject will be more fully considered before this volume closes.

I. Expressions occur relative to the humanity of Christ, which some pious persons have regarded with considerable

jealousy and alarm. Such expressions are, however, perfectly orthodox, and would have occasioned no remark, but for the suspicion which the author's doctrinal sentiments at the close of his life excited. It may be observed here, that, so far as the Hymns are concerned, this is completely a false alarm: the divinity of the Saviour is asserted with the same force and peculiarity as the humanity; and no line can be adduced, in which this momentous article of our faith is impugned. The impression to the contrary has, however, gone forth in certain quarters, and evidently dictated the following passage in the Wesleyan Magazine for December, 1831: — "Of late years several collections of hymns have been made for the use of Socinian congregations; and it is remarkable, how many hymns written by orthodox Christians, even by Watts and Doddridge, by a slight alteration have been rendered acceptable to men who cannot see in Christianity either a divine atonement or a sanctifying spirit. Great as is the poetical excellence of Charles Wesley's hymns, they are rarely found in collections of this nature. They are made of too unbending materials ever to be adapted to Socinian worship. The glory of Christ as God incarnate; the perfection and efficacy of his sacrifice; his intercession founded upon his atoning death — these are the lofty themes of his immortal songs, and are 'far above, out of the sight' of these grovelling religionists, who can see in Christianity little else than a republication of the law of nature." Now upon this paragraph I have three remarks to make:—1. That Watts's compositions, with but few exceptions, inserted in Socinian collections, are *psalms* not *hymns*, which, from their very nature, do not celebrate the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, because written before the clearer discoveries of the New Testament were brought to light. 2. That the topics mentioned as the subjects of Charles Wesley's "immortal songs," are precisely the same "unbending materials" as are employed in Watts's hymns. 3. That the productions of Wesley, or any other writer, might, with the same

alterations as Watts's have suffered, be adapted to the purposes of Socinian worship.

"The King of glory dies for men." Watts.

"God's well-beloved dies for men." Soc.

"Then I can smile at Satan's rage." Watts.

"Then I can smile at all its rage." Soc.

"Thy blood like wine adorns thy board,

And thine own flesh feeds every guest." Watts.

"His table is divinely stor'd,

And rich the food for every guest." Soc.

"Our faith adores thy bleeding love,

And trusts for life in one that died." Watts.

"We joy to tell his matchless love,

We trust for life in one who died." Soc.

The truth is, as Mr. Montgomery testifies, that the songs of Watts are full of "the glorious gospel of the blessed God;" had this not been the case, had they synchronised even in the slightest degree with the cold heartless dogmas of Socinianism, they would long ago have been discarded by the tens of thousands who still use them in their devotions.

II. It has been asserted, that Mr. Watts, when advanced in life, corrected and revised his Hymns, in accordance with the change which his views and sentiments on various topics underwent; that he left this corrected copy of his hymn-book behind him; and that, owing to the care of his friends for his reputation, it was suppressed and destroyed.

The evidence upon which this allegation is founded, is as follows:

1. The Rev. B. Williams, in the preface to his "Collection of Psalms," speaking of Watts's unconfined charity, mentions his "wish to avoid every word in his poetical compositions, designed for public worship, which was likely to give the smallest offence to serious Christians of any denomination:" he states, that "when he found in the latter part of his life, that he had not been so successful, in this respect, as

he had aimed to be, he wished for nothing more ardently than sufficient health and time, to revise both his Psalms and Hymns, in order to render them unexceptionable to every Christian professor:" he further states, that this account "was received from Dr. Watts himself, a few years before his death, by the late Dr. Amory, and by him given to one of his pupils, who communicated it to the editor:" and he also says, that he has good authority to add, that the revisal so fervently wished for, was undertaken and finished, and would most certainly have been published, had not the author's death unhappily prevented.

Mr. Williams's statement is too loose, and his authority too imperfect, for much weight or importance to be attached to it. It is not very probable, that with Watts's knowledge of the world, he should have entertained the thought of making his composures universally unexceptionable; for the alterations that would have pleased one party, would have offended another. Besides, Mr. Parker, his amanuensis, distinctly disclaimed any knowledge of the corrected copy, or even the design to revise. The Rev. Samuel Palmer states, that he heard from Dr. Amory a conversation which took place between Mr. Grove and Watts, which may explain and correct the above account. Mr. Grove remarked, that several of the hymns laid the stress of our redemption on the compassion of Christ, rather than on the love of God; and expressed his wish that he would alter them in this respect, and make them more conformable to the scripture doctrine. Mr. Watts replied, that he should be glad to do it, but it was out of his power; for he had parted with the copy-right, and the bookseller would not suffer any such alteration.

2. Mr. Belsham next makes the following statement, in his "Memoirs of Mr. Lindsey," p. 216: "It is well known that this learned and pious writer (Watts), in the latter part of his life, receded very far from those mystical opinions concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, and particularly the

person of Christ, which he held in his youth. His well-known volume of Hymns and Spiritual Songs, so much used in Calvinistic congregations, was published when he was very young, and contains many expressions, and many sentiments, from which, though regarded by great numbers as the standard of Christian verity, his judgment revolted in maturer years, and which *he would gladly have altered*, if he had been permitted by the proprietors of the copy-right, who knew their own interest too well to admit the proposed improvement."

Mr. Belsham cites no authority for this declaration; and I am at a loss to find any, except it be the private correspondence, which took place between Mr. Watts and the Rev. Martin Tomkins, of Hackney. With much that is erroneous, there is some truth in the passage. It appears that Mr. Tomkins had censured the doxologies, at the close of the third book, as unscriptural; and censured also the author for allowing them to remain, as inconsistent with his supposed later judgment. It is allowed by Mr. Watts, that some things might be improved, but that he had no authority to alter, as the copy-right had been sold; yet he expresses his satisfaction to let the copy remain as it was. If he had been as much dissatisfied as is stated, if he would "*gladly*," as Mr. Belsham expresses it, "*have altered*," he *might* and *ought* and doubtless *would* have left a copy corrected according to his last sentiments. But nothing of this kind was found among his papers and manuscripts after his decease. The truth is, that the corrections which he saw might be made were so trivial and unimportant, that he was content to let the book remain as originally written.

The correspondence upon this subject, between Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Watts, deserves a more lengthened notice.

The Rev. Martin Tomkins, the friend of Lardner, was educated along with him and the celebrated Daniel Neale, at Utrecht, under Professors D'Uries, Grævius, and Burman.

On his return to England he became minister at Stoke Newington, from which congregation he was dismissed for Arianism, in the year 1718. Residing at Hackney, he attended the ministry of Mr. Barker, a zealous trinitarian, but was offended by the doxologies he used at the close of his prayers, and especially those that were sung from Watts's hymns. Privately remonstrating about their use, without effect, he published a pamphlet in the year 1738, entitled "A calm inquiry, whether we have any warrant from scripture, for addressing ourselves, in a way of prayer or praise, directly to the Holy Spirit, humbly offered to the consideration of all Christians, particularly of protestant dissenters." Prefixed to this pamphlet there is a "Letter to the Rev. Mr. Barker," expostulating with him upon the subject of the doxologies, &c. He endeavours to prove, that "addresses to the Spirit, in prayer or praise, are unlawful and improper; chiefly, because we have no warrant for them in the holy scripture, which is our only rule of worship, and that no other considerations ought to influence us to the practice." To corroborate his own views, he quotes frequently from Watts's works to the effect, that "there is in scripture no express precept for addressing such worship to the Spirit"—"nor any example of it"—"that there may be two or three examples of it in the writers of the three first centuries"—"that, therefore, this ought not to be considered as a necessary part of Christian worship"—that "he thought it lawful, because the Spirit of God is truly divine"—and "expedient, because the omission of doxologies to the Spirit, would be highly offensive to serious Christians, who had been accustomed to them, and injurious to their edification."

Mr. Barker did not reply to Mr. Tomkins, but Watts wrote the following remarks in his own copy of the pamphlet, which came into the possession of the Rev. Samuel Palmer:

“SENTIMENTS ABOUT THE HOLY SPIRIT.

“To repeat in brief my sense of this matter, it stands thus: The Spirit of any being, in scripture phrase, is sometimes used for the being itself, or it denotes its active and operating power. So an unclean or evil spirit is the devil, Luke, vii. 21. Acts, xix. 15. Matt. x. 1; and is called the spirit of an unclean devil, Luke, iv. 33. So the Spirit of God sometimes means God himself. And, further, as the spirit of a man and the spirit of a beast, denote, in scripture language, the principle of active power in man and beast, why may not the Spirit of God have the same signification?

“And though God the Father and his Spirit be the same one true God, yet they are sometimes distinguished, and sometimes joined: Isaiah, xlviii. 16; ‘The Lord God and his Spirit has sent me!’ Even the attributes of God are distinguished from him, and yet coupled with him in scripture: Is it not foretold in Hosea, concerning the latter days, that men should ‘fear the Lord and his goodness?’ Hos. iii. 5. Does not Ezekiel say, ‘blessed be the glory of the Lord!’ Ez. iii. 12. Does not Psalm cv. 4, direct us to ‘seek the Lord and his strength; seek his face evermore?’ Are not we called upon to trust in his mercy, as well as in God himself? Why may we not then praise the Lord and his goodness, or bless the Lord and his strength? Why should these expressions ‘sound so oddly’ in the ears of Christians, who read those in the bible so nearly like them? And why may we not say, ‘Blessed be the Lord and his Eternal Spirit?’ especially supposing the Spirit of God to be something in God of greater distinction than a mere attribute, and to be often represented in scripture in a personal manner.”

These remarks were read to Mr. Tomkins, who wrote a reply to them, filling two sheets of paper, in a small hand, which also came into Mr. Palmer’s possession. The document is dated April 21, 1738. After animadverting upon

the practice of doxologising the Spirit, he comes at once to the point, and observes, "My chief aim in all I do upon this subject is, the restoring of the Christian worship to its primitive purity, and freeing it from what I cannot but look upon as an unwarrantable innovation. And for this purpose I would make bold to proceed one step further, and ask, *whether you now approve of what you have said concerning the Gloria Patri, in your book of hymns?* and whether, upon your present notion of the Spirit, you can esteem some of those doxologies you have given us there, I will not say, as some of 'the noblest parts of Christian worship,' (See Hymn-book) but as *proper* Christian worship? *And if not, whether you may not think it becoming in you, as a lover of truth, and as a Christian minister, to declare as much to the world; and not suffer such forms of worship to be recommended by your name and authority, to the use of the Christian church in the present time and in future generations?*"

Upon the margin of this letter Mr. Watts makes several observations, and opposite to this paragraph he writes thus:—"I freely answer, I wish some things were corrected. But the question with me is this: as I wrote them in sincerity at that time, is it not more for the edification of Christians, and the glory of God, to let them stand, than to ruin the usefulness of the whole book, by correcting them now, and, perhaps, bring further and false suspicion on my present opinions? Besides, I might tell you, that of all the works I have written, that particular copy is not mine: I sold it for a trifle to Mr. Lawrence, near thirty years ago, and his posterity make money of it to this day; and I can scarce claim a right to make any alteration in the book which would injure the sale of it."

A rejoinder to this came from Mr. Tomkins, dated Hackney, July 5, 1738. In this epistle he grants, that the doxology which Mr. Watts used was not in itself *unlawful*, but strongly objects to the propriety of it, and to the principle on

which he pleaded for it—that of complying with the prejudice of many serious people. He concludes thus:—“Whether you or I are in the right; whether your conduct in this affair, or mine is best approved of him who is the infallible judge, *Dies ultimus indicabit*. However that may be, as it is my prayer, that we may, so I bless God, I can say, it is my hope, that both you and I shall find mercy of the Lord in that day.

“I am, Rev. Sir, notwithstanding any difference of opinion, your sincere friend

“and humble servant,

“M. T.”

This letter has one marginal note in Watts’s hand-writing: “Mr. Tomkins’s confession of my Doxology to the H. S. to be lawful, yet not necessary.”

Upon the whole I think it may be concluded, that Mr. Watts admitted that his hymns were open to correction, to accord them in several instances with his last sentiments; that such corrections were not, however, in his estimation of moment enough to induce him to make them; and that the report of his leaving an altered copy of his hymn-book behind him, is without any just foundation.

Though this note has already exceeded its proper bounds, yet a further remark or two is necessary.

1. That there is in scripture “not any one plain and express instance of a doxology directly and distinctly addressed to the Holy Spirit,” is asserted in Prop. 20 of the “Christ. Doe. of the Trinity,” and afterwards still more strongly in Diss. 5 of the “Arian invited to the Orthodox Faith.” Admitting this statement, about which, however, some divines would hesitate, the fact in itself proves nothing. The right of the Holy Spirit to be addressed in words of praise or prayer, does not depend upon *example* or *precept*, but upon the scripture testimony to his being a Divine Person. If this is proved, then are our re-

gards justly due to him, as an object of trust and worship, of praise and blessing. "In creation we see him moving upon the face of chaos, and reducing it to a beautiful order; in providence 'renewing the face of the earth,' 'garnishing the heavens,' and 'giving life' to man. In grace we behold him expanding the prophetic scene to the vision of the seers of the Old Testament, and making a perfect revelation of the doctrine of Christ to the apostles of the New. He 'reproves the world of sin,' and works secret conviction of its evil and danger in the heart. He is the 'Spirit of grace and of supplication;' the softened heart, the yielding will, all heavenly desires and tendencies, are from him." From the general consideration of his divinity, joined to the affectingly benevolent and attractive character which he sustains, the churches of Christ in all ages have, therefore, associated the Spirit with the Father and the Son, in equal glory and blessing, honouring Him, in every gratulatory act of devotion and supplicatory exercise, as a Person in the Eternal Trinity.

2. Mr. Watts admits the practice of doxologising the Spirit, to have prevailed among the primitive Christians; but there are more than "two or three examples" of it, as he asserts in Diss. 5, in the first three centuries. The relation of the martyrdom of Ignatius, closes with mentioning "Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom and with whom all glory and power be to the Father, with the Holy Spirit, for ever:" Epist. c. vii. The martyrdom of Polycarp closes in like manner: "that Jesus Christ our Lord may also gather me together with his elect, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory for ever and ever:" Epist. c. xxii. inscrip. "But we worship," says Justin Martyr, "and adore Him (the Father), and his Son, who came out from Him, and the prophetic Spirit:" Apolog. i. c. vi. "Let us give praise," says Clement of Alexandria, "to the only Father and Son, with the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory now and for ever:" Ped. lib. iii. p. 211. edit. Oxon. "To Him (Christ)," says Hippolytus, "be glory

and strength, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit in the holy church, now and for ever and for evermore:" *Contra Noctum*. c. xviii. vol. ii. p. 20. ed. Fabricii. "To God the Father," says Dionysius of Alexandria, "and his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, be glory and power for ever and ever:" *Apud Basilium de Spiritu Sancto*, c. xxix. vol. iii. p. 358. ed. Par. See also for other doxologies, Justin Mar. apol. i. c. xvi; Clemens Alex. fragment. p. 1019; Origen, in fine *Expos. in Psalmum x.* Cod. MS. Barocc. Numb. 335; Julius Africanus *apud Basil. de Spiritu S.* c. xxix. vol. ii. p. 359; Hippolytus *Homil. in Theophaneiam*, c. x. vol. i. p. 264.

3. Mr. Watts always maintained the propriety of honouring the Spirit with express divine worship.

In his "*Scrip. Doct. of the Trinity*," he asks, "Is it proper for us to address ourselves in a way of prayer or praise, directly to the blessed Spirit, since we can neither find it plainly commanded or practised in the word of God?"

"Answer. I confess we cannot find in scripture any such positive and express precepts or examples of petition and praise, so directly addressed to the person of the Holy Spirit, as there are to the Father and to the Son. Yet, since we have proved before, that the Spirit hath real, true, and proper communion in the Godhead, there is sufficient ground, in my judgment, to address ourselves to him by way of prayer for the spiritual mercies we want, and by way of praise for the blessings we receive." Again, in his "*Arian invited to the Orthodox Faith*," he remarks, "Though the scripture has not taught us distinctly to offer praise and honour to the Holy Spirit, yet it has taught us to hearken to the voice of the Spirit, to obey the Spirit, to hope and wait for the enlightening and sanctifying and comforting influences of the Spirit, and not to resist him; and since the Holy Spirit is true God, I think it follows by evident consequence, that we may offer him the sacrifice of praise for the blessings which he bestows."

This was written after the change, which his views are supposed to have undergone, had taken place ; so that, whatever the precise amount of change might be, as to the doctrine of the Spirit, it is evident, that it was not such as lowered the character of the great Sanctifying Agent in his estimation, or modified his reverence for his office.

CHAPTER IX.

1712—1720.

CO-PASTORATE WITH MR. PRICE.

WATTS'S FRIENDS.—LORD BARRINGTON—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE.—ANEC-
 DOTES OF COLLINS.—MRS. BRIDGET BENDISH—SINGULAR CHARAC-
 TER.—HENRY BENDISH, ESQ.—MRS. ROWE.—PRIOR AND WATTS.—
 RICHARD CROMWELL.—DR. THOS. GIBSON.—ILLNESS OF WATTS.—
 POEMS.—REMARKS IN AFFLICTION.—RECOVERY.—AT TUNBRIDGE.—
 ODE TO LADY SUNDERLAND.—TO AMYNTAS.—IMPROMPTU.—ORDI-
 NATION OF MR. PRICE.—REMOVES TO SIR THOS. ABNEY'S.—THE
 ABNEY FAMILY.—EARLY LIFE OF SIR THOMAS.—PUBLIC SPIRIT.—LORD
 MAYOR.—OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY.—SCHISM BILL.—DEATH OF THE
 QUEEN.—DR. BENSON.—GUIDE TO PRAYER PUBLISHED.—THAMES
 FROZEN OVER.—CHARACTER OF THE BOOK.—THEOBALDS.—PREACHES
 IN THE ABNEY FAMILY.—CHESHUNT CHURCH-YARD.—LINES ON A
 SPOT-DIAL.—CONFERENCE AT SALTER'S HALL.—MATTHEW HENRY'S
 SERMON.—HIS CONTINUATORS.—CORRESPONDENCE.

IN the second book of the *Lyrics* there are several poems inscribed to particular friends, which throw considerable light upon the connexions and private life of the author. To some of them introductory letters are attached, which appear to have accompanied the lines to which they are appended. Among the individuals thus enrolled among his friends at this period, we find the names of Lord Barrington, Mrs. Bendish, Miss Singer, Richard Cromwell, Dr. Thos. Gibson, William Blackbourne, Esq., Mr. Arthur Shallet, Mr. William Nokes, Rev. John Shower, Sir Nathaniel Gould, Mr. C. and S. Fleetwood, David Polhill, Esq., Henry

Bendish, Esq., and the celebrated John Howe. A few gleanings respecting those with whom Mr. Watts was more intimately associated, I shall here introduce as illustrative of his personal history.

John Shute, first Baron Barrington of Newcastle, and Viscount Barrington of Ardglass, in Ireland, was born at Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, in the year 1678. He was lineally descended from Robert Shute, one of the barons of the exchequer, in the reign of Elizabeth, the representative of the Norman family of Shute, who possessed a castle with territorial property in Normandy until the separation of the duchy from the English crown. At the age of sixteen young Shute went to study at Utrecht, where several of his academical exercises* were printed, which are highly commended by Cocceius† and Heinneccius‡, and several eminent writers on the civil law. In 1701 he began to write in favour of the dissenters, and published in 4to. a pamphlet without his name, entitled, “The Interest of England, considered in respect of Protestants dissenting from the Established Church.” Two years afterwards appeared “The Rights of Protestant Dissenters,” in two parts, which probably introduced him to the acquaintance of Locke, who ever afterwards honoured him with his friendship and correspondence. Upon the illness of that illustrious philosopher, in 1704, Watts apostrophised his friend in a poetical epistle, and bade him “wait the prophet’s flight,” and seize “his mantle” as the inheritor of his genius.§ In his twenty-fourth year, Mr. Shute was

* These exercises were,

1. *Exercitatio Physica de Ventis.* Utrecht. 1696, 4to.
2. *Dissertatio Philosophica de Theocratia Morali.* 1697.
3. *Dissertatio Philosophica Inauguralis de Theocratia Civili.* 1697.
4. *Oratio de Studio Philosophiæ conjungendo cum studio Juris Civilis, habita in inelytâ Academiâ Trajectanâ, Kalendis Junii, 1698.*

† J. Gottlieb Heinneccii Opera. Ed. tertia, Genevæ, 1714.

‡ Sam D. Cocceii de Princ. Jur. Nat. Diss. 1.

§ Horæ Lyricæ, lib. ii.

summoned before the cabinet of Queen Anne, and represented to Lords Somers, Wharton, Halifax, and Sunderland, the sentiments of the dissenters as to the projected union of Scotland. To obtain the assistance of the Scotch presbyterians and the English dissenters, in carrying the measure, he was employed by the ministry to negotiate, for which he was appointed one of the commissioners of the customs. About this period Francis Barrington, Esq., of Tofts,* in Essex, who had married his first cousin, left him his estate in that county, on condition of his taking the name and arms of Barrington; and soon afterwards he was appointed secretary to Lord Wharton, the Irish viceroy.† In 1711 he was deprived of his place in the customs by the Tory administration; at the accession of George I. he rejected office, but was elected member of parliament for Berwick-upon-Tweed; in 1720 he was created an Irish peer; and in 1723 his political life closed, by being expelled the house of commons for his connexion with the Harburgh lottery,‡ but really on account of the enmity of Sir Robert Walpole. Retirement was well improved by Lord Barrington; for it produced his “*Miscellanea Sacra*,” in 1725, and “*An Essay on the several Dispensations of God to Mankind*”—works which have elevated him to an eminent place among theolo-

* This gentleman was descended from the Plantagenets, by the marriage of Sir Thos. Barrington, with Winifred, second daughter and co-heiress of Henry Pole, Lord Montague, son of Sir Richard Pole, K. G., by Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, sister and heiress of Edward Earl of Warwick, and daughter of George Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. and Richard III.

† Swift, in a letter, dated Nov. 30, 1709, to Archbishop King, observes, upon this appointment, “One Mr. Shute is named for secretary to Lord Wharton; he is a young man, but reckoned the shrewdest head in England, and the person in whom the presbyterians chiefly confide; and if money be necessary towards the good work in Ireland, it is reckoned he can command as far as 100,000 from the body of the dissenters here. As to his principles, he is a truly moderate man, frequenting the church and the meeting indifferently.”

12mo. *edit of Swift's Works*, 1765. vol. xiv.

‡ His son, the Bishop of Durham, has amply vindicated him in the life prefixed to his edition of his father's works.

gians.* Descended from a dissenting family, his mother being the daughter of Mr. Caryl, he first communicated with Mr. Bradbury, but differing from him in his sentiments upon the Trinity, and disgusted with his violence during the Salter's-Hall debates, he left him to join Dr. Jeremiah Hunt's church at Pinner's Hall. His pastor was a frequent visitor at his seat, at Tofts, in Essex, and Mr. Anthony Collins, the celebrated free-thinker, occasionally joined the literati assembled there. After dinner the Greek Testament was generally introduced, in order to elicit criticism; and on one occasion Collins is reported to have said, respecting the apostle Paul, "I think so well of him, who was both a man of sense and a gentleman, that if he had asserted he had worked miracles himself, I would have believed him." Upon Lord Barrington producing a passage to that effect, the disconcerted infidel seized his hat, and hastily retreated from the company. At another period his lordship extorted from his guest the confession, that though he cared little about religion himself, yet he took care that his servants should regularly attend at church, to prevent "their robbing or murdering him."† The intimacy which substituted between Watts and this distinguished individual, commenced, probably, through the medium of Sir Thos. Abney, who was his uncle by the mother's side. Lord Barrington died, after a few hours' illness, at his seat at Becket, near Shrivenham, in Berkshire, Dec. 14, 1734, in

* Besides the works named above, Lord Barrington wrote, "A Dissuasive against Jacobitism." 1713. It reached a fourth edition.

"An Account of the late proceedings of the Dissenting Ministers at Salter's Hall, &c., in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Gale; with a Postscript to the Rev. Thos. Bradbury. 1719." This gave rise to a reply from Bradbury, entitled, "An Answer to the reproaches cast on those Dissenting Ministers who subscribed their belief to the Eternal Trinity. In a letter to John Barrington Shute, Esq. 1719."

"Letter to Protestant Dissenters, concerning their conduct in the ensuing Election." 1722. 8vo.

† Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 626. Note G.

his fifty-sixth year; a monument in the parish church bears an honourable inscription to his memory.*

Mrs. B. Bendish, the eldest daughter of General Ireton, by Bridget Cromwell, the eldest daughter of the Protector, was a singular and eccentric character. Of this masculine and intrepid woman, amusing accounts have been drawn up by Mr. Say of Westminster, Dr. Brooke of Norwich, and Mr. Lusson of Lowestoff.† She is described as inheriting more of Oliver's constitution of body and complexion of mind than any of his other descendants—"a person of great presence and majesty, heroic courage, and indefatigable industry, and with something in her countenance and manner, that at once attracts and commands respect the moment she appears in company; accustomed to turn her hands to the meanest offices, and even drudgeries of life, among her workmen and labourers, from the earliest morning to the decline of day, insensible to all the calls and necessities of nature, and in a habit and appearance beneath the meanest of them, and

* "Here Lies
The Right Hon. John Barrington,
Viscount Barrington of Ardglass, and Baron of
Newcastle,
In the Kingdom of Ireland; his father Benjamin
was
The youngest son of Francis Shute, of Upton,
In the county of Leicester, Esqr.
Who was descended from Robert Shute, of Hockington,
In
The county of Cambridge,
One of the twelve Judges in
The reign of Queen Elizabeth.

"John Lord Barrington was chosen representative for the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed in both parliaments of King George I.; and died Dec. 14, 1734, in the 56th year of his age; leaving by Anne his wife, daughter and coheirress of Sir William Daines, six sons and three daughters. He took the name of Barrington, pursuant to the settlement of his relation, Francis Barrington, of Tofts, in the county of Essex, Esqr., and inherited the estate he had in this neighbourhood by the will of John Wildman, of Becket, in the county of Berks, Esqr."

† Appendix to "Letters by several eminent Persons Deceased," &c. vol. 2.

neither suiting her character or sex”.* Enthusiastically attached to the memory of the Protector, she “looked upon him as the first and greatest of mankind, and also as the best—in talking of herself, on the mention of any good quality, she would always say, she learned it from him, and would add, that if she had any thing valuable in her, she owed it all to her grandfather. In a violent fever, being thought past recovery, and insensible to any thing that might be said, her aunt, Lady Fauconberg, and other company being in the room, and her Ladyship, though Oliver’s daughter, giving too much way to things said in dishonour of his memory by some present, to the astonishment of all she raised herself up, and with great spirit said, if she did not believe her grandmother to have been one of the most virtuous women in the world, she should conclude her Ladyship to be a bastard, wondering how it could be possible, that the daughter of the greatest and best man that ever lived, could be so degenerate, as not only to sit with patience to hear his memory so ill-treated, but to seem herself to assent to it.”† “As the whole of Mrs. B.’s personal economy was not of the common form, her hours of visiting went generally out of the common season. She would very frequently come to visit at nine or ten at night, and sometimes later if the doors were not shut up. On such visits she generally stayed until about one in the morning. Such late visits in those sober times, were considered by her friends as highly inconvenient, yet nobody complained of them to her: the respect she universally commanded, gave her a license in this and many other irregularities. Mrs. B. never would suffer a servant to attend her—God, she said, was her guard, and she would have no other! Her dress on these visits, though it was in a taste of her own, was always grave and handsome. At about one in

* Mr. Say.

† Dr. Brooke.

the morning, she used to put herself on the top of her mare, or into the chaise, and set off on her return. When the mare began to move, Mrs. B. began to sing a psalm or one of Watts's hymns in a very loud but not a very harmonious key."* The husband of this lady was Thos. Bendish, Esq. of Gray's Inn, descended from the ancient family of Sir Thos. Bendish, Bart., of Essex, ambassador from Charles I. to the court of Turkey. He died in the year 1707, but his widow survived him to the year 1728, residing chiefly at South-town, i. e. south of Yarmouth. She was much attached to Owen as a divine, and Watts as a poet: the latter addressed to her a poem, "Against Tears," dated 1699, and charity may indulge the hope, that she is now where eccentricity and sorrow are alike no more.

Henry Bendish, Esq., of Bedford Row, in the county of Middlesex, was the second son of the above.† He was connected with Lord Barrington's family, being united to his sister Martha Shute in the year 1705. He appears to have been much esteemed by Watts, as he has preserved in his Lyrics some complimentary verses on his marriage, with a prefatory letter. His lady is described as strongly resembling her "noble brother in her person, in her voice, in the grace and politeness of her address, and in the strength and extent of her understanding."‡ The name of Bendish became extinct in the person of her only son Henry, who died at South-town, unmarried, in the year 1753.

Miss Singer, afterwards the celebrated Mrs. Rowe, is too well known to need any lengthened notice; but there is one circumstance which intimately associates her name with that

* Mr. Luson.

† The eldest son was Thos. Bendish, Esqr., of Colkirk, in Norfolk, described as "an expensive, loose liver," who died upon a family estate, in the West Indies. He left an only son, Ireton Bendish, who held a place under the government, but died young and unmarried about the year 1730.

‡ Mr. Luson.

of Watts. The personal charms and mental acquirements of this lady, procured her, previous to her marriage, a number of admirers, and among the rest the name of the divine occurs as one of her suitors. In early life he is said to have formed an attachment for Miss Singer, and along with the poet Prior to have sought in vain the honour of her hand. Mrs. Barbauld may allude to this circumstance in the following lines:

“Thynne, Carteret, Blackmore, Orrery approv’d,
And *Prior prais’d*, and noble Hertford lov’d,
Seraphic Kenn, and *tuneful Watts were thine*,
And virtue’s noblest champions fill’d the line.”

How far the equanimity of the lover was ruffled by his disappointment we cannot determine; but Prior, his companion in misfortune, seems to have conducted himself as became a disconsolate swain. In his pastoral on “Love and Friendship,” he says, addressing the unyielding lady,

“But if perchance the series of thy joys,
Permit one thought less cheerful to arise,
Piteous transfer it to the mournful swain,
Who, loving much, who, not belov’d again,
Feels an ill-fated passion’s last excess,
And dies in woe, that thou mayst live in peace.”*

If Watts’s passion was ever any thing more than platonic, it afterwards subsided into a pure and sincere friendship, which subsisted to the gratification of both parties until the death of Mrs. Rowe.† Certain it is, that he formed no second

* Prior’s Poems.

† The circumstance here referred to, seems to have been noised abroad, as it attracted the attention of Dr. Young, who notices it in his fifth satire:

“What angels would those be, who thus excel,
In theologies, could they sew as well!
Yet why should not the fair her text pursue?
Can she more decently the doctor woo?”

attachment. He was, however, by no means insensible to the charms of female society: he sung of "mighty love" in his poetry, and was half converted to matrimonial bliss by his "Indian Philosopher;" but a salutary remembrance of "the wretched souls" "chained to eternal strife," marred the gay vision of imagination. It was the opinion of the learned Sigonius, and his excuse for celibacy, that Minerva and Venus could not live together.

Richard Cromwell, the eldest son of the Protector, was upon terms of friendly intercourse with Watts; and was frequently visited by him in his retirement at Cheshunt, where he calmly spent an extended and vigorous old age. After descending from his transient elevation, at the Restoration, he passed several years upon the continent, involved in pecuniary embarrassments, but returned to witness the second and final expulsion of the Stuart race, and to enjoy a competent estate. He resided for some time in the neighbourhood of Romsey, where the pew in which he used to sit in the meeting-house is, I believe, still preserved, as a relic worthy of notice. At Cheshunt he occupied a house near the church, courting privacy, but receiving the visits of some select friends, among whom was the poet of the nonconformists. Visiting Mr. Howe, his former chaplain, upon his death-bed, they conversed upon the varied and tumultuous scenes of the past, and both are said to have separated in tears. The enemies of the name of Cromwell, have delighted to represent Richard as weak and pusillanimous; but for no better reason, than that he was uninfluenced by the selfish and sanguinary am-

"Isaac, a brother of the canting strain,
When he has knock'd at his own skull in vain,
To beauteous Marcia often will repair,
With a dark text to light it at the fair.
O how his pious soul exults to find
Such love for holy men in womankind!
Charm'd with her learning, with what rapture he
Hangs on her bloom, like an industrious bee;
Hums round about her, and with all his power,
Extracts sweet wisdom from so fair a flower."

bition of his father. Nature intended him to occupy and adorn a private station, and he wisely rejected the allurements of the throne, and honourably and usefully sustained the character of an educated and independent private gentleman. "He always," says Noble, "avoided speaking of the time of his elevation;" and Mr. Watts asserted, that he never knew him glance at his former station but once, and that in a very distant manner. His appearance is described as grave and prepossessing, with venerable white hair, and a polished and insinuating address.—Thomas Gibson, M. D. physician-general of the army, was his son-in-law; and to him a poem is addressed in the *Lyrics*, entitled "The Life of Souls." He was uncle to Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, the learned editor of *Camden*; and married the eldest daughter of the ex-protector. With his nephew, the bishop, he always preserved a respectful and intimate correspondence; and left him the whole of his property after the decease of his widow. It is probable that Dr. Gibson was a dissenter; he died in 1722, and lies interred in the burial-ground adjoining the Foundling Hospital, belonging to St. George the Martyr.

The malady with which Watts was afflicted in the year 1711, returned with increased violence in the autumn of 1712; and so shattered his constitution and debilitated his frame, as wholly to suspend his public labours. In September he was seized with a violent fever, which induced a state of nervous agitation of the most painful and distressing kind; and during its continuance he was frequently unable to recognise the voices and features of his friends, and lay apparently unconscious of their presence, sympathy, and attentions. At intervals, during the progress of his complaint, his imagination, naturally strong and vivid, was powerfully excited; reason seemed to hold the sceptre with a trembling hand; and the most assiduous friendship failed to chase the fancies and chimeras with which the couch of the invalid was haunted. His own pen has strikingly portrayed his sufferings:

“My frame of nature is a ruff’d sea,
And my disease the tempest. Nature feels
A strange commotion to her inmost centre ;
The throne of Reason shakes. ‘Be still, my thoughts ;
Peace and be still.’ In vain my reason gives
The peaceful word ; my spirit strives in vain
To calm the tumult, and command my thoughts.
This flesh, this circling blood, these brutal powers,
Made to obey, turn rebels to the mind,
Nor hear its laws. The engine rules the man.
Unhappy change ! when nature’s meaner springs,
Fir’d to impetuous ferments, break all order ;
When little restless atoms rise and reign
Tyrants in sovereign uproar, and impose
Ideas on the mind ; confused ideas
Of non-existents and impossibles,
Who can describe them ? Fragments of old dreams,
Borrow’d from midnight, torn from fairy fields
And fairy skies, and regions of the dead,
Abrupt, ill-sorted. O ’tis all confusion !
If I but close my eyes, strange images
In thousand forms and thousand colours rise,
Stars, rainbows, moons, green dragons, bears, and ghosts ;
An endless medley rush upon the stage,
And dance and riot wild in Reason’s court,
Above control. I’m in a raging storm,
Where seas and skies are blended ; while my soul,
Like some light worthless chip of floating cork,
Is tost from wave to wave : now high-mounted on the ridge
With breaking floods, I drown, and seem to lose
All being : now high-mounted on the ridge
Of a tall foaming surge, I’m all at once
Caught up into the storm, and ride the wind,
The whistling wind ; unmanageable steed,
And feeble rider !”

Throughout this dark and trying period of his life, Watts’s mind experienced the support and comfort of religion ; and it is delightful to contemplate the light of his piety breaking through the deep gloom of afflictive dispensations :

"Yet, gracious God, amidst these storms of nature,
 Thine eyes behold a sweet and sacred calm
 Reign through the realms of conscience: all within
 Lies peaceful and composed. 'Tis wondrous grace
 Keeps off thy terrors from this humble bosom,
 Tho' stained with sins and follies, yet serene
 In penitential peace and cheerful hope;
 Sprinkled and guarded with atoning blood.
 Thy vital smiles amidst this desolation,
 Like heavenly sunbeams hid behind the clouds,
 Break out in happy moments with bright radiance,
 Cleaving the gloom; the fair celestial light
 Softens and gilds the horrors of the storm,
 And richest cordials to the heart conveys.
 O glorious solace of immense distress,
 A conscience and a God! A friend at home
 And better Friend on high! This is my Rock
 Of firm support, my Shield of sure defence
 Against infernal arrows."

* * * * *

"O thou, all-powerful Word, at whose first call
 Nature arose; this earth, these shining heavens,
 These stars in all their ranks came forth, and said,
 '*We are thy servants*:' didst thou not create
 My frame, my breath, my being, and bestow
 A mind immortal on thy feeble creature,
 Who faints before thy face? Did not thy pity
 Dress thee in flesh to die, that I might live,
 And with thy blood redeem this captive soul
 From guilt and death? O thrice adored name,
 My King, my Saviour, my Immanuel, say,
 Have not thy eyelids mark'd my painful toil,
 The wild confusions of my shatter'd powers,
 And broken fluttering thoughts? Hast thou not seen
 Each restless atom, that with vexing influence
 Works thro' the mass of man? each noxious juice,
 Each ferment that infects the vital humours,
 That heaves the veins with huge disquietude,
 And spreads the tumult wide? Do they not lie
 Beneath thy view, and all within thy reach?
 Yes, all at thy command, and must obey
 Thy sovereign touch: thy touch is health and life,
 And harmony to nature's jarring strings."

During some of his intervals of ease, his conversation with his friends displayed his deep and scriptural piety—a piety which enabled him to kiss the hand that wounded and cast down. “I know not,” he was accustomed to remark, “but my days of restraint and confinement by affliction may appear my brightest days, when I come to take a review of them in the light of heaven.” To one of his acquaintance he observed, “St. Paul’s thorn in the flesh was the debilitated state of his nerves, occasioned by the overpowering glories of heaven; whence I conclude, that the apostle was in the body when he was caught up into paradise.”* This opinion, though completely conjectural, Dr. Gibbons thinks admirably agrees with what the apostle says concerning himself, that he was “with the Corinthians in *weakness* and in *fear* and in much *trembling*.” In a letter to a minister in affliction he thus expresses himself:—“It is my hearty desire for you, that your faith may ride out the storms of temptation, and the anchor of your hope may hold, being fixed within the veil. There sits Jesus our forerunner, who sailed over this rough sea before us, and has given us a chart, even his word, where the shelves and rocks, the fierce currents and dangers, are well described; and he is our pilot, and will conduct us to the shores of happiness. I am persuaded, that in a future state we shall take a sweet review of those scenes of providence, which have been involved in the thickest darkness, and trace those footsteps of God when he walked with us through the deepest waters. This will be a surprising delight to survey the manifold harmony of clashing dispensations, and to have those perplexing riddles laid open to the eyes of our souls, and read the full meaning of them in set characters of wisdom and

* The sentiments of divines vary as to the affliction of Paul; whether an unruly lust, according to the ancient Latin commentators, or a false teacher, or a bodily infirmity. Whitby, Lord Barrington, Benson, and Macknight, with many others, adopt the latter opinion; Baxter regarded it as a headache: and the wisdom of inspiration is here evident, in not exactly defining it, as every Christian sufferer is now at liberty to apply the ease to himself.

grace." He refers again to his own peculiar trials in his "Miscellaneous Thoughts," and displays the submissive spirit of the Christian character:—"But has not my spirit been depressed by a sickly constitution, and confined to a feeble engine of flesh under daily disorders? Have I not sustained many sorrows on this account, and wasted some years among the infirmities of the body and in painful idleness? Are there not several souls favoured with a more easy habitation, and yoked with a better partner? Are they not accommodated with engines which have more health and vigour, and situated in much more happy circumstances than mine? What then? Shall I repine at my lot and murmur against my Creator, because he has made some hundreds happier than I, while I survey whole nations and millions of mankind that have not a thousand part of my blessings?"* Upon the occasion of Mr. Watts's illness, the members of his church met together frequently, to make prayer in his behalf; and after a chasm of more than four years in the exercise of his ministry, he was permitted to return to his public duties. The "Hymn of Praise for Recovery" which he wrote, expresses the feelings of a grateful heart:

"Happy the man, that the slow circling moons
And long revolving seasons measure out
The tiresome pains of nature! Present woes
Have their sweet periods. Ease and cheerful health
With slow approach (so providence ordains)
Revisit their forsaken mansion here,
And days of useful life diffuse their dawn
O'er the dark cottage of my weary soul.
My vital powers resume their vigour now;
My spirit feels her freedom, shakes her wings,
Exults and spatiates o'er a thousand scenes,
Surveys the world, and with full stretch of thought
Grasps her ideas; while impatient zeal
Awakes my tongue to praise. What mortal voice,
Or mortal hand, can render to my God

* Reliq. Juv. No. 5.

The tribute due? What altars shall I raise?
 What grand inscription to proclaim his mercy
 In living lines? Where shall I find a victim
 Meet to be offer'd to his sovereign love,
 And solemnize the worship and the joy.

* * * * *

“Jesus, great Advocate, whose pitying eye
 Saw my long anguish, and with melting heart
 And powerful intercession spread'st my woes
 With all my groans before the Father-God,
 Bear up my praises now; thy holy incense
 Shall hallow all my sacrifice of joy,
 And bring these accents grateful to his ear.
 My heart and life, my lips and every power,
 Snatch'd from the grasp of death, I here devote,
 By thy bless'd hands, an offering to his name.”

Part of the summer of 1712, previous to his violent illness in September, was spent at Tunbridge; and here he composed the following lines in honour of Lady Sunderland, who was then a visitor at the Wells. This lady, whose husband had recently been dismissed from the councils of the queen, was one of the daughters of the Duke of Marlborough, and had herself just withdrawn from the court. As the poem is not found in Watts's works, it is inserted here, together with an explanatory letter, which he addressed to a friend:

“ODE TO THE LADY SUNDERLAND, 1712.

“Fair nymph, ascend to Beauty's throne,
 And rule that radiant world alone;
 Let favourites take thy lower sphere;
 Not monarchs are thy rivals here.

“The court of Beauty built sublime,
 Defies all pow'rs but heav'n and time;
 Envy, that clouds the hero's sky,
 Aims but in vain her shafts so high.

“Not Blenheim's field, nor Ister's flood,
 Nor standards dy'd in Gallic blood,
 Torn from the foe, add nobler grace
 To Churchill's house than Spenser's face.

“The warlike thunder of his arms,
Is less commanding than her charms;
His lightning strikes with less surprise
Than sudden glances from her eyes.

“His captives feel their limbs confin’d
In iron; she enslaves the mind:
We follow with a pleasing pain,
And bless the conqueror and the chain.

“The Muse that dares in numbers do
What paint and pencil never knew,
Faints at her presence in despair,
And owns th’ inimitable fair.”

“TO AMYNTAS.

“Perhaps you were not a little surprised, my friend, when you saw some stanzas on the Lady Sunderland at Tunbridge Wells, and were told that I wrote them; but when I give you a full account of the occasion your wonder will quickly cease.

“The Duke of Marlborough’s three daughters, namely, the Lady Godolphin, the Lady Sunderland, and the Lady Bridgewater, had been at the Wells sometime when I came there; nor had I the honour of any more acquaintance with any of them than what was common to all the company in the Wells, that is, to be told who they were when they past by. A few days afterwards they left that place, and the next morning there was found a copy of verses in the coffee-house, called the ‘Three Shining Sisters,’ but, the author being unknown, some persons were ready to attribute them to me, knowing that I had heretofore dealt in rhyme. I confess I was ashamed of several lines in that copy. Some were very dull, and others, as I remember, bordered upon profaneness.

“That afternoon I rode abroad as usual for my health, and it came into my head to let my friends see, that, if I would choose such a theme, I would write in another manner than

that nameless author had done. Accordingly, as I was on horseback, I began a stanza on the 'Three Shining Sisters,' but my ideas, my rhyme, and the metre would not hit well, while the words ran in the plural number; and this slight occurrence was the real occasion of turning my thoughts to the singular; and then, because the Lady Sunderland was accounted much the finest woman of the three, I addressed the verses to her name. Afterwards, when I came to the coffee-house, I entertained some of my friends with these lines, and they, imagining it would be no disagreeable thing to the company, persuaded me to permit them to pass through the press. This is the whole story, and the real truth."

On reading the preceding lines, a divine composed the following impromptu, in which it is difficult to say whether the author or the lady has the greater compliment:

"While numerous bards have sounded Spenser's name,
And made her beauties heirs to lasting fame,
Her memory still to their united lays
Stands less indebted than to Watts's praise.
What wondrous charms must to that fair be given,
Who mov'd a mind that dwelt so near to heaven!"

On the 3rd of March, 1713, owing to Watts's continued affliction, Mr. Price, his assistant at Bury-street, was ordained co-pastor with him, at his express recommendation and desire. The Rev. Messrs. Nesbitt, Bragge, Collins, Ridgley, and Foxon, assisted on the occasion. Mr. Price is described as a man of sound and solid sense, a judicious useful preacher, and eminent for his gift in prayer. He possessed great sagacity; was very able, faithful, and ready to advise and communicate his mind in serviceable hints and cautions to his friends. His disposition was friendly and peaceable, and he laid himself out to do good, in which he much delighted.* That Mr. Watts highly esteemed his col-

* Wilson's Diss. Churches, i. 319.

league, is evident from his will, in which he styles him his faithful friend and companion in the labours of the ministry: he mentions also a legacy which he bequeaths him, as only a small testimony of his great affection for him, on account of his services of love, during the many harmonious years of their fellowship in the work of the gospel. In the dedication of one of the volumes of sermons to his people, he says, that he could not conceal his joy, that his kind and faithful companion in the service of their souls practises his ministry with the same views and designs (as himself), and that he had been sensibly owned and assisted of God, to support and build up the church during his long confinement. "His labours," he adds, "both for you and for me, shall ever endear him both to you and me." Mr. Price was the uncle of the late celebrated Dr. Richard Price; he survived his colleague but little more than seven years, and died lamented by persons of various persuasions, April 21, 1756, having been connected with the church in Bury-street almost fifty-three years. His remains lie entered in Bunhill Fields, with an inscription upon his tomb-stone, which he himself dictated:—"Here lies the body of Mr. Samuel Price, who served with the truly Rev. Dr. Watts, in the gospel, under the character of his assistant and co-pastor 45 years, to whose uninterrupted goodness and candour he has been highly obliged so great a part of his life. He died in hopes of being together for ever with the Lord, the 21st of April, 1756." Mr. Price is only known as an author by the following sermons:—"To the Society who support the Morning Lecture at Little St. Helen's, Aug. 1, 1724." "To the Societies for Reformation of Manners, preached at Salter's Hall, June 28, 1725." "Nine Sermons in the Bury-street Collection, 1735." "A Charge at the Ordination of the Rev. John Angus, at Bishop Stortford, 1748." "A Sermon on the death of Dame Mary Abney, 1750."

The long illness of Watts not only inspired his own people with a tender sympathy towards him; but engaged the bene-

volent attention of Sir Thomas Abney and his lady, who invited him to become an inmate in their house. This invitation led to a residence of nearly forty years with this amiable family, by whom he was treated with the utmost kindness as a friend, attention as an invalid, and respect as a divine. The exact time when this offer was made and accepted I am unable to ascertain, but most probably it took place in the year 1713 or 1714. "A coalition like this," Dr. Johnson remarks, "a state in which the notions of patronage and dependence were overpowered by the perception of reciprocal benefits, deserves a particular memorial." The Countess of Huntingdon once told Mr. Toplady, that when she visited Dr. Watts on one occasion he thus accosted her: "Madam, your Ladyship is come to see me on a very remarkable day."—"Why is this day," she replied, "so remarkable?"—"This day thirty years I came hither to the house of my good friend Sir Thomas Abney, intending to spend but one single week under his friendly roof, and I have extended my visit to the length of exactly thirty years."—Lady Abney, who was present, immediately said, "Sir, what you term a long thirty-years' visit, I consider as the *shortest* visit my family ever received."* The obligation was doubtless felt to be mutual; and the instructions and consolation derived from the conversation and discourses of the invalid divine, repaid the hospitality of his hosts. At the morning and evening sacrifice the family were favoured with the prayers and counsels of their guest, and on the evening of the sabbath he generally expounded and preached to them. Dr. Gibbons observes, "A gentlewoman now living, who is an ornament to her sex, told me, that in younger life, when on a visit at Lady Abney's, she was taken somewhat ill, and was left in the house (the rest of the family being gone abroad) with only the doctor; and the good man improved the occasion to enter into discourse with

* Gospel Mag. 1776. p. 41.

her, and give her most excellent advices, of which she has a pleasing remembrance to the present day.”*

Having given an account of Sir John Hartopp and his connexions, some notice of Sir Thomas Abney and his family it may here be proper to introduce.

Sir Thomas Abney was the younger son of James Abney, Esq. of Willersley, a small village in the hundred of Repton and Gresley in Derbyshire. The family was ancient and respectable, having settled there in the commencement of the fifteenth century. The parish church contains several memorials of its early branches. The manor of Willersley originally belonged to the abbey of Burton, under which it was held in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the family of Ingwardby, the heiress of whom married one of the Abneys, who eventually became possessed of it. The manor-house is in the form of the letter H, and was built in the early part of the reign of Charles I. Here Sir Thomas Abney was born in January, 1639, “the religious son of worthy and pious parents.” His mother, whose maiden name was Manwaring, of Whitmore in Staffordshire, died during his infancy, but his father lived to the advanced age of ninety-four, serving the office of high-sheriff of Derbyshire in the year 1656. His elder brother, Edward, became doctor of civil law, was knighted at Whitehall, April 2, 1673, and elected member for the borough of Leicester in the parliaments of 1690 and 1695.†

Owing to the death of his mother, and the confusion of the civil wars, in which the family suffered considerably, young Abney was placed under the care of his aunt, Lady Bromley, relict of Sir Edward Bromley, one of the barons of the ex-

* Gibbons's Life, p. 135.

† A manuscript, written in the year 1588, the time of the threatened Spanish invasion, contains a list of the gentlemen in the county of Derby who contributed to the defence of the nation. The name of “James Abney,” the grandfather of Sir Thomas, occurs, with his contribution, “£25.”

chequer during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. He received the first rudiments of learning at a school in Loughborough, in the neighbourhood where his relative resided. Her pious instructions, it is believed, made early impressions upon him, and were the happy means of a sober and religious turn of mind, which continued through the whole of his life. Firmly resolved on the side of virtue and religion, he early attached himself to the dissenting interest, and probably attended the ministry of Mr. Caryl, whose daughter was his first wife. With this lady he lived in great happiness upwards of twenty years; and in 1700 he was united to Mrs. Mary Gunston, the eldest daughter of John Gunston, Esq. of Stoke Newington. After Mr. Caryl's death Sir Thomas became a member of the presbyterian church in Silver-street, under Dr. Thomas Jacomb; and with this congregation he continued attached until his decease, under the successive ministry of John Howe, John Spademan, Samuel Rosewell, and Jeremiah Smith. Upon the death of his father, the family estates at Willersley came into the possession of his brother, Sir Edward Abney; but his own means were then ample, and by his subsequent marriage he succeeded to considerable wealth. In 1693 he was elected sheriff of London and Middlesex; in 1694 he was chosen alderman of Vintry Ward, and knighted by King William; and in 1700 he succeeded to the office of lord mayor,* some years before his time. In 1701 the citizens chose him at that critical juncture to represent them in parliament; in 1716 he became alderman of Bridge Ward Without; he was also a director of the bank from its first institution in 1694, president of St. Thomas's hospital, and for some time previous to his death father of the city.

* Elkanah Settle was laureate to Sir T. Abney. He was poet to the city of London, and had a pension for an annual panegyric to celebrate the festival of their chief magistrate:

“Settle the poet, to my Lord Mayor's show,
Shall Dryden, Cowley, and our Duke forego.”

During his mayoralty Sir Thomas Abney rendered signal service to the cause of William III.; and materially assisted to thwart the designs of that faction who opposed the foreign policy of the monarch. Upon the death of the exiled James, the king of France caused his son to be proclaimed at St. Germain's king of Great Britain, which being a direct violation of the peace of Ryswick, the Earl of Macclesfield was recalled from the French court, and forbid to take any audience upon his departure. War being looked upon as unavoidable, Sir Thomas Abney had the courage to propose an address from the common council to his majesty, signifying their determination to support him against France and the Pretender. This address, though opposed by the majority of his brethren on the bench, was carried with remarkable success, and transmitted to the king, who was then on the continent. When this noble resolution of the city of London was known, it animated his affairs, and gave new life to his interest, both abroad and at home. A considerable person then living complimented the author of this proceeding, assuring him, that he had done more service to the king than if he had raised him a million of money.

It was by no means unusual at that period, for the chief magistrate of the city of London to be a dissenter, though such appointments were viewed with jealousy by the high-church party. In the year of the Revolution, Sir John Shorter,* a nonconformist, filled the civic chair; and dying during his mayoralty, his place was supplied by Sir John Eyles, who was of the same religious persuasion. Sir Humphrey Edwin, also a presbyterian, was elected lord mayor, in the year 1697; and in his time the warm debates on occasional conformity commenced. The dissenters, who

* Sir John Shorter going to proclaim Bartholomew Fair, he called as was usual upon the keeper of Newgate, who entertained the chief magistrate upon such occasions with a tankard of wine, nutmeg, and sugar. The lid of the tankard falling down suddenly, the noise startled his horse, which threw him and caused his death the next day.

legally qualified themselves to occupy civil stations, were accustomed to attend one part of the Sunday at church, and upon the other part to frequent their own places of worship. This practice had continued for some years, without reprehension from either party, when Sir H. Edwin, imprudently carried the *regalia* of his office to Pinner's Hall meeting-house. The church party immediately took the alarm at this incautious step; and the circumstance of the "ensigns of the august corporation," being carried to a "nasty conventicle,"* led to strenuous and at length successful attempts to bring in the bill against "Occasional Conformity." The dissenters were themselves divided as to its lawfulness; and Mr. Howe, Sir Thomas Abney's pastor, was appealed to by De Foe to vindicate the practice. The following curious specimen of high-church vituperation, referring to Watts and his patron, is from one of the popular pamphlets of the day:—"But a lady (Queen Anne) now sits on the throne, who though sprung from that blood which ye and your forefathers spilt before the palace-gates, puts on a temper of forgiveness, and, in compassion to your consciences, is not willing that you should lose the hopes of heaven by purchasing here on earth. She would have no more Sir Humphreys tempt the justice of God, by falling from his *true worship*, and giving ear to the *cat-calls* and *back-pipes* at *Paul's*; would have your Sir Thomas's† keep to their primitive text, and not venture damnation to play at *long-spoon* and *custard*‡ for a transitory twelvemonth; and would have your Sir Tom sing psalms at Highgate Hill, and split texts of scripture with his diminutive figure of a chaplain,§ without running the hazard of qualify-

* Dr. Nichols's Apparat. ad Def. Eccles. Angl.

† Sir Thomas Abney.

‡ Custard was a standing dish at a lord mayor's feast.

§ Watts.

ing himself to be called a handsome man, for riding on horse-back* before the city trainbands.”†

In the public events of the year 1714 the dissenters were deeply interested, as at one time they threatened the total extinction of their civil and religious liberties. The schism bill, which rapidly passed through, what Burnet terms, the worst parliament he ever knew, received the royal assent on the 25th of June; and, but for the gracious interference of providence, would have closed every public and private school or seminary throughout the kingdom, which was unprotected by the license of a bishop and conformity to the liturgy. Nonconformists, who of course could not subscribe to the terms imposed by this measure, were, upon conviction of keeping school, as “the head and front of their offending,” to be consigned to the hardships of imprisonment. The pagan classics were prohibited by the emperor Julian to his Christian subjects, as a species of refined policy to bring them again within the fold of Olympian Jove; and the infidel St. John seems to have borrowed from him the idea of making the dissenters ignorant, as a preparatory step to convert them to the establishment. By the death of the queen, August 1, the fatal influence of the schism bill was arrested on the very day it was to have come into operation; and of its principal abettors, Bolingbroke was driven into exile, and Oxford was committed to the tower. Such a striking coincidence could not escape notice and acknowledgment as a remarkable providence; and so late as the year 1758, we find the apathetic soul of Dr. Benson warmed into transport, and almost converted to orthodoxy, by its remembrance. “On the very day,” said he, preaching at Salter’s Hall, “that

* Before the state coach came into use, the lord mayor appeared in procession upon a state horse : —

“To ride the city horse, and wear the chain.”

† “The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.” 1703. 4to.

the schism bill was to take place, God once more appeared for us, in the most remarkable and distinguishing manner; took away the life of that princess who had so far been seduced, as causelessly to seek our destruction; and introduced King William's legacy, the amiable and illustrious House of Hanover. O that glorious first of August! that most signal day, which ought never to be forgot!" The reign of Queen Anne, auspicious at its commencement, was most inglorious at its close; lending herself to evil counsellors, she conspired against the liberties of the subject, under a pretended zeal for the church and the royal prerogative; and the termination of her government is disgraced with some of the most intolerant measures that degrade the legislature of Great Britain. She forfeited the attachment of the nonconformists and the moderate churchmen, to become the tool of a party in league with her exiled brother; and, hence, the recantation which the dissenting poet made of his panegyrical verses.*

In the early part of his ministry, Mr. Watts delivered a series of discourses upon prayer to a private society of young men, who met together in the vestry of his meeting-house for devotional exercises. During his illness he was occupied in correcting and arranging them for the press; and the volume, entitled "A Guide to Prayer," was published in the year 1716. None of his preceding biographers have been able to

* In 1705 Watts sings,

"Princess, the world already owns thy name;
Go mount the chariot of immortal fame,
Nor die to be renowned."

In 1721 he subjoins his *Palinodia* to the piece, and makes the *amende honorable*, which truth and justice demanded:—

"Britons, forgive the forward muse,
That dar'd prophetic seals to loose.
Unskild in fate's eternal book,
And the deep characters mistook.
George is the name, that glorious star;
Ye saw his splendours beaming far,
Saw in the east your joys arise,
When Anna sunk in western skies."

ascertain the period when this treatise appeared, for the preface is without any date; but in accidentally looking over a list of books in the library of the London Institution, printed by Mr. William Bowyer, the most celebrated printer of the last century, I found Watts's work, dated 1716. Nichols, who gives the list, remarks, that this year, during the severe frost in January and February, the river Thames became one block of ice, and shops of every description were erected upon its surface. Among the rest the printers and booksellers pursued their professions. Either Mr. Bowyer, or his brother Jonah, the bookseller, was one of the number, as the following record proves:—

“In this place Bowyer
plies; that's Lintot's stand.”*

It would be a curious circumstance, if any part of Watts's volume made its appearance upon the surface of Father Thames.

The “Guide to Prayer” is intended to assist the youthful Christian in the performance of this important part of devotion, by leading him to avoid the incoherent and rhapsodical style of the enthusiast, and the cold formality engendered by a liturgical formulary. One of his predecessors, Mr. Clarkson, in a treatise abounding with valuable learning and cogent reasoning, entitled “A Discourse concerning Liturgies,” has successfully shown, that no forms of prayer were imposed or prescribed during the first four centuries, till the state of the church was rather to be pitied than imitated; and Watts expresses himself decidedly hostile to their use, except in certain extraordinary cases. It is very evident, that what is called the Lord's prayer was given to the early disciples, as a *mode* and not as a *form*; as a directory suited to the infant state of Christianity, and not designed to be the law and standard of our devotions. The perpetual confinement to any formula,

* Nichols, i. 118.

interferes with the work of the Spirit; it tends to render religious services formal and mechanical; and inverts "the true order of worship, making our words regulate our desires, instead of our desires regulate our words." On the other hand Watts cautions his readers against the opposite extreme—that of neglecting all preparation for prayer; the dangerous delusion of the seventeenth century, occasioned by a notion, that the influence of the Spirit superseded the exercise of the understanding. At that period the abuse of the doctrine of divine influence was the prominent vice of the religious world; an ambitious pietism prevailed, which asserted in the most fearless manner extravagant claims to high supernal illumination; and the assistance of the intellectual powers was disdained, as unnecessary and unbecoming to him who was supposed to hold the energy of the Spirit in his grasp, and could wield the omnipotence of the Eternal at will. The too frequent consequence of this presumption was, the extinction of plainness and simplicity in devotion, and the assumption of a rude and familiar demeanour, with the use of dark and mystical phraseology. Prayer, which should be accompanied with the adoration of the divine perfections, a deep gratitude for the blessings of this life and for the expectation of a better; prayer, which should be conducted under an awful sense of the divine presence, the most inspiring of all encouragements, and the most efficient of all controls; prayer, which ought to be, from its very nature, an acknowledgment of our dependence upon one who "knoweth our infirmities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking"—assumed the character of demand, and the professed petitioner became, in his own estimation, an inspired prophet, oracularly unfolding the will and explaining the purposes of heaven. The simple language in which penitence will confess its guilt, desire utter its cravings, and faith indulge its confidence, was supplanted by "great swelling words of vanity;" and the tumid style of the philosophi-

cal and mystic dreamers of the convent and the hermitage, became the fashionable mode of spiritual expression. It was, however, little better than "speaking in an unknown tongue" to the multitude, to address the Divine Being as hypostatically three and essentially one—as by the plenitude of perfection in his essence being self-sufficient for his own existence and beatitude—as in an incomplex manner eminently, though not formally, including all the infinite variety of complex ideas in his creatures—and as gladdening his people with the exuberant profusions of his grace and the sempiternal efflux of his glory! It would be unjust to regard this as an *exclusive* feature of puritanism; it was the error of the period more than of the men; and the mightiest names that adorned the great struggle for religion and liberty, were but slightly tinctured with it. "It was common," says Mr. Orme,* "to others, as well as to those who are stigmatised as the sectaries of the time. It is impossible, indeed, to produce the prayers of churchmen, as their book admits neither of improvement nor of deterioration from the changes of human society; but if we may judge what would have been their prayers from their sermons, it is not difficult to perceive that even the best of them did not rank high above the preachers of the commonwealth." There is much truth in the following remarks of the same writer, apologetical for the prayers of Cromwell's chaplains: "I am far from thinking that their minds were as low and vulgar as the language which they employed would seem to indicate. They were men accustomed to pray much; this in itself gendered a kind of familiar habit; and as they were not surrounded by sentimental religionists and fashionable clergymen, but by persons of their own spirit and sentiments, they expressed themselves without reserve. High devotional ardour cannot always be restrained to measured phrases; but those who can

* Appendix to Owen's Life, p. 495.

make every allowance for poetical license and scientific enthusiasm, have no charity for any excess of feeling in which religion is concerned!" Those who are not disposed to acquiesce in these remarks, but unscrupulously to condemn the extemporary prayers of the parliament divines, would do well to remember, how changed the morals of the court and the nation became, when a printed formulary was forced upon their observance.—"The Guide to Prayer" may be advantageously consulted by the young inquirer; and even those who may object to Watts's plan of instruction, the churchman on account of there being too little system, and the dissenter because there is too much, will yet agree, that his directions display his piety and desire to be useful.

The Guide to Prayer and the Imitation of the Psalms originated the following sprightly lines from Mr. Samuel Wesley, which are inserted in the duodecimo edition of his poems:

"Form stints the spirit, Watts has said,
And therefore oft is wrong;
At best a crutch the weak to aid,
A cumbrance to the strong.

"Old David both in prayer and praise,
A form for crutches brings;
But Watts has dignified his lays,
And furnished him with wings.

"E'en Watts a form for praise can choose,
For prayer, who throws it by;
Crutches to walk he can refuse,
But uses them to fly."

In the close of the year 1716, Mr. Watts was with the family of Sir Thomas Abney at Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, at their country-seat. The two discourses inserted in the first volume of his sermons, entitled "Appearance before God,"

were delivered by him here at the evening worship, Nov. 25th and Dec. 9th. In the dedication of these two sermons he censures "that unrighteous law," the act against occasional conformity, which was now in full operation, and which was passed to deprive the dissenters who practised it of their civil offices. Sir Thomas Abney, Sir John Fryer, and several others, who were magistrates, were, however, anxious to escape such consequences; and took refuge from the influence of the measure in the accommodating scheme of Mr. Howe. "Upon mature consideration," says Calamy, "backed with the pressing importunity of several persons of distinction in our own nation, joined with the solicitation of the Resident of Brunswick, who took pains to represent to them, in the strongest manner, how far the interest of his master and of the Hanover family depended upon their continuance in their posts and stations, they were prevailed with to keep their stations, and content themselves with that restrained way of worship the law allowed." To secure the interest, therefore, of the Elector of Hanover, Sir Thomas Abney retained his office, abstaining from attending his own place of worship, and employing in his family the ministrations of Mr. Watts. But the lay dissenters would have acted a much more honourable and consistent part, had they sacrificed at once worldly honours to maintain the rights of conscience and display the purity of their principles.

At Theobalds many of Watts's happiest hours were spent; and many of his literary undertakings were executed. It was the favourite residence of the crafty Burleigh; the scene of many of Elizabeth's gorgeous "progresses;" and the site of James's pleasures and death. In the neighbouring village of Cheshunt and its vicinity, Lord Barrington, Mr. Pickard, and Richard Cromwell were frequently resident; and many of Watts's metropolitan friends were accustomed to retire there in the summer from the confinement of the city. The church and church-yard of Cheshunt contain some monumen-

tal inscriptions from the pen of the poet;* and the following lines appear to have been written upon a ceiling or spot-dial, at a western window at Theobalds:

“Little sun, upon the ceiling
 Ever moving, ever stealing
 Moments, minutes, hours away;
 May no shade forbid thy shining,
 While the heavenly sun declining
 Calls us to improve the day.”

An eventful period now arrived in the history of protestant dissenters, the year 1719, in which the conference at Salter's Hall was held upon the Exeter trinitarian controversy. This unhappy dispute engaged the attention of the London ministers: to maintain the peace of the western churches was the ostensible object of their meeting; but, principles were covertly propagated in the contest, which have proved destructive to most of the presbyterian congregations, at that time the pride and glory of nonconformity. The subject of these pages stood personally aloof from the fiery polemics; the arena of debate ill accorded with his amiable and unobtrusive temper; but his active mind eagerly fixed upon the topics in dispute, and a change was ultimately effected in his own doctrinal views, which, though unwarrantably magnified by the Arian party, the Christian church can never cease to lament. At the period of the Salter's-Hall debates, Mr. Watts's opinions upon the trinity coincided with those now entertained by the orthodox; but he was hurt by the divisions and strife he witnessed, and his love for peace led him to endeavour to conciliate the disputants by attempting a new explanation of the doctrine. Here was his error: he sought to dis-

* Thos. Pickard, Esq. Chap. 7. On the grave stone of Mr. John May, a young student in divinity, who died after a lingering and painful sickness:

“So sleep the saints, and cease to groan,
 When sin and death have done their worst;
 Christ hath a glory like his own,
 Which waits to clothe their waking dust.”

cover the *modus* of the divine nature, which to finite minds is inexplicable; and, as the inevitable consequence, he plunged into a labyrinth, and became at every step the more involved in uncertainty and doubt.

To heal the breach which had taken place between the Exeter pastors, who were accused of Arianism, and their congregations, a committee of metropolitan ministers prepared a paper of advices for promoting peace; and a general meeting of the three denominations was convened at Salter's Hall, to deliberate upon it. The proposal to insert in it a declaration respecting the trinity, analogous to the first of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, and the fifth and sixth articles of the Assembly's Catechism, to remove all suspicion as to their own orthodoxy, was strenuously debated, and ultimately lost by a minority of four voices. The ministers became now divided into three parties: the subscribers to a confession of faith, the non-subscribers, and those who withdrew or never attended the assembly. Mr. Thos. Bradbury was the leader of the first party; Dr. Joshua Oldfield, the second; and Mr. Watts, Dr. Calamy, Dr. Marryat, and Mr. Neale, were the principle persons in the third. It is not to be concluded, that the non-subscribers were all of them anti-trinitarians, though some of them were so; a considerable number who voted on that side, were as orthodox as the other party, but objected to the proposed subscription as an infringement of their Christian liberty, and inconsistent with their principles as dissenters, to subscribe to any test of sentiment not expressed in the words of scripture. The inexpediency, and injurious tendency of ecclesiastically sanctioned and imposed formularies, expressed in the words taught by man's wisdom, is readily admitted; but still there are periods when it is highly expedient for both ministers and churches, to testify against prevailing heresy, by declarative summaries of their faith. The wholesome exercise of Christian discipline, to maintain the internal piety of a church, is a better safeguard against

corruption than a vaunted theoretical orthodoxy; yet at such a period as that of the Salter's-Hall conference, when error was skulking abroad in disguise, and the successors of the Howes and Baxters of a former age, were many of them covertly ranged beneath the banners of Socinus, a public and explicit avowal of doctrine, not as an imposed creed, but a voluntary confession, seems not only proper but necessary. Without any compromise of principle as a dissenter, Mr. Watts might have joined the subscribers; for the independents have never objected to simple declarations of their belief: it is only to *exaction* and *imposition* that they are opposed. From the beginning of their history, they have been accustomed to publish such statements—hence, the Brownist “true confession” in 1596—the platform of doctrine and discipline recognised by the New-England churches, in 1648—the Savoy confession, in 1658—and the declaration of faith and order, recently issued by the congregational union of England and Wales. As an apology for Watts, it may be observed, that he was evidently not aware of the extent of the evil that threatened the dissenting churches; he was inclined to hope the best of the suspected party; he was a lover of peace, and, therefore, anxious to mediate; he might think that harmony was more likely to be restored by silence than by interference—and, hence, he retired to occupy neutral ground.

The history of this unhappy contest has been touched upon, because I believe it to have had a powerful and, as it proved, an unfortunate influence upon the mind of Watts. He was misled, with many others, by a specious appeal to his candour and moderation; he sought to strike out a new scheme of explication to accommodate the rival disputants, evidently forgetting the “length of his line,” and the numberless “depths in the ocean which it cannot fathom.”

At this critical juncture it was deemed advisable, to reprint a sermon by the excellent Matthew Henry, as having a par-

ticular relation to the agitated state of the religious world. This is entitled, "Disputes Reviewed, in a Sermon preached at the Evening Lecture at Salter's Hall, on Lord's-day, July 23, 1710:" to the edition of 1719 Mr. Watts prefixed a preface, full of eloquence and peaceful zeal. "Surely," says he, "the design to republish this useful sermon of the late Rev. M. Henry must meet with a general approbation. In my opinion," he adds, "there has not been a season these twenty years so inviting to the writers on peace and union, and so much in want of healing discourses. That great man had a most happy talent in the practical way. His easy and familiar turns of thought and language, insinuate themselves into the conscience with so powerful and pleasing a conviction, that we cannot but delight in hearing ourselves so artfully reproved, even while we blush inwardly and own the folly that he corrects." Mr. Watts was equally esteemed by Mr. Henry, and in his poetical compositions he took great delight. In his Diary he remarks, when journeying from London to Chester, July 31, 1711, "Between Woburn and Coventry I read over Mr. Watts's *Horæ Lyricæ*." There has been some difference of opinion as to the authorship of part of the last volume of Mr. Henry's commentary, but the following entry in Mr. Watts's own hand-writing, upon a blank leaf at the beginning of the last volume of the copy in his library, may be adduced as valuable evidence: "The Rev. Mr. Matthew Henry before his death had made some small preparations for this last volume. The epistle to the Romans, indeed, was explained so largely by his own hand, that it needed only the labour of epitomising. Some parts of the other epistles were done, but very imperfectly, by himself; and a few other hints had been taken in short-hand from his public and private expositions on some of the epistles.

"By these assistances the ministers whose names are here written, have endeavoured to complete this work in the style and method of the author: viz.

"Romans	Mr. (afterwards Dr.) John Evans.*
1 Corinthians	Mr. Simon Browne.†
2 Corinthians	Mr. Daniel Mayo.
Galatians	Mr. Joshua Bayes.
Ephesians	Mr. Samuel Rosewell.
Philippians	} Mr. (afterwards Dr.) William Harris.
Colossians	
1 Thessalonians	} Mr. Daniel Mayo.
2 Thessalonians	
1 Timothy	} Mr. Benjamin Andrews Atkinson.
2 Timothy	
Titus.....	} Mr. Jeremiah Smith.
Philemon	
Hebrews	Mr. William Tong.
James	Mr. William Wright.‡
1 Peter	Mr. Zech. Merrill.§
2 Peter....	Mr. Joseph Hill.
1, 2, 3, John.....	Mr. John Reynolds of Shrewsbury.
Jude	Mr. John Billingsley.
Revelations	Mr. William Tong."

* "The exposition on the Romans," says Doddridge, "begun by Henry, and finished by Dr. Evans, is the best I ever saw."

† Pastor at the Old Jewry, a man of high intellectual attainments, but unhappily a victim, in the latter part of his life, to one of the most extraordinary phantasies that ever visited the human imagination. He thought that God had annihilated the thinking principle within him, that the rational soul had gradually perished, and that he was degraded to the level of the brutes. Hence, he would join in no act of public or private worship, looking upon himself no longer as a moral agent. Yet strange to say, that in this mood he combated Collins and Woolston, wrote on the Trinity, and compiled a dictionary! See *Adventurer*, No. 88.

‡ It should be Dr. S. Wright.

§ The editors of the 4th edition, assign the 1 Peter to Mr. Merrill, but on what ground does not appear. Mr. Stedman also varies from Mr. Watts without any explanatory remark, attributing 1 Peter to "Mr. Hill," and 2 Peter to "Mr. Merrill of Hampstead."

|| "He had made," says Watts, "the holy scriptures his study; and it is evident that he was very capable of explaining the word of God. The chief monument of his skill in this kind is, his comment on the three epistles of St. John, in that last volume of Mr. Henry's Exposition of the Bible, which was completed by the

“Tuesday, Aug. 19, 1712.

“Mr. Spectator,

“You very much promote the interests of virtue, while you reform the taste of a profane age; and persuade us to be entertained with divine poems, whilst we are distinguished by so many thousand humours, and split into so many different sects and parties; yet persons of every party, sect, and humour, are fond of conforming their taste to yours. You can transfuse your own relish of a poem into all your readers, according to their capacity to receive; and when you recommend the pious passion that reigns in the verse, we seem to feel the devotion, and grow proud and pleased inwardly, that we have souls capable of relishing what the Spectator approves. Upon reading the hymns that you have published in some late papers, I had a mind to try yesterday whether I could write one. The 114th psalm appears to me an admirable ode, and I began to turn it into our language. As I was describing the journey of Israel from Egypt, and added the Divine Presence amongst them, I perceived a beauty in this psalm, which was entirely new to me, and which I was going to lose; and that is, that the poet utterly conceals the presence of God in the beginning of it, and rather lets a possessive pronoun go without a substantive, than he will so much as mention any thing of divinity there. “Judah was his sanctuary, and Israel his dominion or kingdom.” The reason now seems evident, and this conduct necessary: for, if God had appeared before, there could be no wonder why the mountains should leap and the sea retire; therefore, that this convulsion of nature may be brought in with due surprise, his name is not mentioned till afterwards; and then, with a very agreeable turn of thought, God is

labours of many worthy and learned writers. There we may read both his knowledge, his spirit, his faith, and his love, wherein he was a happy imitator of the blessed and beloved disciple.” *Preface to Reynolds on Reconciliation.*

introduced at once in all his majesty. This is what I have attempted to imitate in a translation without paraphrase, and to preserve what I could of the spirit of the sacred author.

“If the following essay be not too incorrigible, bestow upon it a few brightnings from your genius, that I may learn how to write better, or to write no more.

“Your daily admirer and

“humble servant, &c.”

PSALM, CXIV.

I.

“When Israel, freed from Pharaoh’s hand,
Left the proud tyrant and his land,
The tribes with cheerful homage own
Their king, and Judah was his throne.

II.

“Across the deep their journey lay,
The deep divides to make them way ;
*The streams of Jordan saw, and fled
With backward current to his head.

III.

“The mountains shook like frightened sheep,
Like lambs the little hillocks leap ;
Not Sinai on her base could stand,
Conscious of sovereign power at hand.

IV.

“What power could make the deep divide?
Make Jordan backward roll his tide ?
Why did ye leap, ye little hills ?
And whence the fright that Sinai feels ?

* “Jordan beheld their march and fled.” See *Watts’s Psalms*.

V.

“Let every mountain, every flood,
Retire, and know th’ approaching God,
The King of Israel; see him here;
Tremble, thou earth, adore and fear.

VI.

“He thunders, and all nature mourns;
The rock to standing pools he turns,
Flints spring with fountains at his word,
And fires and seas confess their* Lord.”

“TO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST MEETING IN BURY STREET,
OF WHICH THE HOLY GHOST HAS MADE ME OVERSEER.†

“Dearly beloved in our Lord,

“Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied to you, from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. It has been a very sore aggravation to my long sorrows, that I have not been able to encourage your Christian visits, to converse with you singly, to receive your consolation, and relate my own experiences: nor have I been capable to express my constant concern for your welfare by writing to you together as a church, which I often designed: but you are in my heart more than ever. While God chastises my former want of zeal by silencing me for a season, I bow to his wisdom and holiness, and am learning obedience by the things that I suffer, and many lessons of righteousness and grace, which I hope hereafter to publish among you. As I have been long pleading with him for pardon of my negligence, so I ask you also to forgive. Long afflictions are soul-searching providences, and discover the secrets of the heart and omissions of duty that were unobserved in a day of peace. May the blessed Spirit reveal to each of us why he continues to contend with us.

* The.

† This letter is endorsed as “read by Mr. Scott to the church, the 5th of November, 1713, when almost all the brethren were present.”

“I cannot reckon up all my obligations to you for your kind supports of me under my tedious and expensive sickness, and for your continued and instant prayers for my recovery, which gave me the first ground of hope that I should be restored; which hope and expectation still remain with me, and, I think, are supported by the word and Spirit of God. It seems at present to be more needful for you that I abide in the flesh; and I trust I shall yet abide, for your furtherance and joy of faith, that your rejoicing may be more abundant in Christ Jesus for me, by my coming to you again; and while I am confined as the prisoner of God, I request the continuance of your supplications for patience and sanctification, as well as health.

“I rejoice, also, to hear of your union, your love, and your attendance on the worship of the church. This has been a great comfort to my thoughts in the time of my affliction and absence. Yet I am in pain for your edification, because you have none among you to administer the special and sealing ordinances; and since it is your earnest desire to know my opinion in that affair that lies before you, I have at several seasons been enabled to write it under these heads: namely,

“1. That there were in the primitive churches several preaching elders, bishops, or overseers.

“2. That where their gifts were different, some were called pastors, or elders for exhortation, to feed the flock, to exhort the saints; others were called teachers, or elders for doctrine, to instruct their hearers in the principles of Christianity—chiefly the younger Christians—and to bring in new converts.

“3. The Scripture makes no difference nor subordination of power betwixt them in the church; but seems to give all elders an equality of power.

“4. The Scripture does not determine when, or how often, one or other should preach or administer holy ordinances: and yet it is necessary there should be some rule to decide it,

lest ambition or controversy should arise among the elders in this matter.

“5. Therefore I believe the church (to which the light of nature and scripture has given all power in things indifferent that are necessary to be determined) has power to appoint the times, seasons, and places of their ministrations.

“6. It is for the certain advantage of a church to have more elders than one in it; that may more frequently visit the church; more fully take care of them, and regularly administer all holy ordinances: if one or other be sick or absent, may also better keep the church together, and encourage young converts to join themselves to it.

“7. That it is for the advantage of a church to have such an elder chosen whose gifts have been tried and approved in the church, and been owned and blessed of God for the good of souls. Such a one may most likely please and profit.

“Now with regard to our church in particular.

“1. It is my opinion, that, whether I live or die, if such an elder be chosen by the universal desire and voice of the church, it will be much for their spiritual advantage, in all probability.

“2. Whether I live or die, if another elder be chosen with the desire of a few persons, and the opposition of a few, and the bare cold consent in the major part, it will not be for the advantage of the church; and I am sure my worthy brother, Mr. Samuel Price, on whom your thoughts are set, has too tender a sense of your spiritual interest, and too wise a sense of his own, to accept of such an imperfect call to a fixed office in the church.

“3. If any elder be chosen by a pretty general desire of the church, though not universal, it will be for the interest of the church, if I live and am restored to your service; and I shall rejoice to have you supplied with all ordinances in my absence by a man I can most entirely confide in; and at my return I shall rejoice to be assisted in all services to the church

by one whom I love and esteem highly ; and I wrote as much with an eye to your future benefit as to your present want.

“ 4. If God, for my sins, should refuse to employ me again (for I have justly deserved it), and if he should deny the long and importunate requests of his people (for he is a great Sovereign), I trust he will direct and incline your hearts to choose and establish one or more elders among you, that may give universal satisfaction, and especially to such as now may be less satisfied, and may be for your future edification and increase.

“ 5. If my beloved brother Price be chosen as an elder among you, I hope your diligent and sincere attendance on his ministrations will give you a more abundant sense of his true worth, of the exactness of his discourses, of the seriousness of his spirit, and of the constant blessing of God with him ; all which I have observed with much pleasure.

“ Now I have fully delivered my sentiments in this affair, and you see how sincere and hearty I am in it ; yet I will give you two reasons why I did not think fit first to propose it to the church : (1.) Because it is the proper business of the church to seek after elders and officers for itself, from a sight and sense of their own spiritual interest, both as Christians and as an united body ; especially considering that the elder you propose to choose is not to be my deputy or servant, but your minister and overseer in the Lord : (2.) Because I would never have any thing of such importance done in the church by the influence of my desire, without your own due sense, and prospect of your own edification and establishment as a church of Christ. Nor would I now influence you in this affair, unless the judgment of your minds concur with mine ; for, as I never had interest divided from the interest of the church, so I hope I never shall.

“ And now, brethren dearly beloved, I entreat you, by the love of Christ to you, and by the love you bear to Christ our common Lord, that there may be no contentions among you.

I shall be glad to find every affair that belongs to the church carried by as many voices as I trust I have hearts and affections among you. However, let every one with freedom speak his sentiments as under the eye of Christ the great Shepherd, without bias or resentment, and with zeal for the church's interest. Let every thing that is debated be with calmness, and so much the more in my absence; each of you believing, concerning one another, that you sincerely seek the honour of Christ and the union and peace of the church, as I believe concerning you all. Let each of you be ready to lay aside his own former opinions or resolutions, as you shall see reasons arise for the common welfare. If there should be quarrels and janglings, reflections and hard speeches, it would be a grief too heavy for me to bear, and the most effectual way to overwhelm my spirit, and delay my return to you; and as I know you have the utmost tenderness of my peace, you ought to be as tender of each other's spiritual advantage, and the union and peace of the body, and to indulge no secret whispers or back-bitings that may hinder the edification of your brethren by the ministrations of the church.

“But I will not give myself leave to entertain such suspicions concerning you, who have so many years walked together in constant love. I pray heartily that the all-wise God, and Jesus Christ our Lord, may preside in your consultations, direct your hearts, and determine all things for you; that you may be established and edified, and be a joy and a blessing to each other, as you have been, and I trust will be, to

“Your most affectionate and afflicted pastor,

“ISAAC WATTS,”

FROM LORD BARRINGTON.

“Rev. Sir,

“London, Jan. 11, 1718.

“I cannot dispense with myself from taking the first opportunity I have of acknowledging your great favour in assisting me so readily to offer up the praise due to Almighty God, for his signal mercies vouchsafed me on three several occasions, and of assuring you that it was with the utmost concern I understood that I must not flatter myself with the hopes of your being with us in this last. But how very obliging are you, who would give yourself the trouble to let me know, that though you could not give me the advantage of your company at Hatton Garden, yet I should not want your assistance at a distance, where you would address such petitions to heaven to meet ours as tend to render me one of the best and happiest men alive. This they will influence me to be in some measure, both by their prevalence at the throne of grace, and by instructing me in the most agreeable manner what I should aspire to. Whilst I read your letter I found my blood fired with the greatest ambition to be what you wish me. I will, therefore, carefully preserve it, where it shall be least liable to accidents, and where it will be always most in my view. There, as I shall see what I ought to be, by keeping it always before me, I shall not only have the pleasure of observing the masterly strokes of the character you wish me, but I hope, come in time to bear some resemblance to it.

“Whilst you were praying for us, we did not forget you; nor shall I cease to beseech Almighty God, to make you a bright example of passive virtue, till he shall see fit to restore you to that eminent degree of acceptableness and service you have once enjoyed. I am, Sir,

“Your most obliged humble servant,

“BARRINGTON.

“My wife is very much obliged by your civility. She has desired a copy of your letter, which she says will be as useful to her, as it has been entertaining, if it be not her own fault. Both our humble serviees attend the good family where you are. I am sorry my Lady’s cold is like to deprive us of their company on Wednesday.”

“TO SIR RICHARD BLACKMORE, KNT.

“Worthy Sir,

“Though you have constrained me to deface one of the best pages in my preface* by forbidding me the honour of showing your name to the world there, yet I cannot deny myself the pleasure of setting your name in this blank leaf, where none but yourself will be witness to the high esteem that I pay you. So secret a gratitude can never offend, while the honour you have done me in a late preface of yours is thus silently acknowledged by, Sir,

“Your obliged humble servant,

“ISAAC WATTS.

“Jan 9. 1719.”

* This letter was written in a presentation copy of the *Imitations of the Psalms*. Sir Richard Blackmore had previously complimented Mr. Watts in the preface to a collection of poems, published in the year 1718. “Hitherto,” he observes, “as I have said, but few of the wits of this kingdom, which abounds in genius and poetical inspiration above any nation upon earth, have thought fit to exercise their pens expressly and directly in cultivating divine and moral poetry, but only in an allegorical and disguising dress. Some persons of great virtue and piety have attempted it; but these having neither poetical genius nor judgment, neither fertile imagination, nor any knowledge of the rules and spirit of poetry, have only written indifferent prose in the poorest verse; and though they deserve the honour of good men, they must be contented with the character of bad poets. This, I think, is a just censure on the greatest part of those who have written religious books in English verse; but I except from this number the ingenious Mr. Watts, whose divine poetry is very laudable, and much superior to all who have gone before him in the lyric kind.”

CHAPTER X.

IMITATIONS OF THE PSALMS.

STRUCTURE OF THE PSALMS.—JEWISH CHOIR SERVICE.—EVANGELICAL APPLICATION OF THE PSALTER.—PARTICULAR PSALMS SUNG BY THE JEWS.—THE PSALMODY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.—CORRUPTION OF ITS RITUAL.—METRICAL VERSIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.—INTRODUCTION OF PSALM-SINGING IN ENGLAND.—VERSION OF MAROT.—POPULARITY IN FRANCE.—ADOPTED BY CALVIN AND BEZA.—DENOUNCED BY THE CATHOLICS.—PATRONISED BY THE REFORMED CHURCHES.—THE TRANSLATION OF STERNHOLD, HOPKINS, NORTON, AND WISDOME.—ARCHBISHOP PARKER AND KING JAMES'S VERSION.—WILLIAM HUNNIS AND JOHN HALL.—SIR PHILIP SIDNEY AND THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.—SANDYS.—ROUSE.—TATE AND BRADY.—MERRICK.—WATTS.—CHARACTER OF HIS VERSION.—THE 29TH PSALM. INAPPROPRIATE METRES.—BISHOP MANT.—MARSH.—17TH AND 8TH PSALMS.—SIDNEY VERSION.—19TH AND 92ND PSALMS.—SANDYS.—CONCLUSION.

THE book of Psalms, the “flower,” as Hooker calls it, “of all things profitable in other books,” has perhaps been more extensively used by the church, in public and private devotion, and more copiously illustrated by divines, than any other part of the sacred volume. A host of translators, paraphrasts, critics, and versifiers have exercised their skill upon it—no inexpressive tribute to the intrinsic excellence of its contents. Calvin describes it as “the anatomy of all the parts of the mind;” *anatomia omnium animæ partium*; and Augustine denominates it an abridgment of the whole scripture. As prophecies, many of the psalms delineate the person of the Messiah, and the glories of his reign, in a

striking and emphatic manner—as hymns addressed to the Deity, they embody the loftiest sentiments of piety with the purest spirit of devotion—and as poems, they exhibit some of the most ancient and the most splendid specimens of poetry, that the literature of the world can boast. In such veneration were they held in the primitive age of the church, that the fathers assure us, the whole book was frequently learned by heart, and ministers of all gradations were expected to repeat it from memory. Still honoured are these invaluable scriptures with the regards of the pious of every denomination; they form words of prayer and of praise for them in retirement and in the sanctuary; they are repeated without weariness, and are in daily use, as memorials of former mercies and supplications for present blessings.

The Psalms, as a collection of sacred odes, exhibit almost all the varieties of this species of poetical writing. In some the ode appears in its simple form, a narrative of facts in the private life of the psalmist, or the national history of his country, but in an adorned and figurative style. Some are elegiac, composed on occasions of distress and mourning, tender, plaintive, and pathetic, celebrating the trials of the writer, the loss of friends, the temptations of a sorely vexed and troubled spirit. Some are didactic, enouncing the precepts of religion, grave maxims of morality, for the most part in simple strains, but occasionally adorned with figures of expression. Some and but a few are pastoral, the imagery taken from rural scenes and occupations. Some are dramatic, consisting of dialogues between different persons, sometimes the psalmist himself, the chorus of the priests, and the leader of the Levitical band; and sometimes the Lord of the Jewish polity, the incarnate Saviour, and the grateful and rejoicing church. The style of composition is of course as varied as the character and subject of the poems: now cheerful, sprightly, and triumphant; now stately, solemn, and magnificent; now soft, expressive, and touching. The great characteristic of the ancient Hebrew

poetry, the adoption of correspondent versicles, is seen in the construction of almost all the psalms. The period is divided into members, answering to one another, both in sense and sound; the sentiment expressed in the first, is amplified or repeated in different terms in the second; yet never in such a manner as to enfeeble the style, and weaken its energy.

The psalms are all of them lyric poems, that is, intended to be accompanied with music, and the peculiarity in their structure which has been noticed, probably arose from the Jewish mode of alternate singing. The temple choir, we know, was divided into twenty-four courses; and each band of singers took up the strain in its turn, and thus answered alternately to one another. For instance: when one party began the psalm thus, "Sing unto the Lord a new song;" the corresponding versicle was taken up by the chorus or semi-chorus, "Sing unto the Lord, all the earth:" the one band proceeded, "Sing unto the Lord and bless his name;" the other replied, "Show forth his salvation from day to day." The musical poetry of the Jews became thus divided into a succession of strophes and antistrophes correspondent to each other — a method of composition which, becoming familiar, insensibly spread from their hymns to their other poetical writings. But the psalms were not only accompanied with vocal music; instrumental music, which has been employed in the religious services of all nations, which was introduced into the sacred ceremonials of the Greeks, was cultivated by the Jews for the same purpose at the earliest period of their history: the song of Moses and Miriam, after the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egypt, was accompanied with the timbrel; the silver trumpets were ordered to be sounded, in the solemn days, over the burnt offerings; and many other instruments were added by David to the Jewish ritual. In his time there were three masters who presided over the band of music; and at their head one chief musician or master of the whole choir. That females were admitted into the

temple choir, is strenuously denied by the Jewish writers; but the case of the three daughters of Heman, who were "for song in the house of the Lord with cymbals," makes it evident that women were thus employed. This part of their devotional service the Jews usually performed in a standing posture; "the Levites stood with the instruments of David;" a practice which has been followed in most Christian congregations. The choir service was suited to the genius of Judaism, a religion full of splendid external rites; and it must have been an imposing and overpowering spectacle, when "the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound in praising and thanking the Lord," the glorious cloud filled the house—a sight only inferior to the "hundred forty and four thousand," "on mount Sion," "harping with their harps."

The propriety of introducing the Jewish psalmody into Christian worship, has been disputed on the ground, that it is preferring the "veil of Moses" to the clearer discoveries of the "latter days." But it is evident, that besides the literal or primary meaning of the psalms, a considerable number, perhaps the majority, are susceptible of the double sense; that they were originally composed and sung, as "shadows of good things to come;" and upon this principle the objection referred to falls to the ground. It is difficult to conceive that the Jews would have admitted them to their daily worship, would have given them such prominence in their public devotions, or that their authors would have delivered them to the church for such a purpose, had not their typical character been distinctly understood on both sides. Sometimes the spiritual sense only discovers itself at intervals, and seems with difficulty to break through, like light struggling with clouds, and beaming forth in sudden flashes upon the sight; at other times, on the contrary, it displays itself prominently, shining with strong, steady, and unbroken lustre through the whole piece, pressing each word and phrase into its service,

and throwing the letter completely into the shade. Sometimes the two senses appear equally pervading the body of the composition, distinct and yet harmonious, perfectly analogous in every lineament and feature, mutually corresponding and mutually illustrative, until the theme leaves its earthly connexion, and, fully purified from every impress of mortality, ascends far above "mortal ken," and vanishes in the full brightness of heaven. We may not, then, be directly concerned with the person who appears upon the page of the poem, but we are with the illustrious individual he shadows forth; we celebrate the extraordinary depressions, trials, exaltation, and victories, not of a monarch who died three thousand years ago, but of the King of Sion who still lives and reigns: and thus the psalms, by this application, expressly authorised by the evangelical writers, cease to be the exclusive property of the Jew, and become the common treasure of the church. It is vain to ask, what we have to do with the affairs of David or of Israel, the ark or the temple, Sion or Jerusalem, the sacrifice of lambs or of goats, the enemies of the ancient faith, Moab, Edom, and Philistia—the temple has, indeed, vanished from its site, the ark disappeared, the law been abolished never to be restored, Sion trampled under foot by the haughty Turk, and Moab and his people perished from the nations—but though "old things have passed away," there still remains a spiritual temple, ark, and sacrifices, spiritual victories over spiritual enemies, a Jerusalem below and above, which, under their old names but with new associations, may be celebrated in our devotions before God. Congregations are not, however, adepts in theology; and, hence, if the productions of the inspired psalmists are to be sung by them, close translation should not be attempted, the New-Testament interpretation of typical expressions should be given, and the evangelic sense made plain to the simplest understanding. This was Watts's plan; and the application of the Psalms in this manner in Christian worship, gives them an incalculable

advantage over any fresh compositions however skilfully executed: they keep alive in our remembrance the deliverances of ancient days, and the mercies of former times; they illustrate the progressive history of the church, and the connexion between the old and the new dispensation; they advance the experience of the past, to guide the conduct and correct the errors of the present; and they tend to increase our faith, to confirm our confidence, and excite our hopes, by bringing before us what our "fathers" tell, the "elders" teach, and the "years of many generations" testify.

But though the singers of Israel may thus be introduced into Christian sanctuaries, there does not seem much propriety in admitting the Psalms indiscriminately, as has generally been done, into our religious services. If it is proved, that they were all originally written for musical recitation, it remains to be proved, that they were all designed for congregational worship, and all adopted by the Jews in the temple ritual. Those who affirm this to have been the case, have to assign a reason, which it is difficult to do, why the prophecies of David should be sung in the synagogue, to the exclusion of those of Isaiah or Jeremiah, or the song of Deborah, which wear the same poetic dress. Some of the Psalms are so obviously unfitted for congregational worship, as to render the conclusion probable, that only a selection was employed from the general body of Hebrew devotional poetry. Lightfoot, with his usual learning, has endeavoured to ascertain what compositions were commonly used by the Jews in their public religious services, assigning from the Gemara some fanciful reasons for the selection. On the first day of the week they sang the 24th psalm; "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof:" on the second day they sang the 48th; "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of God:" on the third the 82nd; "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty:" on the fourth the 94th; "O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth:" on the fifth the 81st; "Sing

aloud unto God our strength:" on the sixth the 93rd; "The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with majesty:" on the sabbath the 92nd, entitled, a psalm for the sabbath day; "It is a good thing, to give thanks unto the Lord." Besides these psalms, which were sung each recurring week in the temple, particular compositions were appointed for the different festivals during the year. Thus on the first day of the year, the feast of trumpets, the 81st psalm was sung; "Sing aloud unto God:" and at the evening sacrifice the 29th; "Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty." On the first day of the feast of tabernacles the 105th; "O give thanks unto the Lord:" on the second the 29th, as on the feast of trumpets: on the third the 50th; "The mighty God, even the Lord, hath spoken:" on the fourth the 94th, as in the regular weekly service on that day: on the fifth the 95th; "O come, let us sing unto the Lord:" on the sixth the 80th; "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel:" on the seventh the 82nd; "God standeth in the congregation." The fifth verse of the 47th psalm, "God is gone up with a shout," was used at the removal of the ark; the 135th and 136th, at the dedication of the temple; and the 97th, 98th, 99th, and 100th, on occasions probably of solemn national thanksgiving. At the feast of the pass-over the lesser Hallel was sung, consisting of the six short psalms from the 113th to the 118th. In addition to the psalms here specified, there are, doubtless, many more in the Psalter which were in common use among the Jews at the hour of sacrifice, in the religious festival, or at periods of general and solemn convention. The authors of most of our metrical versions have, however, proceeded upon the assumption, that the Psalter was the hymn-book of the Jewish church; and they have, hence, injudiciously endeavoured to introduce it as a whole into the service of Christian congregations. The mistake of our modern psalmists is, indeed, rectified by the parish clerk, for many of the psalms are never sung; but the principle upon

which they have proceeded is objectionable, as it devotes them to a purpose for which it is highly probable they were never intended, and originally never used.

The foregoing remarks upon the general structure of the psalms, and their use in the Jewish church, have been elicited by Watts's labours in this department of sacred song; and, in order to appreciate his undertaking, it will be necessary briefly to review the modern history of psalmody, and compare his attempt with the efforts of his predecessors.

From the scanty gleanings that antiquity furnishes upon the psalmody of the primitive church, it is impossible to ascertain at what period the whole psalter was adopted as a devotional formulary in her services, or what degree of musical intonation was given to it. In celebrating the last supper, the Saviour sung a hymn with his disciples, the Hallel, consisting of six psalms; but the word *ὕμνησαντες* may merely mean a kind of recitative reading or chanting.* When Peter and John were delivered from the council, the second psalm was evidently sung by the multitude, or repeated with some considerable inflection of the voice.† In the Corinthian church, in the days of the apostle, we are told that "each one had a psalm,"‡ which may imply that a selection merely was then in use. The 73rd was the morning, and the 141st the evening psalm of the early Christians;§ and they are admirably adapted to the times of fiery trial in which they lived, when "troubled on every side" themselves, they "saw the wicked in prosperity." The manner in which the psalms were used, varied in different places: sometimes they were simply read by one person, the rest of the congregation listening in silence;|| in the church of Alexandria, in the time of

* Matt. xxvi. 30.

† Acts, iv. 24—30.

‡ 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

§ Bingham Antiq. lib. xiv.

|| "Absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes, ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependent." *Cassian Instit.* ii. 12.

Athanasius, the reader spoke them with a slight flexure of the voice;* in the church of Hippo they were sung with some accompaniments, but Augustine was dissatisfied with the plan, and wished to adopt the Alexandrian method; in the cathedral of Milan a mode of alternate singing was introduced, and Ambrose compares the voice of the multitude, as they took up the response, to that of many waters.† The people were, however, gradually deprived of any participation in this part of the public service, which was assigned exclusively to the choir; and the antiphonal manner of singing became general, in which one half of the choir repeated verse for verse after the other. A high authority was pleaded for this practice; for Socrates reports, that the martyr Ignatius was favoured with a vision of the heavenly world, and heard the angels, in the antiphonal manner, celebrating the praises of the Trinity.‡ Instrumental music seems to have been generally discarded by the early church; its introduction was the corruption of a later age, when even a puritan could say,

“But let my due feet never fail,
To walk the studious cloyster’s pale,
And love the high embowed roof,
With antique pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light;
There let the pealing organ blow,
To the full-voic’d choir below,
In service high, and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies,
And bring all heaven before mine eyes.”

* “Tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuncianti vicinior esset quam canenti.” *August. Conf.* x. 33.

† “Responsoriis psalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, consonans undarum fragor resultat.” *Hexam.* lib. iii. c. v.

‡ Socrat. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. viii.

The disciples of Pythagoras resorted to instrumental music early in the morning, to dissipate the dulness of the mind; but the ancient fathers regarded it as a typical Jewish institute, abrogated by the gospel, and tending rather to captivate the senses than suitably dispose the soul, to divert the attention from the words to the sound. The bewitching innovation, however, once introduced was soon universally established, and the corruption of the church's ritual kept pace with the decline of its piety. Simple melody was succeeded in the first instance by the light airs of the Greek and Roman theatre; abstruse harmonical proportion was then studied, and gradually took possession of nearly the whole service; for not only the psalmical, but the supplicatory parts, with the appointed epistle and gospel, were sung not in mere intonation or chant, but elaborate canon. In the twelfth century, and with little alteration till the Reformation, the church music was extremely intricate; the composers seem to have bade defiance to syllabic order and metrical arrangement, rendering the terms meant to be expressed unintelligible, by each part enouncing different words at the same time.* "The kind of music," says Erasmus, "introduced into divine worship, is such that we are not able to understand distinctly, nor have those who sing it leisure to attend to what they sing; the tinkle of the words is all that strikes the ears, and soothes them with a transient and slightly pleasurable sensation; with this they are so much delighted that the monks do nothing else, especially among the Britons."†

The composition of metrical versions or paraphrases of diffe-

* A curious example of this exists, or recently existed, in the library of the cathedral at York—a breviary or missal, containing the genealogy of the first chapter of Matthew set to music; and which, if performed in canon according to the custom of the age, would present the following absurd combination: the bass would be holding forth the existence of Abraham; while the tenor, in defiance of nature and chronology, would be employed in begetting Isaac; the counter-tenor, Jacob; and the treble, Joseph and all his brethren!

† Erasmi. Annot. in xiv. cap. 19 v. prim. Epist. ad Corinthios.

rent parts of the scriptures, was a frequent employment of the northern ecclesiastics in the early and middle ages. This plan was adopted in imitation of the old Teutons, who were accustomed to record their domestic and national transactions in verse. Many of the Saxon clergy, and afterwards the Waldenses, attempted these poetical paraphrastic translations, to assist the memory, to supply some holy strain for the recluse monk or pilgrim traveller to chant, and to be sung at the evening entertainment by the minstrels to the harp, instead of the “fairy legend and the gay romaunt.” In the Bodleian library there is a production of this kind, a paraphrase of the Gospels and the Acts, written in the Saxon character, without rhyme, in imitation of the most common species of the Latin tetrameter iambic. In the library of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, there is a version of the Psalms, in English metre, but in the northern dialect of the twelfth century, a translation as close as verse will allow of the Gallican edition of Jerome’s Latin version. It was not, however, until the Reformation, that metrical versions of the Psalms were attempted with reference to the public service of the church. The royal commission, to reform the ecclesiastical law, appointed in the reign of Henry VIII. and executed in the days of his son, condemned the old choral mode of worship;* and the leading reformers at once abandoned it for congregational psalmody. Elizabeth, indeed, whose hatred of puritanism and prejudices in favour of the renounced religion were strong, continued to patronise the cathedral music, but the psalmodical was not interdicted, and it was speedily introduced into most churches. The new morning prayer began at St. Antholin’s, London, when a psalm was sung in the Geneva fashion, all the congregation, men, women, and boys, singing together. Bishop Jewel remarks, that “the singing of psalms, begun in one church in London, did quickly spread itself, not only through the city, but in the neighbouring places, sometimes at Paul’s

* Ref. Leg. Eccles. c. v. Andrew’s Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 231.

Cross six thousand people singing together." The first instance, however, in our country on record, is undoubtedly the following during the reign of Edward VI. : — "On March 15, 1550, M. Vernon, a Frenchman by birth, but a learned protestant, and parson of St. Martin's, Ludgate, preached at St. Paul's Cross before the mayor and aldermen, and after sermon done they all sung in common a psalm in metre, as it seems now was frequently done, the custom being brought to us from abroad by the exiles."* The practice of the primitive church was thus revived, the people were, as Secker expresses it, "restored to their rights," and taught to sing as well as pray, "not with the heart only, but with the understanding also." Hence, arose an imperious necessity for metrical versions of the Psalms; for the old music being too complicated to be easily learnt, the words must be reduced to a regular rhythm, in order to be attuned to simpler strains. "Every thing contributed to endear the book of Psalms to the early reformers; not merely as it formed a part, and a most important part, of the long-sealed word of God; not merely as its deep and thrilling expressions of repentance, its splendid amplifications of the power and glory of God, its energy, its sublimity, its heartfelt tenderness, captivated their excited feelings; not merely for one or all these reasons did it cleave to their memory, and, when associated to their national airs, take root, as it were, in the depth of their hearts: but it was still further endeared by temporary circumstances. Much which would have been inapplicable to the church in a state of peace, became, or appeared to be, strictly appropriate in the hour of persecution and distress. All those poems which represented the chosen people, or the individual, in the lowest state of oppression and misery, faithfully and, as it were, prophetically described their own condition. The hunted Hugonot, or he that was condemned under the bloody statute of the Six Arti-

* Nichols's Progress of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 51, in a kind of diary taken from Strype.

cles, beheld himself in David fleeing as a bird to the hills, or betrayed by his own familiar friend."

The singing of the psalms in rhythm, though designated by Heylin "a presbyterian trick," had a Catholic origin. The first attempt at a metrical version was made by Clement Marot; and is deserving of particular notice, not on account of its intrinsic excellence, but owing to the patronage of Calvin and Beza, and its adoption into the ritual of the reformed churches. Marot was born in the year 1495, and was a native of Cahors, in Querci, near Toulouse; like his father, Jean Marot, he became valet de chambre to Francis I.; and also page to Margaret of France, wife of the duke of Alençon. He was the favourite bard of the king; his pastorals, ballads, fables, elegies, epigrams, and poetical translations, became popular throughout France, and won for their author the title of "prince of poets and poet of princes." Accompanying his master to the battle of Pavia, in 1521, he was wounded and made prisoner; and on his return to Paris, he was accused of heresy, and thrown into prison. Being brought before the *Lieutenant-criminel*, he was reminded of the gay and dissolute chansons he had taught the court; reproached for the licentious character of his productions; and all that was granted him, owing to his earnest solicitations, was a removal from the unwholesome prison of Chatelet to that of Chartres. During his imprisonment he wrote his *Enfer*, a severe and caustic satire, and completed a revision of the famous *Roman de la Rose*. On the return of Francis from Spain, he regained his liberty, but was obliged to flee to Geneva, and from thence repaired to Turin, where he died in poverty in the year 1544.*

It was at the instigation of the learned Vatablus, professor of Hebrew in the university of Paris, that Marot began his task of versifying the psalms. The professor, along with Francis Melin de S. Gelays, assisted him in his translations;

* Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. 161—163.

for they are said to be “traduitz en rithme François selon la verité Hebraïque.” The first edition contained only thirty psalms, and was dedicated to Francis, with the following compliment :

“Dieu le *donna* aux peuples Hebraïques
Dieu te *devoit*, ce pense-je, aux Galliëques.”

In producing his version he intimates that he had received assistance :

“par les divins esprits
Qui ont sous toy Hebrieu langage appris,
Nous sont jettés les Pseaumes en lumiere
Clairs, et au sens de la forme premiere.”

The royal dedication is followed by another, “Aux dames de France.” Warton observes, that Marot seems anxious to deprecate the raillery which the new tone of his versification was likely to incur, and is embarrassed to find an apology for turning saint. The introduction of metrical psalmody he describes as bringing again the golden age :

“O bien heureux qui voir pourra
Fleurir le temps, que l'on orra
Le laboureur à sa charrue,
Le charretier parmy la rue,
Et l'artisan en sa boutique
Avecques un Pseanne ou cantique
En son labeur se soulager ;
Heureux qui orra le berger
Et la bergere en bois estans
Faire que rochers et estangs
Après eux chantent la hauteur
Du saint nom de leurs Createur.
“Commencez, dames, commencez
Le siecle doré ! avancez !
En chantant d'un cueur debonnaire
Dedans ce saint cacionnaire.”

“Thrice happy they, who may behold
And listen, in that age of gold !
As by the plough the labourer stays,
And carman mid the public ways,

And tradesman in his shop, shall swell
 Their voice in psalm or canticle,
 Singing to solace toil ; again,
 From woods shall come a sweeter strain !
 Shepherd and shepherdess shall vie
 In many a tender psalmody,
 And the Creator's name prolong
 As rock and stream return their song !

“ Begin, then, ladies fair ! begin
 The age renew'd that knows no sin ;
 And with light heart that wants no wing,
 Sing ! from this holy song book sing ! ”*

Marot declares in the spirit of religious gallantry, that his design is to add to the happiness of his fair readers, by substituting divine hymns in the place of amorous ditties ; to inspire their hearts with a passion in which there is no torment ; to banish that fickle and fantastic deity cupid from the world ; and to fill their apartments with the praises of the true Jehovah. Nor did he labour in vain ; for the book was sold so rapidly, that the printers could not supply the public with copies. At the court each of the princes and nobility selected a psalm, and sung it to the ballad tune that each preferred. The dauphin, prince Henry, who delighted in hunting, was fond of *Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire ; As the hart panteth after the water-brooks*, which he sung when going to the chase. The queen's favourite was, *Ne veuilles pas, O sire ! Me reprendre en ton ire ; O Lord ! rebuke me not in thy wrath*, which she sung to a fashionable jig. Madame de Valentinois, was partial to *Du fond de ma pensée ; From the depth of my heart*. Antony king of Navarre sung, *Revenge moy, pren le querelle ; Stand up, O Lord, to revenge my quarrel*, to the air of a dance of Poitou.

After his removal to Geneva, Marot completed twenty more psalms, which, with the former thirty, and eight whose translators were never known, were printed in 1542, at Rome,

* Les Oeuvres de Clement Marot de Cahors, valet de chambre du roy, &c. A Lyon, 1551. 12mo.

by Theodore Drust, a German, printer in ordinary to the pope. This edition was in the Gothic character, in octavo. The remaining psalms were soon after versified by Beza,* and were as favourably received as Marot's, until the productions of both were interdicted by the catholic authorities, on account of the patronage given to them by the reformed. The doctors of the Sorbonne took the alarm, and issued their fulminations against them; and psalm-singing began to be considered by the papal party, as an infallible sign of Lutheranism. The cardinal of Lorraine was particularly zealous in promoting a crusade against the new psalmody; every artifice was adopted to induce the court of Francis to renounce the "holy song-book;" and the ecclesiastic went so far as to reflect upon the gallants and ladies, for preferring the compositions of the Hebrew bard, to the amatory elegancies of Horace. The zeal of the catholics only increased the attachment of the protestants; they taught the psalms to their children, appended them to their catechisms, and adopted them in their worship; and Marot's metrical version was at once introduced by Calvin into his own congregation at Geneva. They cheered their social assemblies, and were commonly heard in the streets; the husbandmen sung them in the fields, the boatmen on the Rhine and Rhone, the Flemish weavers at their looms, and the artificers of Flanders became noted for their skill in psalmodical performances. Bayle calculates, that ten thousand copies set to music were printed and circulated. The music of Marot's psalms, was chiefly borrowed from the airs of ballads popular with the French peasantry; on which account Florimond de Remond objected to them, but the *Sieur de Pours* replied, that what used to belong to "profane songs, was now separated from them, and become in a measure sanctified." A revised version of Marot, having become necessary, it was commenced by M. Conrart,

* Les Pseaumes de David mis en rime Française, Par Clement Marot et Theodore Beze. Sedan, 1630. 8vo.

and completed by M. de la Bastide, and soon adopted in Geneva, Hesse Cassel, and by the German protestants in general.*

The success which attended the continental psalmodists, induced many of the protestants in England to imitate their example; and it was the ambition of Sternhold to become the reforming poet of the court of Edward. Previous to his attempt, however, two brothers in Scotland, John and Robert Wedderburn,† versified a number of the psalms, which were used by the reformed in the north, until superseded by the English version. Like Marot, Sternhold was a layman, a servant of the court; and appears from the title-page of his production, which has been continued in all the printed copies, to have undertook his translation to supplant the love-ditties and licentious sonnets of the courtiers—a design which Antony Wood testifies was but partially accomplished. He lived to complete but fifty-one of the psalms, which were printed with a dedication to the king, in 1549, under the title, “All such Psalms of David as Thomas Sternholde, late grome of the king’s majesty’s robes, did in his lyfe-time drawe into Englyshe metre.” Of his clerical successor, Hopkins, who versified fifty-eight more, very little is known, but Warton pronounces him the “better poet”—a fact which

* Marot and Beza’s Psalms were translated into Low-Dutch metre, by Peter Dathen, about the year 1560, the first pastor of the reformed church at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. He adapted them to the French tunes and measure, and dedicated them to all the Belgic congregations and pastors “groaning under the cross.” A new Dutch translation of the Psalms, and the songs of the bible in metre, was undertaken by Philip de Marnix, lord of Sainte Algedonda. Zamosky, a Bohemian, produced the *Pjsné Duchownj*, or spiritual songs; whilst one of his countrymen, Strye, attempted the Psalms, a version of the highest merit, *Zalmowe Sw. Dawida w ryhmy Ceské uwedené*, 1590, first edit.. At Madrid the Psalms in metre appeared in Latin, 1600, 12mo. the work of Louis Crucius, a Lisbon jesuit. Fernand Woiewodka, of Cracow, printed them in Polish metre, at Bresez, a royal city of Lithuania, about the year 1565, at the same press from which the bible of Pinckzovian protestants issued, under the auspices of Prince Radzivil.

† The Wedderburns were the chief authors of “Gude and Godly ballates, changed out of prophane songs, for avoyding of sin, harlotrie,” &c. written to spread the reformed opinions in Scotland, and exceedingly popular in its day.

shall not here be questioned, as the task of comparing the two venerable worthies would be rather an unedifying one. Whittingham, the friend of Calvin, the successor of Knox at Geneva, and afterwards dean of Durham, contributed his mite to the work, and versified five other psalms, with the decalogue, and several creeds which he sung in his own church.* Norton a barrister, according to the Oxford biographer “a bold and busy Calvinist,” the translator of the reformer’s “Institutes,” furnished twenty-seven more; Wisdome, archdeacon of Ely,† translated the twenty-fifth psalm; and the eight others

*The hymns which follow the singing psalms in the old version, were also Whittingham’s compositions. The following are specimens of the talent of this rhymor of creeds :

“The Father God is, God the Son,
God Holy Ghost also;
Yet are there not three Gods in all,
But one God and no mo.”
Athanasian C.
“From there shall he come for to judge
All men, both dead and quick;
I in the Holy Ghost believe,
And church that’s catholick.”
Apostolic C.

† In the olden time there was a very popular prayer inserted at the end of the old version, a translation of Luther’s hymn upon the same occasion, and intended to be sung in the church, for which we are indebted to the archdeacon. The commencing stanza is,

“Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear Word,
From Pope and Turk defend us, Lord !
Which both would thrust out of thy throne,
Our Lord Jesus Christ thy dear Son!”

The bones of Wisdome were laid in peace in Carfax church; but his rest was disturbed by the jovial Corbet, bishop of Norwich, the opponent of his metropolitan, the Calvinist Abbot, the slave of Land, and the boon companion of King James. He invokes the ghost of the archdeacon to assist him in composing a puritanical hymn; he then advises him to steal back again to his tomb for fear of being entrapped by his old enemies the Pope and Turk :

“Thou once a body, now but ayre,
Arch-botcher of a psalm or prayer,
From Carfax come!
And patch us up a zealous lay,
With an old ever and for ay,
Or all and some.
“Or such a spirit lend me,
As may a hymn down send me,
To purge my braine:
But, Roberte, looke behind thee,
Lest Turk or Pope do find thee,
And go to bed againe.”

*Poems written by the Right Reverend Dr. Richard Corbet,
late Bishop of Norwich. London, 1647. duod. p. 41.*

which completed the series, were contributed by authors now unknown. The whole was published in 1562, and attached to the Book of Common Prayer, under the title, "The whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into English metre, by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with apt notes to sing them withal." Whatever might be the merits of this production, considering the time of its appearance, it is to the disgrace of the church, and the detriment of religion, that after the lapse of nearly three centuries it should still be retained in her services. In those who regard antiquity as excellence, and use as authority, it may find patrons; but its most zealous advocates, in pointing out its occasional beauties, have always been at fault, after that oasis in the desert, the 9th and 10th verses of the 18th psalm. Perhaps Sternhold's versification of this passage is better than any other, superior to the classic Buchanan, and infinitely preferable to Tate and Brady; but it is a solitary instance of success, and a critic might cavil at the line, "And bow'd the heavens high," as well as at the fanciful distinction drawn between cherubs and cherubims:

"He bowed the heavens also, and came down; and darkness was under his feet.

"And he rode upon a cherub and did fly; yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind.

"He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies.

"At the brightness that was before him, his thick clouds passed, hail-stones and coals of fire."

STERNHOLD.

"The Lord descended from above,
And underneath his feet he cast
On cherubs and on cherubims
And on the wings of mighty winds

and bow'd the heavens high;
the darkness of the sky;
full royally he rode;
came flying all abroad,

“And, like a den, most dark he made his hid and secret place :
 With waters black and airy clouds, encompassed he was ;
 At his bright presence did thick clouds in haste away retire,
 And in the stead thereof did come hailstones and coals of fire.”

ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

“The heavens full lowe he made to bowe,
 And downe dyd he ensue ;
 And darkness great was undersete
 His feet in cloudy hue.

“He rode on hye, and dyd so flye
 Upon the chernubims ;
 He came in sight and made his flight
 Upon the wyng of wynds.

“The Lord from heaven sent down his leaven,
 And thund’red thence in ire ;
 He thunder cast in wondrous blast,
 With hayle and coales of fyre.”

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

“He bowed the heavens, and from the bow’d heavens did descend
 With hugy darknes, which aboute his feete did wend.

“The cherubims their backs, the windes did yield their wings,
 To beare his sacred flight ; in secrete place then clos’d ;
 About which he dinme cloudes, like a pavillion brings
 Cloudes, even of waters darke, and thickest aire compos’d ;
 But streight his shining eyes this misty masse disclos’d :
 Then haile, then fire coales, then thund’red heav’nly Sire,
 Then spake he his lowd voice, then hailstones, coles and fire.”

TATE AND BRADY.

“The chariot of the King of kings
 Which active troops of angels drew,
 On a strong tempest’s rapid wings,
 With most amazing swiftness flew.”

WATTS.

“When God, our leader, shines in arms,
 What mortal heart can bear
 The thunder of his loud alarms,
 The light’ning of his spear?

“He rides upon the winged wind,
 And angels in array,
 In millions wait to know his mind,
 And swift as flames obey.”

Nothing can surpass the native dignity and simplicity of the original; the figure of the winds being the servants of the Deity, and carrying him in his progress of inspection and superintendence through the universe, is a favourite one with the Hebrew bards — “he maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind.” Sternhold, it has been asserted, wrote *all the winds*, instead of *mighty winds*, which, if true, is certainly preferable to the alteration. Tate and Brady attempt to improve upon the psalmist; but the mention of “active troops” drawing the “chariot,” robs the whole scene of its majesty, and places before us the descending King, driving his team of angels. Watts’s plan allowed him liberties with the sacred text, which the others could not employ; but he paints the picture with considerable dignity, though the splendid original must cast into the shade every imitation. The poetry of most nations is largely indebted to the sacred volume; and this striking representation has been frequently imitated by our poets, who have sung of

“Nature’s King, who oft
 Amid tempestuous darkness dwells alone,
 And on the wings of the careering winds
 Walks dreadfully serene.”

Thomson, Winter. l. 199.

The next version of the Psalms,* was by no less a person than the second protestant archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, which was printed in 4to. about the year 1567, under this title, "The whole Psalter translated into English metre, which containeth an hundredth and fifty psalmes. The first Quinquagene. Quonium omnis terræ deus, psallite sapienter. Ps. xiv. 47. Imprinted at London, by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath St. Martyn's. Cum privilegio per decennium." The archbishop aspired to the character of musician as well as poet, and accompanied his work with eight tunes, and a metrical preface, detailing the power of sacred song:

<p>"The psalmist stayde with tuned songe, As David did with harpe among With golden stringes such harmonie That he relieved his phrenesie</p>	<p>the rage of minds agast, to Saule in fury cast, his harpe so sweet did wrest, whom wicked sprites possesst."</p>
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The extreme rarity of this book, together with the fact, that, though proceeding from the head of the church, it did not supersede the production of the groom of the king's

*The labours of William Hunnis, a gentleman of the chapel under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, should not be passed over without some notice. In 1550 he printed a number of the psalms under the title, "Certayne Psalmes, chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawn forth into Englysh metre, by William Hunnis, servant to the Ryght Honourable Syr William Harberd, Knight. Newly collected and imprinted." He was also the author of "Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul for Sin, comprehending the seven Penitential Psalmes in metre."

In 1550 John Hall, or Hawle, a surgeon at Maidstone in Kent, published "Certayne chapters taken out of the Proverbes of Solomon, with other chapters of the Holy Scripture, and certayne Psalmes of David, translated into English metre, by John Hall." There is an edition in quarto, dedicated to King Edward VI. with this title: "The Psalmes of David, translated into English metre, by T. Sternhold, Sir T. Wyat, and William Hunnis, with certaine chapters of the Proverbes, and select Psalmes, by John Hall."

Interesting notices of the history of psalmody may be found in Bingham's *Antiquities of the Church*; Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. iii.; Strype's *Life of Archbishop Parker*, lib. iii. and iv.; *Nouveau Dictionaire Historique*, vol. vi.; *Art. Marot* in Bayle's *Gen. Diet.*; Sir John Hawkins's *History of Music*, vol. iii.; *Works of William Mason*, vol. iii.; Todd's *Observations upon Sternhold and Hopkins*, and others; *A Preparation to the Psalter*, by George Wyther, 1619.

robes, afford sufficient evidence that it had no pretensions to excellence. The attempt of the archbishop was followed by that of King James I. who had the ambition to be thought a poet as well as philosopher, and to provide psalms as well as sports for his subjects: he lived, however, only to complete part of his design, which was printed under the sanction of his successor, a version remarkable, says Grainger, for its flat simplicity and unmeaning expletives.* A host of names must be passed over—statesmen, bishops, cavaliers, and roundheads, Lord Bacon, Sir John Denham, bishops Hall, King, and Patrick, Withers, Herbert, Donne, and Blackmore—the versions of some of these individuals were respectable, but the mass sinks far below mediocrity. The labours of Sir Philip Sidney, and his accomplished sister, the Countess of Pembroke, are, however, deserving of notice, though time has rendered them, as to any practical purpose, almost useless. For nearly two centuries and a half their joint production quietly slept in manuscript, and is even now comparatively unknown, only a small edition, of two hundred and fifty copies, having issued from the Chiswick press, in 1823. This version has many passages of great merit and beauty; it displays frequently a striking felicity of expression; the rhythm of the lines is exceedingly easy and musical; and many psalms are rendered with a nerve and energy, quite refreshing, after the tame and spiritless attempts that preceded it. The fine gold is, indeed, mixed up with much dross, but besides its irregular metre,

* The following is a specimen of this royal production, and certainly when placed in juxtaposition with Hopkins, the subject must yield to the monarch:

PSALM, lxxiv. 11.

“Why withdrawest thou thy hand, even thy right hand? pluck it out of thy bosom.”

JAMES I.

“Why dost thou thus withdraw thy hand, Out of thy bosom for our good	e’en thy right hand restrain? drawe back the same againe.”
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HOPKINS.

“Why doost withdrawe thy hand aback, O pluck it out, and be not slack	and hide it in thy lappe? to give thy foes a rappe.”
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its faults are chiefly those which characterise the poetry of the Elizabethian age; false antitheses, fanciful conceits, quaint and occasionally uncouth phraseology. The commencement of the 45th psalm displays considerable skill in versification; to use a poet's phrase, the "numbers come," and produce that intuitive music which only accomplished minds can command:

"ERUCTAVIT COR MEUM.

"My harte endites an argument of worth,
 The praise of him that doth the scepter swaye;
 My tongue the pen to paynt his praises forth,
 Shall write as swift as swiftest writer may,
 Then to the king these are the words I say;
 Fairer art thou than sonnes of mortall rae,
 Because high God hath blessed thee for ay,
 Thie lipps, as springs, doe flowe with speaking graee.

"Thie honors sword gird to thy mightie side,
 O thou that dost all things in might excell;
 With glory prosper, on with triumph ride,
 Since justice, truth, and meekness with thee dwell.
 Soe that right hande of thine shall teaching tell,
 Such things to thee as well may terror bring,
 And terror, such as never erst befell
 To mortall mindes, at sight of mortall king."*

Among the poets of the seventeenth century, there is a name almost "unknown to fame," that of George Sandys, whose psalms have never been surpassed for closeness of the version and poetical beauty. He employs chiefly the trochaic couplet, in which he has been followed by Mr. Montgomery, the most simple of our lyric measures, but one of the most beautiful, and best adapted for psalmody: Sandys rarely fails when he uses this measure; but he becomes flat and tame when he adopts a more involved metre. His name is seldom seen in any of our selections, probably owing to the want of that exact metrical precision, the fault of his day, which is so requisite in

* Sir P. Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke's version, &c. Whittingham, 1823.

verses intended to be sung to simple tunes. The translation of Rouse,* the elegant paraphrases of Addison, must be passed over, with the attempts of many others to accomplish the high emprise. What is commonly called the New Version, that of Tate and Brady, requires some notice, not on account of any superior merit, but because sanctioned by the royal authority to be used in churches. Of the authors we know nothing, save what Johnson tells us of Brady's translation of the *Æneid*, that when dragged into the world, it did not live long enough to cry. A better fate attended his undertaking in honour of David than of Virgil, though one, perhaps, not more deserved; for, notwithstanding a few exceptions, the book, as a representation of the Hebrew psalmists, can scarcely be tolerated. It has none of the dignity, animation, and fire of the inspired text; the same spirit is breathed into compositions differing widely in their character; and the choral song of the church, the *Io Triumphe* of the Jew, is rendered after the same likeness, and receives the same sort of treatment, as the didactic ode and the mournful elegy. If, struck with the beauty of the original, the coadjutors attempt to transfer it to the picture, the imagery is sure either to be barbarously clipped or amplified, forming a collection of those *ambitiosa ornamenta*, which may please a vitiated taste, but will disgust a correct judgment: the 67th, 19th, and 139th psalms are among the best versions in the volume. Since that period, the names of Watts, Merriek, Bishop, Mant, Marsh, Montgomery, Lord Byron, and Sir Walter Scott, occur, as those who have entered the lists; and if complete success has not been attained by any,

* The parliament of 1643 recommended the Westminster assembly of divines, to propose a version of the psalms in the place of Sternhold; the assembly corrected and improved Rouse's production, and sent it up to the commons with the following notice: "Whereas the honourable house of commons, by an order bearing date Nov. 20, 1643, have recommended the psalms, published by Mr. Rouse, to the consideration of the assembly of divines, the assembly has caused them to be carefully perused, and, as they are now altered and amended, do approve them, and humbly conceive they may be useful and profitable to the church, if they be permitted to be publicly sung."

an almost hopeless expectation now, it has not been owing to the want of competition or talent, but to the peculiar genius of Hebrew poetry, which disdains the shackles of English metre. Merrick's version was popular in its day, and has been much praised for its elegance and smoothness; but it is too evidently polished into harmony by art and labour to please. Whatever might be his Hebrew scholarship, he had nothing beyond that in common with the Hebrew muse; his was not a kindred spirit; he could neither rise to its elevation, nor grasp its breadth, nor explore its depth. We look in vain for the lofty and bold conceptions of the psalmist; all is flat, languid, and insipid; the "high hills" become table-lands, the everlasting mountains hide their diminished heads, and the lofty cedars are paired down into trim hedge-rows.

The version of Watts, to which we have now arrived, left the works of his predecessors at an immense distance. Translation, indeed, was not his object, but free imitation; and with peculiar felicity, in many instances, has he caught the spirit of his model, and made David sing the song not only of Moses but of the Lamb. He brought to his task no inconsiderable amount of qualification — a critical acquaintance with the inspired originals, fervent piety, facility of versification, and poetical taste. It has been justly said, that in "catching the spirit of the text, no writer has been on the whole so happy; and his metrical version, free and imperfect as it professedly is, and faulty in many respects, is, nevertheless, the most instructive commentary on the Psalms that we possess. Nor has any single work so powerfully contributed to promote the cultivation of sacred poetry."* In judging of the merits of his production, we must consider the object at which he aimed; not to give a representation of the psalms as poetry, but to adapt them for Christian worship, a purpose which limited him in his metres, and frequently obliged him to sacrifice the

* *Eclectic Review*, vol. xxiii. No. 1, to whose valuable labours I am, in several instances, indebted.

graces of style, ornament, and expression. His work soon became popular in his own denomination, upwards of four thousand being sold the first year; it was gradually admitted into most of their places of worship,* an honour which it still retains. But meagre praise, notwithstanding, have the labours of the nonconformist received from churchmen: Bishop Horne mentions Merriek and Ogilvie, but overlooks the version of the dissenter; and Bishop Mant, though evidently indebted to it, maintains the same profound silence.†

He who undertakes a metrical version of the Psalms, should first sit down and carefully examine the structure and charac-

* Mr. Bradbury, indeed, sternly refused it his favour, opposed its use in his congregation, and at the lecture at Pinner's Hall. The baptists, however, soon began to use Watts's psalms, in connexion with their own selections. A curious controversy once agitated this body, as to the propriety of singing at all in worship; a practice which, at one period, they generally omitted. Mr. Keach was the first who broke the ice; he began to introduce singing at the ordinance; after a struggle of six years, it was added to the devotions of thanksgiving days; and after fourteen years more of perseverance and debate, it was permitted at the close of each service on the sabbath, that those who chose it might withdraw, and not have their ears offended by the sound. The church, however, divided, and the inharmious formed a new society, which still flourishes in Mays Pond. Isaac Marlowe fiercely opposed Mr. Keach, designating the practice as, "error, apostacy, human tradition, prelimited forms, mischievous error, carnal worship." The heats excited by the controversy, led the General Assembly, held in London, May 3, 1692, to interfere; and it was decided, that both parties had been guilty of personalities; that both were to call in their books, and that the members of the churches were to be requested not to buy, give, or disperse any of them any more.

† That the Quarterly Review should not have the magnanimity to give Watts his due, might be expected; but that it should be so obtuse as to issue the following criticism, is passing strange: "It is the most ungracious and unwelcome part of our present task, to speak unfavourably of the well-meant contributions of good men to the cause of Christian piety, especially when they are still popular with a large class of the community. We do not object to Watts that his psalms are not literal versions, which he did not intend them to be; but we cannot help suspecting, that the attachment of the better educated among the dissenters to this, which is, we believe, generally their hymn-book, partakes of that feeling from which many pious members of the church adhere to old Sternhold and Hopkins." Notwithstanding this, it is curious to observe one of Watt's versions, "Before Jehovah's awful throne," inserted in Mr. Murray's late edition of Heber's hymns. It has, however, *Anon.* for its signature! Was the editor really ignorant of the author of this noble poem? or did he think that the pastor of Bury-Street was not proper company for the Bishop of Calcutta?

ter of the poems, the events they celebrate, and the occasions on which they were written. Though they all come under one general appellation, yet, imperfect as is our acquaintance with the nature of Hebrew verse, it is easy to perceive that their metrical structure in the original varies. Some are acrostic poems; in some the parallelisms are more prominent than in others; whilst not a few seem to have been intended for different modes of musical recitation. Style and metre, then, are not to be taken at random, but to be selected with careful discrimination, as the tone and measure best adapted to give to the English version an analogical dress to that which the Hebrew text wears. Many of our translators have failed from the want of a just apprehension of this important point: they have versified the triumphal ode with the same form of stanza as the plaintive elegy; and, consequently, the measure is frequently as inappropriate to the psalm, as the couplets of *Hudibras* would be to the *Iliad*. The correspondence of Watts with his friends, shows how anxious he was about his metres; though not always happy in his choice, yet he is so generally; and his failures result from his being obliged to adopt that measure which was most suited to a simple regular congregational tune, rather than that best adapted to express the spirit and poetical beauty of the composition. The 29th psalm has been versified in almost all kinds of stanza, and a few specimens will show how completely its dignity has been sacrificed by inappropriate metre. The psalm is one of David's, and was sung by the Jews on the second day of the feast of tabernacles. It is a contemplation of the power and majesty of Jehovah; and "it is enough to say of it," remarks Lowth, "that the sublimity of the matter is perfectly equalled by the unaffected energy of the style." The antithetical balance of line against line is preserved throughout; nor does the collocation of the same or equivalent terms enfeeble the poem:

1. "Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty,
Give unto the Lord glory and strength.
2. Give unto the Lord, the glory due unto his name ;
Worship the Lord in his glorious sanctuary.
3. The voice of the Lord is upon the waters :
The God of glory thundereth ;
The Lord is upon many waters.
4. The voice of the Lord is in power,
The voice of the Lord is full of majesty :
5. The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars :
Yea, the Lord breaketh the cedars of Lebanon :
6. He maketh them also to skip like a calf,
Lebanon and Sirion like a young unicorn."

THE SIDNEYS.

"Afferte Domino.

"Ascribe unto the Lord of light,
Ye men of power, even by birth-right,
Ascribe all glory, and all might.

"Ascribe due glory to his name ;
And in his ever glorious frame
Of sanctuary doe the same.

"His voice is on the waters found,
His voice does threat'ning thunders sound,
Yea, through the waters doth resound.

"By voice of high Jehova we
The highest cedars broken see,
E'en cedars which on Liban be.

"His voice doth flashing flames divide ;
His voice have trembling deserts tride ;
E'en desertes, where the Arabs bide."

BUCHANAN.

4. Vox dignitatis plena, nec irrita
Unquam ad patrandum jussa potentiaë ;
5. Nudare cedris seu Libanum jurat,
Celsasque ventis sternere fraxiuos :

6. Seu vineta saxis saxa revellere,
Notisque montes sedibus erutos
Versare, taurum ut verna per avia
Vexat juventæ læta protervitas
7. Ad vocisictum nubibus exsilit
8. Elisus iquis; tesqua Arabum tremunt;
9. Feræ pavesunt; ante diem fluunt
Partus aerbi; robora concidunt.

SANDYS.

“From a dark and show’ring cloud,
On the floods that roar aloud,
Hark! his voice with terror breaks:
God, our God in thunder speaks;
Powerful is his voice on high,
Full of power and majesty.”

TATE AND BRADY.

“’Tis he that with amazing noise
The wat’ry clouds in sunder breaks;
The ocean trembles at his voice,
When he from heaven in thunder speaks.
How full of power his voice appears!
With what majestic terror crown’d!
Which from the roots tall cedars tears,
And strews their scatter’d branches round.”

WATTS.

“Give to the Lord, ye sons of fame,
Give to the Lord, renown and pow’r;
Ascribe due honors to his name,
And his eternal might adore.

“The Lord proclaims his pow’r aloud,
Over the ocean and the land;
His voice divides the wat’ry cloud,
And lightnings blaze at his command.

“He speaks, and tempests, hail and wind,
Lay the wide forest bare around;
The fearful hart, and frighted hind,
Leap at the terror of the sound.

“To Lebanon he turns his voice,
And lo, the stately cedars break ;
The mountains tremble at the noise,
The valleys roar, the deserts quake.”

BISHOP MANT.

“The voice of the Lord the darkness divides,
And deals forth his fire in arrowy flakes :
The voice of Jehovah the wilderness chides,
Jehovah of Kadesh the wilderness shakes.

“The voice of the Lord speeds the hind to her throes ;
The voice of the Lord smites the oak to the ground ;
The forest dismantled his majesty shows,
And all in his temple his praises resound.

“Jehovah is set o’er the water-flood high,
Jehovah is King till existence shall cease ;
Jehovah his people with strength shall supply,
Jehovah shall visit his people with peace.”

MARSH.

“The voice of Jehovah the tall cedar breaks ;
At the voice of Jehovah all Lebanon shakes ;
Like heifers the cedars of Lebanon bound,
And like bullocks in Sirion they tempest the ground.”

It is impossible to do justice to this psalm in a rhythmical version ; it will no more endure such fetters than Samson the withes of the Philistines ; but perhaps of all the metres selected, Watts’s long measure is best adapted to its majestic character. The Sidney version is very pleasing ; Buchanan is cold and classic ; Sandys is manly and spirited ; Tate as usual diffuse and affected ; Watts sinks below his general standard, but is respectable ; the Bishop and Mr. Marsh have completely failed, and assuredly in bad taste have “Sternhold himself out-Sternhold-ed.”

The 17th psalm is extremely well done by Watts ; though a

free imitation, he realises and embodies the feelings, purpose, and hopes of David better than any of his rivals; and, in comparison with his spirited production, the versions especially of Tate and Mant are execrable ditties. The eighth psalm, evidently written by the royal poet when gazing upon the brilliant sky, the moon and the stars of an eastern heaven, he has versified in three different measures, and in each instance successfully, with the exception of a few lines, keeping in mind the evangelical application the psalm has received in the New Testament. The Sidney version, of which an extract is annexed, with all its quaintness, displays considerable energy; Bishop Mant's is also one of his best.

“DOMINE DOMINUS NOSTER.

“When I upon the heav'ns do look,
Which all from thee their essence took;
When moon and stars my thoughts beholdeth,
Whose life no life but of thee holdeth:
Then thinke I: Ah, what is this man,
Whom that greate God remember can!

“Thou under his dominion plac't
Both sheep and oxen wholly hast:
And all the beastes for ever breeding,
Which in the fertil fields be feeding.
The bird, free-burgesse of the aire,
The fish, of sea the native heire;
And what things els of waters traceth
The unworn pathes, his rule embraceth.
O Lord, thou ruls't our mortal lyne,
How through the world thy name doth shine!”

The 19th psalm has been often attempted, notwithstanding “the stone of stumbling” which occurs in the seventh, eighth, and ninth verses, the terror of all versifiers. Watts interprets the psalm prophetically, and his paraphrase furnishes a beautiful hymn, and a most instructive exposition. In the pastoral poem, “the Lord is my Shepherd,” he has been equally happy in each of his three versions, though perhaps his com-

mon measure is the closest to the text, and the general favourite. This psalm seems to present little difficulty to the metrical translator, its imagery is rural, its style simple and unaffected; and yet the compass of our devotional poetry, excepting Watts and Addison, presents but few instances of even tolerable success. The 92nd psalm, the production of an anonymous author, was the sabbath-day song of the Jewish church: the commencement of Watts's paraphrase is very beautiful, "Sweet is the work, my God, my King;" but Sandys, in this instance, bears away the palm.

THE SIDNEYS.

"Bonum est confiteri.

O lovely thing,
To sing and praises frame
To thee, O Lord, and thy high name;
With early spring
Thy bounty to display,
Thy truth when night hath vanquish'd day,
Yea soe to sing,
That ten-string'd instrument,
With lute, and harp, and voice consent.

For, Lord, my mind
Thy works with wonders fill;
Thy doings are my comfort still.
What witt can find
How bravely thou hast wrought,
Or deeply sound thy shallow'st thought?"

SANDYS.

Thou, who art enthron'd above,
Thou, by whom we live and move,
O how sweet and excellent,
'Tis with tongue and heart's consent,
Thankful hearts, and joyful tongues,
To renown thy name in songs;

"When the morning paints the skies,
 When the sparkling stars arise,
 Thy high favours to rehearse,
 Thy firm faith in grateful verse.
 From thy works my joy proceeds:
 How I triumph in thy deeds!
 Who thy wonders can express?
 All thy thoughts are fathomless."*

The attempt to make the Psalms Christian in tenor and spirit, which was Watts's grand aim, may be regarded as entirely new. Luke Milbourne, Darby, and Patrick, do indeed, depart occasionally from the literal sense; but the breaking forth of evangelical light is rare, "like angels' visits, few and far between." Admirably has he succeeded in his task as a whole, though many instances of failure might easily be pointed out. His psalms form a useful commentary. He takes us from the temple upon the "holy mountain," to the church built upon the "foundation of apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus being himself the chief corner-stone;" and shows to the thoughtful mind how the "latter house" exceeds the "former" in glory. The fugitive, penitent and helpless, is taught to flee not to the "horns of the altar," but to the "throne of grace," and to take refuge not in the blood of bulls or goats, but in that "new and living way" which has been opened by the incarnate Saviour. He has erred, indeed, in versifying the psalter indiscriminately, and attempting to adapt the whole, with few exceptions, for congregational use. The didactic poems are not appropriate for praise; the elegiac

*The 104th psalm has been explained by the editor of Marvell's Works, Captain Edward Thompson, as the production of the honest and upright patriot; the editor likewise claims for Marvell, Addison's hymns in the Spectator, and the elegiac ballet of William and Margaret, by Mallet. Nichols calls this charge of plagiarism a ridiculous one. The fact seems to be, that the person into whose hands Marvell's MS. poems came copied into the volume various productions of other authors as they appeared. This volume came into the Captain's possession, who had not sagacity enough to perceive the circumstance. *Dove's Life of Marvell, Gent. Mag.* vols. xlv. xlvii.

are more suited to the closet ; it is only those that are general — that are applicable to the majority — that should be introduced in public. The contrition of the lapsed though penitent monarch, for his awful crime — the sorrow of his over-burdened heart, when driven from his royal city and hunted on the mountains — the weight of anguish he felt, on account of the treachery of his friend and minister — beautiful and unrivalled poems as they may be, are only fit for individual use, are foreign to the local interests and circumstances of the solemn assembly. Watts seems to have felt this: “ There are several songs,” he observes, “ of this royal author, that seem improper for any person besides himself;” yet out of the one hundred and fifty psalms he has only omitted twelve. Hence, there are some of them that are never sung, and many more out of which only a stanza or two can be employed. Another and a serious defect is, the occurrence of harsh expressions — phraseology which seems to appeal to angry and vindictive passions — and to give utterance to feelings incongruous with the pure and heavenly emotions which influence the spiritual worshipper. In the pulpit it might be explained, that the spiritual enemies of the Christian are intended, the world, the flesh, and the devil; that the denunciation is frequently nothing more than a prophetic announcement; and that the Hebrew is often equally capable of a future as well as an imperative signification: but these considerations will only present themselves in the fervour of singing to the pious and intelligent. To excel Watts, however, as a Christian psalmist, would be no trifling achievement: the qualifications requisite for the task, are rarely found united — scholarship, poetry, and devotion. All these are indispensable to the individual who would do justice to these sublime compositions: he must be a scholar, or he will not perceive the terseness, energy, and vigorous simplicity of the originals; a poet, or he will not catch the spirit of the eastern bards; a devout man, or he cannot give expression to what he does not understand.

The dissenting congregations are under immense obligations to Watts, for the strains he has composed for their public assemblies and social meetings. Previous to the introduction of his *Imitations*, the sound of the gospel proceeded from the pulpit, but the praises of the Jew ascended from the hearers; the worshippers seemed to localise themselves in Judea—to retrace some two or three thousand years of the world's history—and withdraw from the “light that lightens the Gentiles,” to join their “fathers who were under the cloud.” It was no uncommon thing, if the minister and the people were not prone to retrospection—if the retrograde movement was disliked—for some six or seven verses to be selected from as many different psalms, a stanza culled here and there, in order to compound one evangelical hymn. The demands of a few sabbaths' services, thus put the whole book in requisition; and it necessarily occurred, that the fragments were often joined together without the slightest connexion, presenting indeed a body, but without form, proportion, or symmetry. The days on which the ordinance of the Lord's supper recurred, brought with them the never-failing repetition of the 23rd or 118th psalms, slight as are the passages which can be construed into references to the solemn festival. The composition of the *Psalms and Hymns* was, thus, an invaluable acquisition; and though the altered circumstances of the church have created fresh wants, and a rigid confinement to them would be improper where it can be avoided, yet the step from Patrick to Watts was, indeed, a leap “over many a gulf between.”

CHAPTER XI.

1720—1726.

DISPUTE WITH MR. BRADBURY.

SOUTH-SEA COMPANY.—PLAGUE AT MARSEILLES.—AURORA BOREALIS.
 —“SONGS FOR CHILDREN:”—THEIR POPULARITY:—DR. JOHNSON'S
 REMARKS:—INSTANCES OF USEFULNESS:—ARIAN EDITION, BY MRS.
 BARBAULD.—INSCRIPTION AT BROADSTAIRS.—“ART OF READING AND
 WRITING.”—ILLNESS.—VOLUME OF “SERMONS.”—“CHRISTIAN DOC-
 TRINE OF THE TRINITY.”—THREE “DISSERTATIONS.”—DEATH OF SIR
 THOMAS ABNEY:—OF SIR JOHN HARTOPP:—FUNERAL SERMONS.—PRO-
 FESSORS FRANK AND RAMBACH.—“DEATH AND HEAVEN.”—LAST
 WORDS OF REV. SAMUEL ROSEWELL.—SERMONS ON “CHRISTIAN
 MORALS.”—“LOGIC:”—OPINIONS OF SECKER, BARRINGTON, AND JOHN-
 SON.—DISPUTE WITH MR. BRADBURY:—ITS CAUSES:—EXTRACTS FROM
 THEIR CORRESPONDENCE:—DISLIKES WATT'S PSALMS:—CONDUCT AT
 PINNER'S HALL.—LORD BARRINGTON'S ELECTION.—MINOR PUBLICA-
 TIONS.—CORRESPONDENCE.

THE formation and proceedings of the South-Sea Company, engaged the attention of the nation during the years 1720 and 1721. “Clergy and laity, whigs and tories, churchmen and dissenters, statesmen and ladies, turned stock-jobbers;” every mind seemed tainted with avarice, and all classes were occupied with golden prospects and elysian dreams. But, like the Trojan horse, what was ushered in and received with such acclamations of joy, was contrived for treachery and instrumental of ruin. Gay and Pope among the poets, and Chandler among the dissenting ministers, suffered severely by the prevailing mania; the latter, having lost the whole of his wife's fortune, established a bookseller's shop in the Poultry,

to assist his scanty salary.* Dr. Calamy congratulates himself upon raising the money for his new meeting-house at Westminster, at this period, when, dazzled with imaginary riches, the people were unusually liberal in their contributions.† These years of national infatuation and calamity, are noticed by Watts in an English and two Latin epigrams:

“’Tis said, the citizens have sold
Faith, truth, and trade for South-Sea gold;
’Tis false! for those that know can swear,
All is not gold that glisters there.”‡

The breaking out of the plague at this time, with its awful ravages in Marseilles, “when nature sickened, and each gale was death,” was calculated to sober the minds of men, and to check their quixotic schemes for wealth. Though measures were adopted by the government to prevent the introduction of the contagion into this country; yet the apprehension of it happily led many to serious concern, and with the pious clergy and the dissenting ministry, it became a “labour of love,” if not, like “Marseilles’ good bishop,” to serve their flocks in the midst of the pestilence, yet to prepare them for its expected approach. A lecture was established every Wednesday by the latter, with reference to this event, which, after the original cause had ceased, was carried on at Fetter Lane, as an anti-arian lecture. It was upon this occasion that Mr. Bradbury preached his course of sermons upon the “Power of Christ over Plagues and Health.”§ To add to the apprehen-

* Gay, who lost his all, found an asylum in the Duke of Queensbury’s mansion: Pope, who did not risk so much, soon remedied his losses; and Chandler’s shop was only kept open two or three years.

† Cal. Life. ii. 442.

‡ Reliq. Juv. No. 69.

§ Neal’s Sermon on the “Christian’s duty and interest in a time of public danger, preached at Wapping, Oct. 27, being a time of solemn prayer on account of the plague.” This sermon is in the library of Queen’s College, Cambridge. Guyse’s “Sermon on the Plague at Marseilles, Amos, iv. 12.”

sions of the nation at this period, the evenings of February, 1721, were brilliantly illuminated by the aurora borealis, and the harmless meteor was converted into a dire prognostic, and interpreted by some theological alarmists as a forerunner of the final day.*

The period in the life of Watts, upon which we are now entering, was one of continued bodily suffering, yet extraordinary mental exertion. It is probable, though the exact time is uncertain, that one of the most pleasing and useful of his publications appeared about the year 1720—"Divine and Moral Songs, for the use of Children." Several of these pieces had been previously circulated in manuscript; the hymn commencing, "Hush, my babe, lie still and slumber," was an early composition; and it was owing to the earnest wishes of intimate friends, that the collection was formed and printed. This humble and unpretending performance speedily obtained an unwonted popularity; edition after edition rapidly issued from the press in England and America; and translations have since appeared in many of the European and trans-atlantic languages. The number of copies that have been circulated throughout the world, must amount to many millions; upwards of thirty editions, in this country, are regularly kept in print; and, upon a moderate computation, the average annual sale in England only cannot be less than eighty thousand. It was stated some years ago upon authority, that two institutions, the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, and the Religious Tract Society, had distributed upwards of one hundred thou-

* "I would ask," says Mr. Moyle to one of his correspondents, "the grave divine you mention, what warrant he has for this conceit from scripture, where we are told more than once that the day of the Lord shall come as a thief; that is, without giving any warning at all. I might tell him, that a superstitious observation of signs in the heavens, is condemned in the Old Testament as a rag of heathenism, and a kind of idolatry. Upon the whole matter, I am apt to think, that the brains of this divine are as full of vapours, as the air hath been of late, and that they have produced the same effect in his head, viz. new light, and set him a prophecing." *Works of Walter Moyle, Esq.* i. 368—371.

sand. It is an honourable distinction, that the most popular books in the English, and probably in any other language, have proceeded from the pens of nonconformists. In proof of the accuracy of this statement, there need only be instanced the “Pilgrim’s Progress” of Bunyan; the “Saint’s Rest” of Baxter; the “Rise and Progress of Religion” of Doddridge; the “Divine Songs” of Watts; and the “Robinson Crusoe” of De Foe. Wherever the English name is known, and its language has penetrated, these productions have travelled, the heralds of the literature and religion of the country of their birth.

Of the merit of the Divine Songs a very high opinion has been entertained, of which their extensive dispersion affords evident proof. The writer, with singular felicity, adapts himself to the feeble capacity of childhood; his rhymes present a rare combination of the simple, the useful, and the attractive; and, perhaps, no equal instance can be found in our literature, of the truths of religion, the duties of morality, and the spirit of poetry, being so admirably accommodated to an infantine comprehension. It is no slight praise to have expounded the sublimest lessons of philosophy to the educated, and, at the same time, to have put into “the mouths of babes and sucklings,” such plain and beautiful effusions. Dr. Johnson’s striking eulogy should not be withheld: “For children,” he remarks, “he condescended to lay aside the scholar, the philosopher, and the wit, to write little poems of devotion, and systems of instruction, adapted to their wants and capacities, from the dawn of reason through its gradations of advance in the morning of life. Every man acquainted with the common principles of human action, will look with veneration on the writer, who is, at one time, combating Locke, and at another, making a catechism for children in their fourth year. A voluntary descent from the dignity of science, is, perhaps, the hardest lesson that humility can teach.”* In such compositions as the following, “Whene’er I take my

* Johnson’s Life of Watts.

walks abroad;" "My God, who makes the sun to know;" "Lord, how delightful 'tis to see;" "And now another day is gone;" "'Tis the voice of the sluggard;" "How fair is the rose," &c., we see genius and devotion coming down to the level of the most juvenile understanding. Had Watts written nothing beside, his name would have lived for ever; they form one of the most precious boons which the church of Christ has ever received from the hands of uninspired man; and they will be repeated by the seed of the righteous on earth, until they hear and learn the songs of the blessed in heaven.

Many of the correspondents of Watts refer to the happy influence of his Songs upon the minds of children; and several striking testimonies to this effect are upon record. A Welch divine observes, "I have seen the sweet delight and joy with which they have been read by many of the young. On the hearts of five children in my own connexions, they have, by the blessing of God, made deep impressions; and one of these the other day died comfortably, repeating them a few minutes before his departure." A religious periodical relates the following affecting instance of the conversion of a mother: "A poor wretched girl, religiously educated, but now abandoned to misery and want, with an illegitimate child, was struck with horror at hearing this infant daughter repeat, as soon as she could well speak, some of the profane language she had taught her by example. She trembled at the thought, that she was not only going to hell herself, but leading her child thither. She instantly resolved the first sixpence she could procure, should purchase Watts's Divine Songs, of which she had some recollection, to teach her infant daughter. She did so; and, on opening the book, her eye caught the following striking stanza:

'Just as the tree cut down, that falls
To north or southward, there it lies;
So man departs to heav'n or hell,
Fix'd in the state whereiu he dies.'

She read on; the event ended in her conversion, and she lived and died an honourable professor of religion.”* Thousands and tens of thousands of others, have recurred in after years to these lessons of their childhood; and not a few have traced to the impressions made by their means their direction to the paths of virtue and religion.

An edition of the *Songs for Children*, revised and altered, was published anonymously in the year 1785, and generally attributed to the celebrated Mrs. Barbauld. The design of the accomplished editor was, to accommodate Watts’s little work to the principles of Unitarianism, in order to prepare it for circulation among the juvenile members of that body. After a compliment to the author for his pleasing versification, she remarks in the preface,† that “Doctor Watts’s little book has been considered as very defective, or rather erroneous, by great numbers of serious Christians; for though it has been very credibly reported, and generally believed, that he changed many of his religious principles before his death; nevertheless there are retained in his book some particular doctrines and phrases, which his better judgment would probably have corrected or expunged. But, be this as it may, the present editor has judged it expedient to make many alterations in both these respects. It has been,” she further remarks, “her principal design to confine all the ascriptions of praise and thanksgiving to the one only living and true God, to whom alone all praise and thanksgiving are most justly due.” It will only be necessary to observe here, that, whatever change Watts’s religious opinions underwent, it was not such as to interfere with the sentiments expressed in his *Songs*, much less to sanction, in the slightest degree, the alterations and omissions of the arian editor. The hymns entitled, “Praise to God for Redemption,” and, “The Hosanna, or Salvation ascribed to Christ,” are omitted in the spurious edition; and

* *Evang. Mag.* vol. xii. p. 288.

† Pref. dated Nov. 17, 1785.

the doxologies of Dr. Samuel Clarke, are inserted in the place of those of Watts. A few specimens of this so-called improved version the reader may be curious to see :

ORIGINAL EDITION.

ARIAN EDITION.

SONG VII. VERSE 6.

“Here would I learn how Christ has dy’d,
To save my soul from hell;
Not all the books on earth beside,
Such heavenly wonders tell.”

“Here would I learn how Jesus dy’d,
To prove his gospel true;
Not all the books on earth beside,
E’er so much good can do.”

SONG IX. VERSE 4.

“Dear Lord, this book of thine
Informs me where to go
For grace, to pardon all my sin
And make me holy too.”

“*O God! thy book so good,*
Informs me what to do ;
Besides the knowledge of thy word,
It makes me holy too.”

VERSE 5.

“Here I can read and learn,
How Christ the Son of God
Did undertake our great concern ;
Our ransom cost his blood.”

“Here I can read and learn,
How Christ the Son of God
Has undertook our great concern,
And seal’d it with his blood.”

VERSE 6.

“And now he reigns above,
He sends his Spirit down,
To show the wonders of his love,
And make his gospel known.”

“*But God still reigns above,*
And sends his Spirit down,
To show the wonders of his love
And make the gospel known.”

SONG XVII. VERSE 2.

“Jesus who reigns above the sky,
And keeps the world in awe,
Was once a child as young as I,
And kept his Father’s law.”

“Jesus who *lives* above the sky,
Beloved of his God,
Tho’ once a child as young as I,
He kept his Father’s *word.*”

SONG XXVII. VERSE 4.

“With thoughts of Christ and things
divine,
Fill up this foolish heart of mine ;
That, hoping pardon through his blood,
I may lie down and wake with God.”

“With thoughts of Christ and things
divine,
Employ this foolish heart of mine ;
That, hoping pardon through his *word,*
I may lie down and wake with God.”

This production gave rise to severe animadversions; and a small pamphlet, exposing the unwarrantable liberties taken by the editor, appeared under the following singular title:—
 “A Letter to the Rev. Mr. ———, or a Gnat disturbing the Little Arian Foxes among the Vines; and part of the Remains of Dr. Watts cleared of a few Leaves and Rags of Arianism.”*

*The following incident connected with these Songs, related by a correspondent of the Protestant Dissenters’ Magazine, may not be unworthy of preservation. He notices a striking affinity between Watts’s metrical version of the Commandments, and an old inscription, now probably erased, upon the walls of the meeting-house at Broadstairs in Kent, which he concludes to have been the original of the poet’s composition. The meeting-house in question is part of an old catholic chapel, formerly dedicated to the Virgin, and held so sacred, that all vessels passing within sight of it lowered their sails, in token of veneration. A pious man, named Josiah Culmer, fitted up the place for worship among the dissenters in the year 1691, and inscribed the walls with texts of scripture and the following verses, which Watts has evidently abridged and modernised :

“THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

- “1. Have thou no other God but me.
 2. Unto no image bow thy knee.
 3. Take not the name of God in vain.
 4. Do not the sabbath day profane.
 5. Honour thy father, mother too.
 6. Take heed that thou no murder do.
 7. From whoredom keep thy body clean.
 8. Steal not although thy state be mean.
 9. Bear not false witness, shun that blot.
 10. What is thy neighbour’s covet not.”
- “These sacred words in these ten lines,
 Are strings of pearls and golden mines;
 Or heaven transcrib’d, wherein, no doubt,
 God’s mind to men is copy’d out.
 Bless God, my soul, that thus hath given,
 In this thy pilgrimage to heaven,
 Such sight and guidance; but withal
 Bless God for Christ that kept them all:
 Refuse not that which conscience bids thee choose,
 And choose not that which conscience says refuse.”

The good man who put up this inscription, little imagined in what perilous circumstances he might perchance place his pastor. Dr. Clarke of St. Albans rallies Doddridge in one of his letters, about losing the chance of an invitation to Hertford, by having the commandments in humble prose upon the walls of his meeting-house at Kibworth: “stumbling-blocks and superstitious customs,” says he, “which are very offensive to your Christian brethren. It is no wonder you are thought a legal preacher, when you have the ten commandments painted upon the walls of your chapel. Besides, you have a clerk, it seems, so impertinent as to say ‘Amen’ with an audible voice. ‘O tempora! O mores!’ that such a rag of popery should ever be tolerated in a congregation of protestant dissenters.”

The summer of 1720 was spent by Watts at Theobalds; and here he finished his "Art of Reading and Writing English," the preface of which is dated July 31st, the same year. The work of education has since made such rapid advances, and scholastic exercises have been so multiplied and improved, that this little treatise has now become obsolete, and all that is valuable in it may be found incorporated with more efficient elementary systems. The plan laid down in this piece, was originally formed for the instruction of the three daughters of Sir Thos. Abney, whose education Watts superintended, as a grateful acknowledgment of the favours he received from the family. It is, therefore, dedicated to his "Honoured young Friends," whom he addresses in the matronly style of the last century, as Mrs. Sarah, Mrs. Mary, and Mrs. Elizabeth. The institution of a charity-school at Cheshunt, under the patronage of the Abneys, was the immediate cause of its publication, being a suitable formulary to put into the hands of the children. Since the year 1716, when Mr. Watts was restored from four years of sickness and confinement, his health had continued precarious; and frequent affliction considerably entrenched upon his public labours. For some time it appears that he had been often unable to preach, and when he did appear in the pulpit, his exertions were followed by such weakness and pain, that he was obliged to retire immediately to bed, and have his room closed in darkness and silence. Not only was he incapacitated for regular public ministration, but for the private duties of the pastoral office; and though his place was ably supplied by Mr. Price, yet his comparative retirement was a source of anxiety to himself, and of sorrow to his flock. In such circumstances, to supply his lack of service he was induced to present his people with a volume of sermons from the press, that they might read in their families those truths which they had heard with so much delight from his lips. The volume is dedicated "To the Church of Christ assembling in Bury-Street," and dated at Theobalds, Feb. 21, 1721. "It often

grieves me," he observes, "to think how poor, feeble, and short, are my present labours among you; and yet what days of faintness I generally feel after every such attempt, so that I am continually prevented in my design of successive visits to you, by the want of active spirits, while I tarry in the city; and yet if I attempt to stay a week or ten days there, I find a sensible return of weakness, so that I am constrained to retire to the country air."* To be hindered from meeting his people in the sanctuary was a painful deprivation; but he had a place in their hearts, and experienced their kindest attentions.—"I think," says he, "I can pronounce it with great sincerity, that there is no place, nor company, nor employment, on this side heaven, that can give me such a relish of delight, as when I stand ministering holy things in the midst of you. It is in the service of your souls, that I have spent the best period of my life, ministering the gospel among you. Two-and-twenty years are now expired since you first called me to this delightful work; and from that time my care and labours, my studies and prayers, have been employed in your behalf. I trust they have been accepted with God, and through his almighty blessing have obtained some success. As to their acceptance with you, I have too many and plain evidences to admit a doubt of it; which I have often thankfully acknowledged to God and you. Your forward kindness hath always forbid my requests; nor do I remember that you ever gave me leave to ask any thing for myself at your hands, by your constant anticipation of all that I could reasonably desire." The discourses which he presented to his people, are fourteen in number, chiefly remarkable for a rich display of evangelical truth and Christian experience. They contain many happy illustrations, and pointed appeals to the conscience, and are expressed in a plain and perspicuous style. He seems ever to keep in mind the maxim,

* Preface to vol. i. of "Sermons on Various Subjects," 12mo. first edit. 1721.

“Smooth be your style, and plain, and natural,
To strike the sons of Wapping or Whitehall.”

An occasional redundancy of expression and prolixity in arrangement, will be overlooked in the striking and impassioned exhibitions of scripture truth, with which the volume abounds.

Two more publications appeared in 1721: “The Christian Doctrine of the Trinity, or Father, Son, and Spirit, three Persons and one God, asserted and proved; with their Divine Rights and Honours vindicated by plain Evidence of Scripture, without the Aid and Incumbrance of Human Schemes.” This was followed by three of the seven dissertations which constitute “The Arian invited to the Orthodox Faith.” These works are mentioned in the order in point of time in which they were published; but our notices of them are deferred to the chapter which will review the other writings of the author upon the same subject.

The year 1722 was one of peculiar affliction to Watts, for he lost his kind and beneficent patron, Sir Thos. Abney, who died on the 22nd of February, in the eighty-third year of his age. In a paper, entitled the “Honourable Magistrate,” inserted in the “Miscellanies,” he has left the following testimony to his virtues: — “He never aimed at superiority over his neighbours, though by the bounty of providence he grew richer than they. He had the universal respect due to goodness, long before he was made great; and when his fellow-citizens voted him into power and honour, he surveyed the province with a just reluctance, and shrunk away from grandeur; nor could any thing overcome his sincere aversion, but a sense of duty and hopes of public service.

“He passed through the chief offices of the city, and left a lustre upon them by the practice of such virtue and such piety as the chair of honour has seldom known: those who have attended that court since the year of his magistracy, search the register backward for twenty annual successions, and confess

he has had no rival.”* Sir Thomas’s funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Jeremiah Smith, one of the joint pastors at Silver-Street, and published under the title of “The Magistrate and the Christian.” To this was appended a few memorials of his life by Mr. Smith, and an elegiac poem by Watts, written at the request of Lady Abney. “The nation,” says the preface to the elegy, “mourns a good man lost from the midst of us, a public blessing vanished from the earth.—The city mourns the loss of a most excellent magistrate, a sure friend to virtue, and a guardian to the public peace.—The church of Christ mourns a beautiful pillar taken from the support and ornament of the temple.”† The commencement of the beautiful ode of Horace to Virgil, on the death of Quintilius Varus, “de morte Quintilii Vari,”‡ forms an appropriate motto to the piece, the word *Abneium* being inserted in the place of *Quintilium*. On the 1st of April, in the same year, Sir John Hartopp likewise terminated a long and honourable career, at the advanced age of eighty-five. He was buried in the church at Stoke Newington; and his funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Watts, April 15th, in the meeting-house of that place. This good man was signally favoured by providence. Born at a period when civil war was unfurling its sanguinary banner, he not only outlived the oppressions of the Stuarts, and witnessed the establishment of religious liberty under William, but beheld the machinations of its enemies finally defeated by the settlement of the Hanoverian family upon the throne. Among his papers, some of Dr. Owen’s sermons were found, which he had taken down in short-hand as they were delivered: several of them appear to have been preached at ordinations, and a few others at Stadham in Oxfordshire, between the years 1669 and 1682.§

* Miscell. No. 14.

† Reliq. Juv. No. 55.

‡ Hor. lib. i. od. 24.

§ Sir John appears to have accompanied the doctor in several of his excursions. Chiselhampton near Stadham, was the residence of Sir John D’Oyley, whose brother’s widow Owen married.

These were published in 1756, entitled "Thirteen Sermons, preached on Various Occasions, by the reverend and learned John Owen, D.D. of the last age," to which an advertisement is appended, stating, that "to be fully satisfied they are genuine, Mrs. Cooke,* of Stoke Newington, by this means informs the reader, that her pious grandfather, Sir John Hartopp, Bart. wrote them in short-hand from the doctor's own mouth, and then took the pains to transcribe them into long-hand, as thinking them worthy of being transmitted down to posterity." The year preceding his death, Sir John assisted in compiling memoirs of Owen, drawn up principally by Mr. Asty, pastor of the church in Rope-Makers' Alley, and prefixed to a folio volume of sermons and tracts, which was dedicated to the baronet.† The death of such men as Abney and Hartopp was a heavy loss to the dissenting interest, on account of their private worth and public spirit; but their kindness to Watts will keep their names in remembrance by the church of Christ—a kindness shown without exacting obsequious submission or displaying the usual pride of patronage.

The funeral sermon which Watts preached for his early patron, was founded upon Heb. xii. 23, "the spirits of the just made perfect;" and forms the second of the two discourses which he published, entitled "Death and Heaven, attempted in two funeral discourses in memory of Sir John Hartopp and his lady deceased." These appeared in July, 1722, with a dedication to his former pupil, who now succeeded to his father's title and estates. It would be a sufficient proof of the value and usefulness of this production to state, that it was a favourite book with the amiable Doddridge, his solace at Lisbon when in declining health, soothing him under the prospect of being

* Mrs. Cooke, second daughter of Nathaniel Gould, Esq., and Frances Hartopp, and wife of Thomas Cooke, Esq., some time governor of the bank. She died in 1763, aged 63, at Stoke Newington.

† Entitled "A Complete Collection of the Sermons, &c." The preface was written by Matthew Clarke, Thomas Bradbury, and Thomas Ridgley, D.D.

buried on a foreign strand. Its popularity carried it through several editions during the life-time of the author, and led to its circulation in America and on the continent. Professor Frank was so much pleased with it, that he engaged a person to translate it into German, which appeared after his death at Halle in Saxony, in the year 1727, with a commendatory preface by Professor Rambach, his successor in the divinity chair.* The plan of the latter discourse, and many of its leading features, are drawn from an ingenious treatise, published by a nameless author in 1683, entitled "The Future State, displaying the progressive Knowledge of the Blessed in Heaven." An edition of this little work was published in France in 1700, and a German translation appeared at Frankfort ad Mænum, with a preface by Dr. Pritius. Both of Watts's sermons abound with passages of considerable beauty; a vein of ardent piety runs throughout; the style is more than usually sprightly and vivacious; the fancy of the writer is evidently on the wing, and his imagination excursive, yet it does not attract from the highway of truth, nor betray into error and inconsistency. It has, indeed, been objected, that some of his views of the station, employment, and happiness, of perfected spirits are not expressly sanctioned by the sacred page; yet they harmonise with the general tenor of its brief and brilliant revelations, and are certainly supported by the inferential evidence of the scriptures. Though inspired truth maintains a dignified reserve with reference to the future—though it seeks not to gratify the longings of the ambitious, or the fretful impatience of the curious—though it sympathises in all its details with that secrecy which sits awful mistress of the creation around us—yet hints are thrown out which we may follow and improve, without incurring the charge of being wiser than what is writ-

* Professor Rambach is known as the author of a series of discourses on the Passion, preached during Lent, at Jena and Halle, in 1721 and 1722. They were published in 1730, and translated into English in 1763. An abridged edition was published by J. Gray, of York, in 1819.

ten. The landscape may have the mists and shadows of the morning twilight upon it, but the gleams of light that perforate the covering, and open a passage for our vision, enable us to form some idea of the scenery upon which the darkness rests. It requires, indeed, a steady hand to throw the sounding line over the battlements of the present; a matured judgment to know how far to proceed and when to stop; yet excursive as Watts's attempt undoubtedly is, in no instance does he trespass upon forbidden ground, or violate the boundary that separates faith from presumption. His views of the administration of future glory being proportioned to individual attainment—of heaven being a state of constant improvement—are generally held by the orthodox. The same progression that marks the character and experience of the Christian on earth, will doubtless attend him beyond the grave, and accompany him in his passage through eternity; he will go from "strength to strength" before "God in Zion," as well as during his journey to the "holy mountain;" and be ever advancing to an increased likeness to Jehovah, in knowledge, purity, and glory, in boundless progression and infinite approximation, discovering at every step some new tract of moral and intellectual splendour, of unpierced and unapproached light, yet to be attained. "In the world of spirits made perfect," he observes, "David and Moses dwell: both of them were trained up in feeding the flocks of their fathers in the wilderness, to feed and to rule the nation of Israel, the chosen flock of God: and may we not suppose them also trained up in the arts of holy government on earth, to be the chiefs of some blessed army, some sacred tribes in heaven? They were directors of the forms of worship in the church below under divine inspiration; and might not that fit them to become leaders of some celestial assembly, when a multitude of the sons of God above come at stated seasons to present themselves before the throne?" We know for certain that there are gradations of rank and authority among the angels that "excel in strength," thrones and dominions, prin-

cipalities and powers; and the same may be predicated of glorified saints, not merely upon the ground of analogy, but upon the scripture testimony that assigns to the possessor of ten talents rule over ten cities, and of five talents over five cities.

From the grave of Abney and Hartopp, Watts was called to the sick-bed of the Rev. Samuel Rosewell, the pastor and intimate friend of his deceased patron. The father of this excellent man was the Rev. Thos. Rosewell, celebrated for his trial for high treason before the infamous Jefferies, and unjust condemnation in the reign of Charles II. The son was one of the pastors at Silver-Street, and was confined to his chamber by his last illness at the time of Sir Thomas Abney's death. When informed of it he exclaimed, "Well, I shall soon go after." An interesting account of his conversation when visited by Watts, we have in one of the sermons which the latter preached at Bury-Street:—"Come, my friends," says he, "come into the chamber of a dying Christian; come, approach his pillow and hear his holy language: 'I am going up to heaven, and I long to be gone, to be where my Saviour is.—Why are his chariot wheels so long in coming?—I hope I am a sincere Christian, but the meanest and the most unworthy.—I know I am a great sinner, but did not Christ come to save the chief of sinners?—I have trusted in him, and I have strong consolation.—I love God, I love Christ.—I desire to love him more, to be more like him, and to serve him in heaven without sin.—Dear brother, I shall see you at the right hand of Christ.—There I shall see our friends that are gone a little before,' (alluding to Sir T. Abney.) —'I go to my God and to your God, to my Saviour and to your Saviour.' These," observes Watts,* "are some of the dying words of the Rev. Mr. S. Rosewell, when with some other friends I went to visit him two days before his death, and which I transcribed as soon as I came home with their assistance."

The health of Mr. Watts improved during the year 1722;

* Sermons.

he preached at times to his own people, and engaged in several occasional services; but he was not able regularly to occupy the pulpit at Bury-Street. He required frequent intervals of retirement and rest; and again, therefore, he resorted to publication, to compensate for the interruptions of his public ministry. The "glorious and controverted doctrine," as he terms it, of the trinity, at first engaged his thoughts; but his friends wisely advised him to undertake the easier and more useful task of transcribing some of his discourses for the press. The favourable reception which his first volume had met with, having reached a second edition, encouraged the undertaking, and another accordingly appeared in March, 1723. Literary exertion must have been a painful and laborious effort, as he states that his health only allowed him a few hours for study in a week; but such a mind as his could not remain inactive. "My slow returns of health, and want of capacity to fulfil my weekly ministrations in the church where God has placed me, is another constraining motive to attempt their edification in this manner. I give thanks to my God, who has blest this last year with some growing measures of strength for their service. I know they join their prayers with me for my perfect recovery; and I long and wait daily for the pleasure of constant labour amongst them. My duty demands this, and their love deserves it at my hands. And since I must not, I cannot, be quite idle in my retiring days, I thought of employing the press again for the service of their souls, to make some compensation for the inconstancy of my public ministry." The volume contained sixteen discourses, the first five devoted to Christian doctrine, and the rest to Christian morals. The same excellences and defects which characterise the former sermons, may be pointed out here: they are evangelical in sentiment, plain in style, and practical in their design; but marked with that diffuseness and prolixity, though to a less extent, that was noticed in their predecessors. The mode of sermonising common at the commencement of the last century, would be a severe trial to the

patience of a modern audience; the divines of that day in preparing for the pulpit, seem to have acted upon the assumption, that their hearers desired to have the entire subject in hand spread out before them, with all its relations, inferences, and improvements prominently displayed; and, hence, any one of the sermons of Flavel, Henry, Owen, and Watts, might with very few additions be readily converted into a theological treatise. The Countess of Hertford mentions a pleasing instance of the utility of the volume upon Christian morals: a man who had been for twenty years “a bad husband, and a notorious drunkard,” was by reading them reformed, and converted to a course of life the very opposite of his previous conduct.

The well-known treatise on Logic appeared in the year 1724; a treatise which was soon sanctioned by the imprimatur of the learned world; and which, while it raised the fame of the writer, contributed more than any other work of its day, to rescue the science from that disrepute, into which the quibbling of the schools had brought it. The object which Watts contemplated was indeed a magnificent one—to expound the laws of thought—to facilitate the detection of fallacy—to define the mental process which must take place in all correct reasoning—to furnish a test to try the validity of an argument, to analyse the elements of which it is composed, and ascertain the basis upon which it is built—an object which the professed champions of dialectics, have too often abandoned for the display of frivolous subtilties and sophistical disingenuousness. Perhaps the plan which he sketched out, is too vast and comprehensive to be prosecuted with complete success—perhaps it was an error to suppose, that a system could be constructed to effect all the purposes proposed, definite in itself and yet universally applicable—perhaps in aiming at too much he is in danger of leading us only to empty generalities—yet the attempt was in the highest degree useful, to counteract the prejudices which the perverters of logical science had excited against it, and to introduce sounder views upon the subject. It has been the

fate of dialectics, since the days of Zeno the Eleactic, who furnished the erotetic mode of disputation *ἐρωτησις*, Euclid of Megara, and Archytas, to whom the invention of the categories is attributed, to experience either gross perversion or almost total neglect; its utility has either been unwarrantably magnified or unduly contemned; the ancients who followed Aristotle were guilty of the former error, the moderns have been of the latter. Intellectual vanity led many of the early patrons of logic to elevate their favourite study into something profoundly mysterious; to involve it in obscurity and mist, in order to give undue importance to their own attainments; and thus to sacrifice the value of the science at the shrine of vulgar admiration. In the hands of the schoolmen it degenerated into a mere art of wrangling, a kind of gladiatorial exhibition with subtle fallacies and refined distinctions; while many of the studious recluses of the middle ages applied it to physical discoveries, and attempted to investigate the wide field of nature by the aid of the syllogism. This absurd misapplication deprived the "Queen of Arts" of the popular favour; the censures of Bacon and Locke almost banished her from the schools; while the mention of the Scholastic, Ramist, Semi-Ramist, Cartesian, Wolfian, and Kantian dialectic, the nice distinctions of the Arabians and Latins, Scotists, Thomists, Realists, and Nominalists, operated to inspire the prayer of St. Ambrose, *A Dialectica Aristotelis libera nos, Domine*. Yet logic rightly understood, and confined within the limits of its legitimate domain—the investigation of the canons of thought, and the application of these laws to intellectual acts—is a most important branch of study, and highly serviceable to the cause of truth. An individual may indeed attain considerable argumentative skill, who has never studied a system; but to deny its utility on this ground, would be just as absurd as to deny the utility of a grammar, from the circumstance that many write and speak correctly who have never learnt its rules.

The "Logic" of Watts was originally written for the assist-

ance of his pupil, young Hartopp, to whom it is dedicated; and was published at the importunity of Mr. John Eames, the preface being dated "London, August 24, 1724." In the dissenting academies it was soon adopted as a text-book, as well as used in the national colleges; and many flattering testimonies, as to its merit, were received by the author from some of the most distinguished men of the day. Dr. Secker, when bishop of Oxford, wrote to him, stating that it was by no means the only piece he had written read in the university with high esteem; and Lord Barrington remarks, "I intend, as some have done Erasmus or a piece of Cicero, to read it over once a year." Dr. Johnson observes, "Of his philosophical pieces, his 'Logic' has been received into the universities; and, therefore, wants no private recommendation. If he owes part of it to Le Clerc, it must be considered, that no man who undertakes merely to methodise or illustrate a system, pretends to be its author." The accuracy of some of his definitions has been questioned, but the substantial utility of the work is not deteriorated by them; the elementary principles of the science are propounded and its remote deductions; and the manual adapts itself to students of all classes, from the uninstructed tyro to the advanced logician. The tutors of our academies, have ever properly regarded the cultivation of accurate principles of reasoning, as a necessary branch of ministerial education. Truth will, indeed, always prevail where the advantages are equal, but error has not unfrequently obtained a partial triumph owing to the unskilfulness of those who have contended with it. A correct display of the doctrines of the faith, may be made without the aid of dialectics; but the gordian knot which Hume constructed in his Essay on Miracles, could only have been unravelled by a logician.

One of the most painful passages in the life of Watts now occurred—an unhappy dispute with the celebrated Rev. Thos. Bradbury. This gave rise to a long epistolary war, in the year 1725, in which considerable warmth was displayed by both

parties. Controversy is unfriendly to the interests of religion ; it has too often lost its humble and unobtrusive character when brought upon the theatre of debate ; and not unfrequently a conscientious difference of opinion has engendered private feuds and personal altercation. Between Watts and Bradbury an intimate friendship was formed soon after their settlement in the metropolis : to Bradbury he addressed a poem, entitled "Paradise," in 1708, and during the same year he invited him to preach at the opening of the Bury-Street meeting-house. But the character of this popular preacher by no means synchronised with that of Watts : his temperament was ardent and impetuous ; he was fond of witticisms in the pulpit ; and loved to meet error, not with the legitimate weapons of reason and scripture, but with stinging irony and cutting lampoons. A manuscript account of the London ministers, laments that he had not "as much judgment as quickness of wit, and as much temper as zeal." Honest and fearless in advocating the cause of truth, he was the dread of tories and jacobites ;* an unyielding champion for the divinity of his Master during the arian controversies ; but unfortunately his zeal was unaccompanied with suavity of manner, and his irresistible inclination to satirise frequently involved him in disputes with his brethren.

It is well known, that in several sermons at Bury-Street, as well as in various publications, which will hereafter be noticed, Watts indulged his fancy in explaining the doctrine of the trinity in a way which gave offence to the orthodox. The meetings at Salter's Hall upon the arian controversy, had given rise to no little animosity among the dissenting ministers ; and the rigid zeal for orthodoxy which Bradbury displayed upon

* Queen Anne is said to have attempted to silence "bold Bradbury" by the offer of a bishopric. Mr. Secretary Harley was the negociator ; but the mitre could not tempt the sturdy dissenter from his principles. A scheme for his assassination which failed, was planned by the Jacobites. When going up with a congratulatory address to George I., a nobleman, referring to the cloaks which the ministers wore, accosted him with, "Pray, Sir, is this a funeral ?" "Yes, my Lord," replied Bradbury ; "it is the funeral of the Schism Bill, and the resurrection of Liberty."

that occasion, roused him to oppose the views of his friend. At Salter's Hall both Watts and his colleague, Mr. Price, refused to divide with his party; and this circumstance might contribute to embitter his mind against them. But his mode of attack was exceedingly injudicious: the pulpit at Pinners' Hall was made the vehicle of ill-timed railing; and the friend of his early years was represented as a traitor to the faith, and a disciple of Socinus. Such treatment was calculated to ruffle and to excite the mind of Watts; and it is not to be wondered at, if in the correspondence which ensued he employed some strong and severe expressions. It is readily acknowledged, that he had laid himself open to animadversion; but there was no foundation for the charge of his opponent, that he designed "to have the divinity of his Saviour evaporate into an attribute, and his humanity to be different from the nature that he represented."* Had Mr. Bradbury in a serious and candid manner opposed what he considered unscriptural in the views of his friend, without descending to personal invective, the church might have been spared the painful spectacle of beholding two of its brightest ornaments engaged in angry disputation.

The correspondence is too lengthy and too personal to find a place in these pages, but some extracts may be adduced to show its general tenor. In a letter dated Lime-Street, Nov. 1, 1725, Watts observes, "On Friday night last, my worthy friend and neighbour, Mr. Caleb Wroe,† called on me at Theobalds, and desired me to convey the inclosed papers to you, with his humble thanks for the share you have given him in the late legacy entrusted with you; and he entreats that you would be pleased to pay it into the hands of this mes-

* Letter to Brad.

† Mr. Wroe was a member of Chews's Coffee House Club, in Bow-lane, a society of ministers, who met on a Thursday, and formed a design of composing a concordance to the scriptures. Dr. Obadiah Hughes, Dr. Jer. Hunt, and Dr. Lardner were also members.

senger, that I may return it to him ; and I cannot but join my unfeigned thanks with his that you are pleased to remember so valuable and pious a man in your distributions, whose circumstances are by no means above the receipt of such charitable bequests, though his modesty is so great as to prevent him from suing for an interest in them. But while I am acknowledging your unexpected goodness to my friend, permit me, Sir, to inquire into the reason of your conduct toward myself in so different a manner. It is true I live much in the country, but I am not unacquainted with what passes in town. I would now look no further backward than your letter to the board at Lime-Street, about six months ago, where I was present : I cannot imagine what occasion I had given to such sort of censures, as you pass upon me there, among others which you are pleased to cast upon our worthy brethren : nor can I think how a more pious and Christian return could have been made by that board at that time, than to vote a silence and burial of all past contests, and even of this last letter of yours, and to desire your company amongst us as in times past.* As a brother I entreat you to consider, whether all this wrath of man can work the righteousness of God. Let me entreat you to ask yourself, what degrees of passion and personal resentment may join and mingle themselves with your supposed zeal for the gospel. Jesus the Searcher of Hearts knows with what daily labour and study, and with what constant addresses to the throne of grace, I seek to support the doctrine of his deity as well as you, and to defend it in the best manner I am capable of ; and shall I tell you also that it was your urgent request among many

* Mr. Bradbury seems to have doubted this fact ; but in a subsequent letter he is assured, "if you do not believe that there was a vote passed at the board, that your company should be desired as in times past, and that all these late contests should be buried, ask your good friend, Mr. Horrocks, who came immediately from the board into our house, and conversed freely with me about it, acknowledging that the greatest part of hands were held up for that question, and remarking one or two that were not held up."

others, that engaged me so much further in this study than I at first intended. If I am fallen into mistakes, your private and friendly notice had done much more toward the correction of them than public reproaches."

To this letter Bradbury sent a rejoinder, dated Charter-House, Dec. 23, 1725: "I was in great hopes to have prevented both you and myself the trouble we may find in an answer to your letter, by conveying my thoughts in a free discourse with your brother [Richard Watts, M.D.], which yesterday I had an opportunity of doing. I read him part of your letter, and assured him as I went along that I was far from deserving the hard opinion you had conceived of me. But he was pleased, in a language which I thought it below both him to give and me to take, to convince me, that he was no proper messenger of my vindication to you." He goes on reiterating his charge of heresy: "I heard and saw the holy Sir John Hartopp, with tears running down his cheeks, lament your opposition to Dr. Owen, which he imputed to an instability in your temper, and a fondness for your own inventions." The heavy accusation implied in this passage was keenly felt by Watts; hence, he observes, in a letter dated Lime-Street, March 15, 1726, "as for my attempts to maintain the new and essential deity of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, I have often examined my own heart, and am not conscious to myself, that the pride and fondness of novelty has led me into any particular train of thoughts; and I beg earnestly that he that knows all things would search and try me in this respect. My only aim has been to guard this doctrine against the objections and cavils of men, and to set it in the most defensible light; and if I can see that done in any other form, I shall rejoice to bury all my papers in oblivion, or, if you please, to burn them all. My weaknesses of nature are so many, and perpetually recurring, that I am often called to look into the other world, and would not dare to write any thing that might derogate from the divine

ideas which scripture ascribes to God, my Saviour and my Sanctifier." The following passage in a postscript will be read with interest :—" You tell me that ' the plain drift of this whole imagination, viz. of resembling the being of God by the soul of man, is to destroy a Trinity of Persons.' Now I have often freely declared, and still declare, that I allow the greatest distinction possible between the sacred Three in the divine nature, which does not arise to three distinct conscious minds or spirits. Make it as great as you will short of this, and I acquiesce in it. But, then, since three distinct conscious minds is the true idea of three proper literal persons, whatsoever falls short of this can be but an analogical personality ; yet if any man will call this a proper divine personality, though it is but similar to human personality, I will not contend about words and names. And whereas I have sometimes called the Word and Spirit, in the divine nature, two distinct powers or principles of operation in the godhead, yet I have in many places told what I mean, viz. that the idea of distinct powers or principles of operation, being the greatest distinction that we can conceive in one spirit, it is the nearest analogical idea of the sacred Three that I can arrive at, always supposing there may be some unknown distinctions in the divine nature greater than the ideas we have of the powers or faculties in the soul of man. If I have either given you or any one else occasion to understand me in a different sense from what I now declare, I should be glad to retrieve any such mistake of my meaning."

Another ground of difference between these two eminent men, was the publication of the Psalms and Hymns. It appears that Watts had mentioned originally his design to Bradbury, of composing a version of the Psalms, and was encouraged in his intention by him ; but upon its publication, after their misunderstanding had probably commenced, he severely attacked the production in conversation and from the pulpit. Not only did he continue to use Dr. Patrick's version in his own congregation ;

but, in deference to his prejudices, the compositions of Watts were not introduced at Pinner's Hall, where he lectured, until after his death. It is said, that an unlucky clerk, on one occasion, having stumbled upon one of Watts's stanzas, Bradbury got up and reproved him with, "Let us have none of Mr. Watts's whims." In objecting to allow the metrical version of Watts to be sung in his congregation, he was by no means alone, though none of his brethren imitated him in his rude and unmanly attacks. He appears to have regarded it as a presumptuous meddling with the sacred text, a supplanting of the word of God with the words of man, to alter and accommodate the language of David to the clearer light of the gospel dispensation. Hence, he speaks of the Imitations as "mangling," "garbling," and "transforming" the songs of Sion; as an attempt to "rival" it with the psalmist, as to which is to be considered henceforth the "sweet singer of Israel;" a design of which Watts will at once be acquitted by every candid mind. The charge was, however, preferred against him by more than one of his brethren, and he thus replies to it in a letter to Bradbury, January 14, 1726: "You tell me that I rival it with David, whether he or I be the sweet psalmist of Israel: I abhor the thought; while yet, at the same time, I am fully persuaded, that the Jewish psalm-book was never designed to be the only psalter for the Christian church. We may borrow many parts of the prayers of Ezra, Job, and Daniel, as well as of David, yet if we take them entire as they stand, and join nothing of the gospel with them, I think few of them will be found proper prayers for a Christian church; and yet I think it would be very unjust to say, 'we rival it with Ezra, Job,' &c. Surely their prayers are not best for us, since we are commanded to ask every thing in the name of Christ. Now I know no reason why the glorious discoveries of the New Testament should not be mingled with our songs and praises as well as with our prayers. I give solemn thanks to my Saviour with all my soul, that he hath honoured me so far as to bring his name

and gospel in a more evident and express manner into Christian psalmody."

A third ground of difference was Watts's friendship with Lord Barrington, and his interference in behalf of his lordship's election as member for Berwick-upon-Tweed. That town contained a considerable number of dissenters, and the influence of a few of the metropolitan ministers was employed to promote the return of such a firm friend to the cause of nonconformity. This was for the second parliament in the reign of George I.; and Messrs. Neal, Nesbit, and Clark, with Watts, wrote strongly recommending Lord Barrington to the electors. This nobleman had been an intimate friend of Bradbury's, and a member of his congregation; but owing to his violence at Salter's Hall, and a difference of opinion in that controversy, he connected himself with Dr. Hunt at Pinner's Hall, whose ministry he afterwards attended. The encomiums passed upon him might be galling to Mr. Bradbury, but they were such as the services he had rendered to the state demanded; and Watts was perfectly justified in recommending to the dissenting interest at Berwick an individual of whom the body had reason to be proud. "When I knew," says Bradbury in a letter, dated Charter-Square, March 7, 1726, "that Messrs. Nesbit, Clark, Neal, and Raper, had writ to Berwick in recommendation of Lord Barrington and Mr. Neville, my correspondent told me that Mr. Watts had sent them a letter of the most extravagant encomiums that ever were heard; and that you represented Lord Barrington as something more than a man." To this Watts replied, Lime-Street, March 15, "I am well assured that as in those days I spent almost all my time at Theobalds, under much weakness, so I wrote nothing but what with uprightness and honesty of heart I designed for the service of the dissenting interest; and declared at the same time, that I was no partisan of my Lord Barrington's in that subscribing contest (at Salter's Hall); however in my judgment I thought

him a very fit representative for a town which had many dissenters in it."

It is obvious that long before the parties came to an open rupture, the harmony that once subsisted between them had ceased; the bitter altercations upon the Arian heresy widened the breach; and a few years afterwards Watts took up the pen to expostulate. A lengthened correspondence ensued, but no satisfactory result was obtained, and in the course of a few months the subject appears to have dropped by mutual consent. A smart repartee is, however, upon record with reference to this controversy. At the Red-Cross-Street Library, when a number of ministers were met together, Mr. Watts having something to propose rose up to speak, but owing to the feebleness of his voice it was with difficulty that he could make himself heard. Upon this Mr. Bradbury called out to him—"Brother Watts, shall I speak for you?" to which he significantly replied, "Brother Bradbury, you have often spoken against me." If in reviewing now this painful dispute, an impartial observer has occasion to blame the one party, for the absence of that charity that "hopeth all things;" he will also remember, that there was cause for animadversion, with reference to the other, in a partial deviation from the orthodox doctrine, and a proneness to torture the mystery of godliness into a congruity with new schemes and explications. The spirit which Watts manifested during this unfortunate altercation, will be best seen from the following extracts:—"It has always been a painful and grievous thing to me, to hold a contest with any person living, much more with one for whom I have had so sincere an esteem, more especially since my constitution and my spirits are much broken by long illness. If, therefore, the temper of your mind continues the same as runs through a good part of your two letters to the board and me, I can neither desire nor expect a return to this paper; nor am I willing by any means to carry on such an epistolary contention. If you think fit to talk with me on any of these heads, in a spirit of

meekness, I am very ready to give you further satisfaction about any of them.”—“Let us examine concerning what is past, and let us take care for the time to come, that what we write or print with regard to our brethren, be expressed in such language as may dare appear and be read by the light of the last conflagration, and the splendour of the tribunal of our returning Lord.”

The year 1725 produced several minor publications: “The Knowledge of the Heavens and the Earth made easy;” “Prayers composed for the Use and Imitation of Children;” “A Discourse on the Education of Children and Youth;” and the second part of the Dissertation on the Trinity, or “The Arian invited to the Orthodox Faith.” These various productions, some of them rather voluminous, evidence the uncommon industry of the writer, and are monuments as well of his benevolence and piety. A hint is thrown out in one of his prefaces, that some “particular friends” imagined his time employed in too mean a service; but he nobly replies, that “nothing is too mean for a servant of Christ, if he may thereby promote the honour of his Master.” The first of these pieces, “The Knowledge of the Heavens and the Earth,” though containing much accurate information, has been long since superseded by more complete synopses of astronomical and geographical science. It appears to have been submitted to the inspection of Mr. John Eames,* F.R.S. to whom the treatise is dedicated.

* “Mr. Eames,” says Mr. Wilson, “was a native of London, and received his classical learning at Merchant Taylor’s School. He afterwards pursued a course of academical studies, with a view to the Christian ministry; yet he never preached but one sermon, when he was so exceedingly agitated and confused, that he was scarcely able to proceed. There was also unhappily a great defect in his organs of speech, and his pronunciation was exceedingly harsh, uncouth, and disagreeable. These circumstances discouraged him from renewing the attempt; so that quitting the pulpit entirely, he devoted himself to the instruction of young men, whose education for the ministry among Protestant dissenters was patronised and assisted by the Independent fund. His department included the languages, mathematics, moral and natural philosophy. Mr. Eames was a man of extensive learning, and a universal scholar. His scientific learning procured him the acquaintance and friendship of Sir Isaac Newton, to whom he was on some occasions singularly useful.

The preface is dated "Theobalds in Hertfordshire, June 11, 1725," and a note, dated "August 20," is appended to it by Mr. Eames, stating that but very few alterations had been made in the work. The Prayers for Children furnish another proof of the writer's kindly regard for the young, and of his truly catholic spirit; for whilst on the one hand, he would not with the churchman impose forms of devotion as necessary, he did not with a superstitious abhorrence blindly reject their aid as sinful. The Discourse on the Education of Children is an admirable manual for parental guidance, and contains all that is valuable in more recent treatises, but with a greater prominence given to moral and religious culture. It was in such employments as these that Watts especially delighted; and though partially superseded by more modern efforts of Christian philanthropy and zeal, yet his works are still in use, and will be remembered to his immortal honour. His praise is deservedly in all the churches, who, having given lessons to ripened manhood and to hoary age, has taught thousands and tens of thousands of the young, to draw nigh to the throne of grace with the voice of prayer and the song of thanksgiving.

FROM THE REV. JOSEPH STANDEN.*

"Newbury, May 26, 1721.

"Dear Sir,

"I have more thanks to offer than a man of your generous spirit will be persuaded to receive for all the favours you have been pleased to confer on me, than whom none can

Sir Isaac introduced him to the Royal Society, of which he became a member, and he was employed to prepare and publish an abridgement of their transactions." *Diss. Chur.* ii. 73, note.

Mr. Eames died suddenly, June 29, 1744. "What a change," said Watts to Dr. Gibbons, "did he experience—but a few hours between his lecturing to his pupils, and his hearing the lectures of angels!"

* This gentleman was a dissenting minister at Newbury, Berkshire. He afterwards entered the Church of England, and continued his ministry either in the same town or its immediate neighbourhood. Mr. Standen wrote some lines addressed

more value them, though few can less deserve them. I know an hearty acknowledgment and continual gratitude (which I am sure I cannot be without) is a better return than a multitude of words. I am very particularly obliged to you, Sir, for your last invaluable present. May that excellent book* (through the divine blessing) answer the design of the author, and the end which the several subjects so naturally lead to; that profane and unthinking men may no longer make a jest of their own reason, while they banter the inward testimony which an improved Christian has for the truth of his religion; that mankind may more value those noble faculties by which they are distinguished from the brutes, and that supernatural grace by which alone at last they can be distinguished from the devils; that they may seek help from God rather than creatures, and not only spread their sorrows before the God of all consolation, but their sins before him, who can abundantly pardon; that there may be fewer instances of persons in whom man may think he sees all the beauty of an angel without, while the all-seeing God knows there is the hideous deformity of a devil within, and that the world may be brought to so just and reasonable a taste and judgment, as not to think that the former makes amends for the latter; that the hidden life of Christians may be their better part, and that they may more place their felicity in nearness to the great Author of it, and may be more ambitious of rising by the heavenly scale of TRUE, than the earthly one of *imaginary* blessedness, and so may every day grow more fit for a solemn appearance before God both in this and the other world!

“I had the happiness to see your good father three weeks

to the author of the “*Horæ Lyricæ*,” April 17, 1706, which are generally printed with the *Lyric Poems*. At the time when he conformed, several others adopted the same course; as Butler, who became bishop of Durham and the author of the “*Analogy*,” Seeker, Seager, Hasset, Bellamy, Briscoe, Billie, and the two Jacombs. *Calamy’s Life and Times*, vol. ii. 501.

* The first volume of *Sermons*.

ago at Southampton; and Mrs. Watts, your mother, was then so well as to appear abroad. I hope they will both live some years the longer, being supported with the joy of having such a son. I saw the dear Sarissa* too, whose temper and spirit I am satisfied you are pleased with. •

“Shall we never see you at Newbury? Nobody (hardly Sarissa herself, had she been in my case) could more regret your passing by without my snatching a look or two at you. It will (I confess) more show my respect to Mr. Watts, if I go to Southampton on purpose to meet him for an hour or two, and that I beg you will permit me to do by letting me have timely notice of your being there, as (if I mistake not) somebody told me you intended this summer.

“I have not the honour to know Sir Thomas and his family, but cannot forbear congratulating them on the happiness of your company, which, in my opinion, is a greater honour than titles and coronets.

“I beg again a line from you, and pray give me some hopes that you will admit me to an interview with you at Southampton, which will be a greater satisfaction than you imagine to,

“Dear Sir,

“your most obliged friend,

“and most obedient servant,

“J. STANDEN.”

FROM LORD BARRINGTON.

“Gerard-Street, July 8, 1721.

“Rev. Sir,

“I am obliged to you, that you would take the trouble to acquaint me with Mrs. Oakes’s distress; and the rather,

* Sarah, Mr. Watts’s sister.

because you have been the first from whom I have learned the deplorable state of her affairs: she has never acquainted me with them herself, nor by any other friend than by you. She sent to me, indeed, to desire me to lend her two guineas, to buy some tea in order for sale, she having been disappointed in some monies she expected to receive, which I refused her. But instead of acquainting me or any other of our family with her necessities, she and her daughter seemed rather to conceal them. I know not what she has said to you, to induce you to use some expressions in your letter. But you see by this how little my honour, as you express yourself, can be really touched by her difficulties, whatever they be, since she has not thought fit to acquaint me with them, till I received the favour of yours. And though I doubt not but Sir Thomas Abney, on his notifying of her extreme want to you, took care to relieve her, yet, since I received yours, I have sent her something for immediate relief.

“I have always been desirous to relieve her since her husband’s death in the most effectual manner. I thought that would not be by my allowing her a pension, or using any interest I could, or she could, with other friends to do the like, imagining they would be soon weary of it; but rather, to raise a sum of money to put her in a way to maintain herself. She told me Sir Thomas Abney was of the same opinion, and thought that her selling tea, coffee, &c. would be a proper way for her to engage in, and would concur with me in helping her to a sum of money to set her up. I desired her to tell Sir Thomas I would give my proportion, and desired him to name. She told me he said I must name first. After that I named twenty pounds; she then told me Sir Thomas said, I must pay it before he would give any thing. I told her I was willing to give my money, but thought it would be of no use unless Sir Thomas would give in proportion, because I knew if I did it would be money flung away; for twenty pounds would not be sufficient to lay in a stock to support a trade, but fifty

pounds would. However, she afterwards told me that Sir Thomas would not do any thing, nor say what he would do, till I had paid the money. In confidence that a proportionable allowance would have been made by that family, I gave her my money; twenty pounds she had from me. She had a great deal before. She had also five pounds, I think, from my brother Bendysh, and five pounds they procured her from another friend. And I must say, that I take the loss of all this money, besides credit that I have given her for six pounds' [worth] of tea, and five pounds since my brother Bendysh has advanced her, to be all owing to her not having that proportionable support that induced us all to give her what we have.

"She is my relation, but neither she nor any of her family have pretended much friendship or good-will to me or mine. Her and their friendships have been much more elsewhere than with us. I do not think this a reason for me to abandon her in her distress; but sure this is a very strong reason for others related to her in blood, to co-operate with me in supporting her and my uncle Grey. I am sure my family have suffered a great deal more by that family than Sir Thomas Abney's has done; and I neither have been, nor am wanting to my uncle Grey nor to Mrs. Oakes.

"I like the scheme you propose in relation to Mrs. Oakes's family very well, and shall be very ready to contribute my share and proportion to it with Sir Thomas Abney; though I have expenses of the same kind with him, in respect of three families that I represent, and expenses of a very public nature too. I shall be very glad that those who are more capable of executing that scheme, will see it performed, and will be pleased to let me know my quota, which shall be cheerfully and thankfully complied with by, Reverend Sir,

"Your most humble faithful servant,

"BARRINGTON."

“P.S. The reason why I would not lend her two guineas, for the better carrying on of her trade, was, that I thought if she had such a fund of credit, she would never keep within any bounds.

“My humble service and my lady’s attend Sir Thomas, my Lady Abney, and Mrs. Gunston.”

FROM LADY MARY LEVETT.*

“March 10, 1722.

“Sir,

“This presents with grateful acknowledgments for your book and picture ; both are worthy of a better place than I have to put them in. I did not receive them till last Monday. So far as I have looked into your book,† I have reason to believe that the method, together with the spirit and temper, is best suited to convince of error, and establish in the most important articles of Christianity, and hope the divine blessing will by these your labours produce these happy effects. I have been much concerned for the death of Sir Thomas Abney, at a juncture when his zeal as a magistrate, and his prayers as a good Christian, are so much wanted. I beg my service to Lady Abney ; tell her I sympathise with her, for though Sir Thomas was full of years, and nature was spent, yet to lose such a husband, parent, and master must be matter of deep sorrow : one every way so fit for heaven must be a diffusive

* The relict of Sir William Levett, Alderman of London. To this lady Calamy dedicated his three sermons at Salter’s Hall, entitled, “God’s concern for his glory in the British isles, and the security of Christ’s church from the gates of Hell.” She was an intimate friend of his mother’s, and was with her when she died at Bath while on a visit. The doctor in his dedication notices her “ladyship’s remarkable steadiness in opposition to ecclesiastical impositions, joined with a visible concern for real holiness, a catholic spirit, and a hearty affection to all without distinction that are for pure and undefiled religion.” She died soon after the date of this letter. “Oct. 15, (1722.) Died my good friend, the Lady Levett, at Bath.” *Cal. Life and Times*, vol. ii. 463.

† “Christian Doctrine of the Trinity.”

blessing to our earth. But, however, her ladyship is not unacquainted with her duty, or an experimental benefit by a due submission to the darkest dispensations. She knows the God who sends — the errand — and tendency of afflictions. And here I cannot but say, I am more apt to pity a carnal wretch under afflictions than a pious soul ; the one is so hardened that he usually either contemns or reproaches God, or studies indirect methods to relieve himself ; whilst the other is more solicitous to have trouble sanctified than removed. Happy is my lady in such a disposition, and in having you, Sir, to mention her complaints to, and ask your advice and prayers ! That you may have confirmed health of body, and growing degrees of a prosperous soul, and abundant success in your ministerial labours, is the wish of, Sir,

“ With great respect, your servant,

“ MARY LEVETT.”

TO THE REV. HUBERT STOGDON.*

“ Sir,

“ I take it as a piece of peculiar respect, that you should make a present to me of your letter in manuscript,† and deny yourself the satisfaction of your designed publica-

* This gentleman was the son of the Rev. Robert Stogdon, and grandson by the mother's side of the Rev. Francis Hubert, ejected by the Act of Uniformity from a living in Wiltshire. He was one of those who unfortunately departed from the faith of their fathers by adopting the Arian scheme, though in early life he was heard to inveigh warmly against the opinions of Whiston and Dr. Clarke. When about to propose himself for ordination before the united ministers of Devon and Cornwall, his altered principles naturally created a prejudice against him, and he withdrew from being a candidate. He afterwards resided with Mr. Billingsley, at Ashwick in Somersetshire, to whose congregation he preached for some years. Mr. Stogdon, though an anti pædobaptist, took the charge of a pædobaptist congregation at Troubridge in Wiltshire, in the year 1724, where he died Jan. 2, 1728. *Dr. Toulmin in Mon. Repos. February and March, 1809.*

† This was a narrative detailing the progress of Mr. Stogdon's inquiries, which resulted in his change of religious sentiment. Dr. Toulmin of Birmingham had it in his possession, but it was lost by lending it to a friend.

tion ; and that merely upon the slight notice given you by my bookseller of some further dissertations which I design to publish on the doctrine of the trinity. If you think I have delayed too long to make my acknowledgments to you, yet I am persuaded you will imagine it a sufficient excuse when I tell you, that the day before I received your manuscript I had a large pamphlet put into my hands, in answer to my little book of the trinity, which was published three days after, and which you may easily suppose has busied my thoughts, and employed the few hours of health which I enjoy.

“I thankfully receive, Sir, the great candour and respect with which your epistle treats me, and make this free confession to you, that the greatest part of your manuscript speaks much of my sense and thought concerning the doctrine of charity ; and if those arguments had been published alone to the world, and concluded with that most solemn and pious account of your friend in the three last pages, without any regard to my book, I would assure you, Sir, you should have found no answer from me, for I confess I cannot refute them.

“I might also tell you that there is some truth in this paragraph of yours, (viz.) ‘ In short you seem to me to have resolved to offend the one party as little as could possibly consist with pleasing the other, and keeping your conscience between both ; though you durst never say expressly, that your notion of the trinity is necessary to salvation, &c. Yet you convey your charity with such a secret hand,’ &c.

“Truly, Sir, I think this is but an observance of the rule of the great apostle (1 Cor. x. 32, 33), ‘ Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God ;’ neither to the zealous Athanasians, nor to the Arians, nor to the pious Christians of any party whatsoever. As there are some seasons wherein that advice of the apostle is necessary (Rom. xiv. 22), ‘ *Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God ;*’ so there are some seasons also, wherein a parallel

advice is as proper; ‘*Hast thou charity? Have it to thyself before God.*’ But I hope the seasons are growing to an end.

“Surely, Sir, you know so well the present temper of many Christians, that it is necessary for any man that would attempt to enlarge their charity, that he should make it appear first that he himself is sound in the faith according to their judgment of things. Till this is done, whatever he shall say upon the principles and duties of love, will be vain and insignificant; for they imagine that the author hath need of charity for himself, and therefore he bespeaks it. *Now since I am well satisfied in the general doctrine, that true and proper godhead is ascribed to our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit in many places of scripture*, I was willing first to make that appear with such strength and evidence as I could in a few plain pages, and set what I think is truth in the most convincing light, though I am doubtful of the common schemes of explication. And I thought it enough in that book to lay down some principles and foundations of charity, without drawing out the inferences at large. The 247th page of my book expresses the same sentiments with the 21st and 22nd propositions, even though your notions of communion in or with godhead may not arise so high as mine do.

“If I have in any expressions betrayed an uncharitable spirit, I hope the world will forgive what I myself do not approve, and will understand those words in a sense no more severe than what I had when I wrote them, which I shall show immediately. And as I hope I have been enabled to do something in that book towards the establishment of the truth; so, if I can find that the world will hear it, I trust God will enable me to do some further service in the propagation of charity in due time. I have some dissertations of that kind by me at present; but I would willingly delay and manage my publication of them in such a manner, that they might have the best influence upon those pious souls whose charity is too narrow. And I pray God to direct and guide my thoughts and deter-

minations for this purpose. In the pursuit of this design, if I should ever have occasion to cite some pages of yours hereafter, as received in a private letter from an unknown hand, I persuade myself that you will be pleased to see it used in so happy a design ; but I can determine nothing yet.

“And now, Sir, I have spoken my sentiments of charity with so much freedom, give me leave also to add, that if our Lord Jesus Christ be the true God, or has the fulness of the godhead dwelling bodily in him, so as to make one complex person, or principle of action and passion, as I verily believe he has; then I do *not* think it a matter of small importance whether we believe his godhead or no. Though my charity can extend itself towards persons who are humble and sincere in their search, and pray earnestly for divine assistance, even to such persons as you describe in the end of your letter; yet I think they ought to have a most solemn awe upon their own spirits, lest they should degrade that glorious person from his oneness with the Father in true godhead, whom so many ages of Christians have believed to be truly one with God, according to his own expression, ‘*I and the Father are one.*’ And in my opinion the glory of his mediation, the all-sufficiency of his atonement, the almighty prevalence of his intercession, his power to send the Holy Spirit, and to govern the known and unknown worlds, depend upon his divinity, or the union of the man Jesus to the eternal godhead, constituting one person or one complex principle of action. It awakens, therefore, a sort of religious horror, when some persons seem to take pleasure in a contemptuous debasing of the character of our blessed Lord, and roundly assert that Christ is but a mere creature, and that he is called God only for the same reason that angels or magistrates are called gods, or as the devil himself is called the god of this world. I wish these things were laid to heart by all who profess sober and pious inquiries into the truth.

“I own, Sir, I find nothing like this sort of language in your letter.

“But there are two or three things in your epistle which I particularly take occasion to remark, partly to declare my agreement with you, and partly to show my different thoughts.

“You observe, Sir, that I use the words necessary honours, and due honours, paid to the Son and Spirit, in such a cautious manner, as though I did not mean them explicative of each other, but in a different sense, p. 245 and 246. Indeed, Sir, you are perfectly in the right; for I cannot call all those honours which are due to our Lord Jesus Christ, as he has communion in the divine nature, to be necessary to our salvation, and it is obvious enough to every thoughtful reader.

“You observe again, Sir, and you own that you are a little warm there, that I levelled that text, 2 Pet. ii. 1, against my brethren, which my conscience tells me does not belong to them, (*viz.*) *damnable heresies, denying the Lord that bought them*. And you say, that it stands in my book temptingly offering itself to that unrighteous service. Now, Sir, I dare freely confess, that I do not believe that scripture particularly refers to those that deny the godhead of Christ, but probably to those who deny him as a holy governor of his people, or at least in general to those that deny him in any of those powers, properties, offices, or characters, the belief of which is necessary to salvation; and I wish upon second thoughts that I had so explained it.

“But, however, without such a paraphrase, I think I have not given such just reason as you suppose, to apply it directly and peculiarly to those that deny the deity of Christ; for when the first part of my book is spent in proving the deity of Christ and the Spirit, the second part of my book in proving their personality, and the third or last part, in proving their several offices and relations in which they stand to us; and upon a recapitulation I make this conclusion, that there are such things as damnable heresies when persons deny the Lord that bought them; this should with much more justice be referred to the denial of all or any of the preceding pro-

perties, characters, or offices of Christ, the belief of which is necessary to salvation, and not merely confined to the doctrine of his deity.

“You ask me, Sir, how we shall know a seeming contradiction from a real one. I reply, that by a seeming contradiction I mean that which at first sight appears so, but after due inspection and inquiry cannot be plainly and clearly proved to be a contradiction. And whatever you may imagine concerning some of the known and common schemes of explication of the doctrine of the trinity (which yet I can by no means give up), yet I entreat you to believe, that there is or may be some uncommon or unknown scheme of explication which may not be a contradiction; and I cannot part with this doctrine, which seems to me so plainly revealed in scripture, till the doctrine itself be either directly disproved from the word of God, or till all possible schemes of explication (both known and unknown) are either actually refuted or precluded.

“I further add, that if ever my book of the trinity should live to another edition, I should make you sensible that I lie ever open to conviction, and should make some corrections, for which you and others have given me proper hints and just occasion, and for which I return my acknowledgments.

“To conclude, Sir, the civility and reasoning of your letter deserve a larger and better answer than my want of health and many other necessary engagements will at present allow; and if, besides all the candour of your writing, you allow me to suppose that yourself are the person described in the three last pages of your epistle, my esteem and respect for you is doubled. That God would send [guide] you and me and every inquiring Christian into the firm belief of all important truths, and the constant practice of holiness and love, is the hearty prayer of, Sir,

“Your humble servant,

“I. W.

“August 4, 1722.”

“P.S. I do not forbid a prudent communication of this letter; yet I entreat you would admit no copy of it, but treat it as I do your MSS. according to our Saviour’s rule, Matt. vii. 12.”

TO THE REV. SAMUEL ROSEWELL.

“Dear Brother Rosewell,

“Your most agreeable and divine conversation two days ago, so sweetly overpowered my spirits, and the most affectionate expressions which you so plentifully bestowed on me, awakened in me so many pleasing sensations, that I seemed a borderer on the heavenly world when I saw you on the confines of heaven, and conversed with you there. Yet I can hardly forbear to ask for your stay on earth, and wish your service in the sanctuary, after you have been so much within view of the glorious invisibilities which the gospel reveals to us. But if that hope fail, yet our better expectations can never fail us. Our anchor enters within the veil, where Jesus our forerunner is gone to take our places: Heb. vi. ult. May your pains decrease, or your divine joys overpower them! May you never lose sight of the blessed world, and of Jesus the Lord of it, till the storm is passed, and you are safely arrived. And may the same grace prepare me for the same mansions, and give you the pleasure of welcoming to those bright regions

“Your affectionate and unworthy

“Friend and brother,

“IS. WATTS.

“Lime-Street, 7th April, 1722.

“Just going to Theobalds.

“P. S. Our family salute you: they were much affected, pleased, and edified with their late visit. Grace be with you and all your dear relations. Amen.”

TO MRS. ROSEWELL.*

“Madam,

“When nature has vented itself a little, and poured out its first sorrows, it is proper then to apply the means of consolation. The skilful surgeon will let a fresh wound bleed a little before he binds it up, and thereby prevents inward disorders, and makes surer work in healing it up. Your griefs have had their loose, and the floods have almost overwhelmed you. It is time now, Madam, to stop the current, and raise your head above the waves. It is time to fix your thoughts on all the cheerful and supporting circumstances that attend a mournful providence. My dear brother Rosewell was a zealous servant of Christ in his church on earth, and he has called him to a better and nobler service in heaven. Behold him as living on high, and forget him in his dying agonies. Behold him released from every pain, nor let fancy entertain you with the echo of his ancient groans. “Old things,” with him, “are past away; behold all things are become new!” He is where he long wished to be, and we hope to meet him there when our race is finished. O that we may be as ready to go, and long after that state with the same warm affections! But you are left mourning here, a sorrowful widow in the midst of helpless children. Well; *The Father of the fatherless* is a kind title which God has assumed for their sakes; and he is the *Husband and Judge of the widow*. Faith can realize such words as these, and turn them into food and cordials in a sinking and fainting hour. Nor is there a want which you can complain of, nor a sorrow which you can feel, but there is a blessed word of supply and comfort to answer it in the book of God. May the blessed Spirit lead you to that

* This lady was the daughter of Richard Barrett, Esq., and survived her husband until the year 1762, when she died at Hackney, aged 75.

living spring of consolation, and give you a divine relish of those waters of life. It was a pleasurable sympathy of pain that I felt in my last visit to my dying brother Rosewell. I mourned to see so useful a man so near to the grave of silence. But the pleasures with which I received the grasp of his friendly hand, and his assurances of his meeting me at the right hand of Christ, wrought a sort of mixture of passions within me, and I wept at once for sorrow and joy. Good man ! How he reviewed the foundations of his hope ! And searched and felt them, as it were, on all sides, to see that they were strong and divine ! And which of us shall ever arrive safe at heaven, if *he* could miss the way ? Which of us can raise a juster and a firmer expectation ? View him then, Madam, in his Father's house, in the gardens of Paradise, waiting for your ascent thither, and for the company of those young plants* which he left behind, till they shall grow into trees of righteousness, and are fit to be transplanted into the same garden of God on high. May the dews of heaven fall hourly on the stock and branches ; and may you all be kept under the providential and gracious care of his God and your God in this dangerous wilderness, till he shall call you to his more immediate presence !

“Yours in the bonds of the gospel,

“ I. WATTS.

“Lime-Street, May 24, 1722.”

FROM LORD BARRINGTON.

“Tofts, Jan. 23, 1724.

“Rev. Sir,

“I returned you my thanks for the kind present of your *Logie* soon after I received it. I can now do it on much

* Mr. Rosewell left two children ; one of them, Mrs. Susannah Girle, was living at Hackney in 1802.

better grounds, for since I have read it (which from the scene of sorrow and business I have lately been in, I have not been able to do till within these few days) I do not barely thank you for the civility of your present, or only for the satisfaction I have received on reading a book finely written on a noble and useful subject, or for the profit I have reaped by it, but for a book by which I expect not only the youth of England, but all, who are not too lazy or too wise to learn, will be taught to think and write better than they do, and thereby become better subjects, better neighbours, better relatives, and better Christians. As far as wrong reasoning helps to spoil each of these (and a great way every one who will reflect must see it goes towards it), so far will putting us in a right way of thinking help to mend us. I think your book so good an help to us this way, that I shall not only recommend it to others, but use it as the best manual of its kind myself, and intend, as some have done Erasmus or a piece of Cicero for another purpose, read it over once a year.

“I am, Sir,

“Your most faithful humble Servant,

“BARRINGTON.”

FROM THE SAME.

“Becket-house, Aug. 18, 1724.

“Rev. Sir,

“I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you have had in the affair of Mr. Tindall; and to Mr. Gunstone for the trouble he has given himself to recommend Mr. Tindall to Mr. Bloodworth. I beg you will accept of my acknowledgments, and render them acceptable to Mr. Gunstone.

“I have sometimes had great hopes of being someways useful in the world. That prospect has been a darling pleasure to me. I think I see it closed, and I hope I submit as I ought. I am not worthy of such an honour. Perhaps the world is not fit to be served. I assure you since I see my way barred by Providence, and not by myself, I am not only contented, but happier than I ever have been in my life. I could bear a bustle in the hopes of doing good, but I never loved it. I always loved retirement; and since I see so little an opening to usefulness, I truly taste and enjoy my retreat. I take some care of my health, which a fatiguing life had very much impaired. I take some small care of my affairs; I enjoy my family and my friends; and I have a good deal of time to look into my bible; and I hope I do not only find infinitely more benefit, but more entertainment, from conversing with Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, Paul and Peter, James and Judges, than ever I did with ministers of state or courtiers, or any of the men of the world: and I read profane authors purely in subservience to the sacred ones. I have in the neighbourhood three or four friends, with whom I can talk with great satisfaction of these matters. I only wish you near me, and in the state of health I enjoy. If you have not read Dr. Cheyne’s *Essay of Health and Long Life*, I hope you will. I have a great opinion of his rules, in nervous cases especially. I heartily wish you a degree of health equal to the inclinations you have to make use of it.

“My wife is to Lady Abney and yourself, as I am, a most faithful humble servant.

“BARRINGTON.”

FROM THE SAME.

“Tofts, June, 1725.

“Reverend Sir,

“Yesterday I received the favour of yours of the 2d and 10th instant; I had before received your second part, which happened thus — I had bought your first part before I received the favour of your order for it; I gave it away the other day to a friend, and so sent that order for the first part to your bookseller, before I had happened to hear your second part was come out: he sent me your second part by virtue of your order for the first. I sat down yesterday and to-day to read it, but, before I was got far, have been prevented from the instruction and the pleasure I propose to myself in getting through it.

“However I may happen to differ from the sentiments, yet I see, by reading as far as I am got, that it has and will greatly add to the high esteem and regard I have had for you ever since our acquaintance; and, indeed, I must think very ill of myself if it do not. For what is there more valuable among mankind, than the most ardent love of truth; the most diligent and impartial inquiry after it; the greatest frankness in professing our opinions about it for the good of the world, and our becoming an example, as well as an advocate for the bearing with the different sentiments that are the necessary results of free inquiry? All these, the noblest dispositions of the mind, you must convince every one you possess in the highest degree; and are, at the same time, an instance of paying a superior homage to truth, as not only to sacrifice the ease and esteem that follows thinking with the herd, but your own late and avowed sentiments to her sovereign authority. It is without the least mixture of a compliment that I assure you, I value a drachm of this heavenly temper beyond all the orthodoxy or truth in the world. The cursed spirits know more

truth than all of us put together; but their want of the love of it, renders them odious to God and dangerous to us: and the love of it in us, is the love of God, who is Truth, and hateth none but him that loveth and maketh a lie. And the sovereign love of truth must include in it the supreme love of virtue and piety, which are founded in truth and in truth alone. And what then, besides this, can possibly render us amiable to our Maker, or to those amongst us who propose the judgments he makes of things as the standard of ours? This, however, I am sensible, may be said of him that writes on any subject with that happy temper and disposition that appears in what I read on that important subject of your Dissertations. But I will add, therefore, what can be so worthy of a Christian and a divine, as to borrow your own thought and expression, (for, I think, there cannot be a more beautiful one) “as to endeavour that the object of our worship may not answer the inscription on the Athenian altar?” I shall be heartily sorry to hear that any of your friends should discourage a temper that can best fit us either for the duties and enjoyments of this life or a better. If we were all in a right cue, we should all of us propose you as a pattern in our search after truth, and our professions of it; but this is not to be expected; censures will come from all who do not pay a like ready and cheerful obedience to truth with yourself: arm your mind then against them. Those that censure you here, must acquire the temper they cannot bear in you, before they can relish heaven itself, as you will. Whilst they censure you then, pity them! If you have any mistakes, your openness to conviction will soon set them right, when your heart shall be irradiated with the morning star. But their eyes are to be opened and fortified, before they will be able to receive the full pleasure and benefit of the land of light and vision. Forgive these overflowings of my heart, which I see, on looking back on them, have run into too great length, whilst I am talking to one who, I am satisfied, can suffer for the truth as well as write and act for it.

May the God of truth bless, accept, and support you, and all you do and bear for its sake.

“I have only just room to return my most hearty thanks to yourself and Mr. Price, for the respect you have shown to my recommendation of the case of Berwick, unless I would make you pay more than as much again as they deserve. I am to him and you, therefore, without adding a word more, Reverend Sir, a most faithful and most humble servant.

“BARRINGTON.”

CHAPTER XII.

1726—1731.

DEATH OF GEORGE THE FIRST.

DEATH OF THE KING:—SERMON AT BURY-STREET.—CORONATION OF GEORGE II.—PREVALENCE OF SUICIDE:—PUBLICATION OF THE “DEFENCE.”—SERMON BY MATTHEW HENRY.—DEATH OF MATTHEW CLARKE:—HIS CHARACTER.—DR. MATHER BYLES:—POEM.—THIRD VOLUME OF “SERMONS.”—ASSOCIATION OF DISSENTING MINISTERS:—MINUTES OF MEETING.—DIPLOMA:—VERSES BY DR. EARLE.—“ESSAY ON CHARITY SCHOOLS.”—ORIGIN OF GRAVEL-LANE SCHOOL.—THE SCHOOLS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.—DR. GIBSON.—SOUTHAMPTON AFFAIRS.—INSTITUTION OF DODDRIDGE’S ACADEMY.—“CATECHISMS.”—TREATISE BY REYNOLDS—“CAVEAT AGAINST INFIDELITY.”—DEISTICAL CONTROVERSY.—THE DUNCIAD:—REMONSTRANCE WITH POPE.—TREATISE ON THE “PASSIONS.”—“SCRIPTURE HISTORY.”—DODDRIDGE.—HARVEY.—BROADHURST.—COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.—CORRESPONDENCE.

By the death of George I. in the year 1727, on his journey to Hanover, the dissenters lost a firm friend and benefactor; but happily the liberal and, at the same time, vigorous policy he had adopted, was pursued by his successor. The disputes between the Hanoverians and the Jacobites, which had distracted the nation in his reign, began now gradually to subside; the fall and banishment of Atterbury had paved the way for the overthrow of high-church principles; and churchman and dissenter, Watts and Seeker, Doddridge and Warburton, were frequently seen engaged in literary and Christian intercourse. The decease of the late monarch and the accession of his son, were improved by Watts at Bury-Street, June 18th, from Isaiah, v. 12: “*And the harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe,*

and wine are in their feasts: but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands." This sermon was printed at the request of the congregation, under the title of "The Religious Improvement of Public Events." If the eulogy pronounced upon the first George cannot be maintained from his private character, it was at least richly merited by his public conduct. The preacher referred his people to former times, when they had to apprehend the dominance of popish darkness and tyranny upon the death of many of their princes; and he congratulated them upon "the peaceful and regular succession of a protestant heir to his Father's throne—a blessing," said he, "as hath not been known in Great Britain for a hundred years past."* There was occasion then for the "harp and the viol" to be in their "feasts;" but he cautioned them against the crime of the Jews, who allowed festivity to supersede devotion, and forgot the providence of God in their hours of joy. The coronation of George II., October 11, of the same year, drew from the pen of Watts a commemorative ode, which has, however, little besides its loyalty to recommend it.† "Wednesday, Oct. 11," says Calamy, "the king and queen were crowned at Westminster in great pomp and state; the procession to and from the abbey upon that occasion, of which I was a spectator, was very magnificent. Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford, preached the coronation sermon from 2 Chron. ix. 8."‡ The dissenting ministers in the metropolis were introduced to the royal presence by the Vice Chamberlain Earl Stanhope; and a congratulatory address upon the occasion was read by Mr. afterwards Dr. John Evans.

A painful subject had presented itself to the attention of

* The last instance of this kind, he observes, was when Charles I. succeeded his father James I.; and indeed was the only one except when Edward VI. came to the crown.

† Miscel. No. 71.

‡ Cal. Life and Times, ii. 500.

Watts during the preceding year, and drawn him away from his ordinary studies — the practice of suicide, of which many melancholy instances had occurred. The ruin and distress with which most parts of the kingdom had been visited in consequence of the South-Sea delusion, largely contributed to the increase of this fearful crime; for the bills of mortality for 1725 report fifty-nine cases in the metropolis, besides seventy-four persons drowned, and forty-three found dead, the cause of whose fate was uncertain. The topic was sufficiently important and distressing to awaken the solicitude of the friends of religion throughout the nation; and in the early part of the year 1726, “A Defence against the Temptation to Self-murder,” by Mr. Watts, made its appearance, dated “London, January 28.” The principal arguments of this treatise were originally drawn up in a private letter; and an unhappy individual who contemplated suicide, being diverted from it by its perusal, the writer was induced to make it public in the hope of profiting others. He investigates the causes in general of such fatal occurrences — dissipation, pride, and gambling; and endeavours to present suitable dissuasives to arrest the tempted victim in his career. The volume is divided into six sections, viz. — the unlawfulness of self-murder displayed — the folly and danger of it — the motives to it examined and answered — means of security against the temptation — admonitions to those who have been rescued from it — and cautions against all approaches to it, as intemperance, duelling, &c. The increase of commercial speculation, and in consequence the more frequent occurrence of blighted hopes and changing fortunes, have of late years alarmingly multiplied this crime; and it may be doubted whether the charity of modern juries is serviceable to the public morals, in attributing to temporary insanity what might often be more correctly traced to mortified pride and disappointed ambition. In Paris, owing in a great measure to the impunity which attends this practice, the number of persons taken out of the Seine

amounts to a frightful sum; and it is a singular instance of taste, that the average number in summer far exceeds that in the winter, on account of the warmer temperature of the stream. "The supreme Governor of all things," says Cicero, "forbids us to depart hence without his order; and though when the divine providence does itself offer us a just occasion of leaving this world, a wise man will then depart joyfully, yet he will not be in such haste as to break his prison contrary to law, but will go as a prisoner when dismissed by the magistrate or lawful power."*

A sermon of the excellent Matthew Henry's, edited by Watts, was published in 1726, entitled "Separation without Rebellion." It was preached at the opening of the new meeting-house in Crook Lane, Chester, August 8, 1700, from Joshua, xxii. 22, 23: "The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods he knoweth, and Israel he shall know, if it be in rebellion or if in transgression against the Lord — that we have built us an altar." Mr. Henry evidently intended this sermon for publication, as he kept a copy of it "fairly transcribed,"† which was found among his manuscripts. The reason why its appearance was delayed during his life, Mr. Palmer conjectures‡ to be "his great solicitude to avoid giving offence to any members of the established church" in the city where he ministered. Mr. Watts wrote a commendatory preface to this interesting relic of his friend. The sermon may be found in Henry's *Miscellaneous Works*; and furnishes a "fair specimen of the writer's candour, ability, and moderation, and is well calculated not only to instruct

* *Tusc. Quest. lib. i.*

† "It cannot be said of Mr. Henry," says his biographer, "as of Caspar Barthius, that on account of the neatness of his hand the first copy required no transcript; both he and the printer might rather have adopted such Calligraphic regrets as those expressed by Dr. Parr." *See the characters of the late J. C. Fox*, i. p. 9. *William's Life of Henry, Note O.*

‡ Palmer's *Mem. of Henry* p. 13.

those unacquainted with English nonconformity, but to confound prejudice, whether it arise from education, ignorance, or pride.”*

Another of Mr. Watts's friends was numbered with the dead in the course of this year—the Rev. Matthew Clarke, of Miles's Lane meeting, by whom he was highly respected and beloved. During a dangerous illness, nearly twenty years before, Mr. Clarke desired that his friend might be sent for to pray with him, apprehending that his end was near. Mr. Neal observes that “that excellent person observed in him a sweet calmness and composure of mind, a firm and steady reliance upon the merits of Christ alone for his salvation, and a humble resignation of himself to the will of God whether for life or death. He then assisted him in his devotions, and as a person departing out of the world, recommended him to the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.”† In his last affliction Mr. Clarke removed to Stoke-Newington, for the benefit of the country air, and here he was visited by Mr. Neal and several of his ministerial acquaintance. The divisions among his brethren, occasioned by the trinitarian controversy, wounded the spirit of this good man, and excited painful apprehensions that the vital power of religion would disappear from the churches. On the morning of the earthly sabbath, March 26th, he commenced the heavenly rest. A neat monument at the east end of Bunhill Fields, marks the place of his interment and witnesses the friendship of Watts, who honoured his virtues in an elegant Latin inscription. His biographer ranks him among the best and most useful divines of the age in which he lived; and the hand that traced his portrait upon his tomb, exhibits him as not only faithful and laborious, but, which was not always the case at that period,

* Williams's Life, p. 180.

† Neal's Memoirs of the Rev. M. Clarke, p. 27.

*“inter Theologorum dissidia, Moderatus et Pacificus;” among the controversies of divines, Moderate always and Pacific.**

The literary labours of Watts were now not only appreciated in his own country, but his name was popular upon the continent and in America; his theological works were widely circulated among his countrymen across the Atlantic; and his Hymns and Psalms were gradually coming into use among the New-England churches.† A tribute of respect was paid to his genius and piety by one of the Boston divines, in some verses which may here properly be introduced. The author was Dr. Mather Byles, pastor of one of the churches in that city.

“TO THE REV. MR. WATTS ON HIS HORÆ LYRICÆ.

“Feb. 1, 1727.

I.

“Say, smiling muse, what heav’nly strain
Forbids the waves to roar,
Comes gently gliding o’er the main,
And charms our list’ning shore?

II.

“What angel strikes the trembling strings?
And whence the silver sound?
Is’t from the heights where Gabriel sings?
Or Watts on lower ground?

III.

“’Tis thine, seraphic Watts! thy lyre
Plays soft along the floods;

* The parents of both Watts and Clarke, were tasting the cup of sorrow, at the period when the children were born. Witness with reference to the one, the prison at Southampton, and as it respects the other, a solitary house on Leicester Forest, where his father, the ejected clergyman of Narborough, was compelled to retire by the violence of persecution, the scene of the birth and childhood of his son. The inscription speaks of him, as

“Patris venerandi filius cognominis
Nec ipse minus venerandus.”
A son bearing the name
Of his venerable father,
Nor less venerable himself.

† Appendix G.

Thy notes the answ'ring hills inspire,
And bend the waving woods.

IV.

“The deserts, fill'd with vital strains,
A smiling verdure show;
While whisp'ring o'er the fertile plains,
The tuneful breezes blow.

V.

“Such artful sounds, such flowing grace,
E'en the rough rocks regale;
And flow'ry joy spreads o'er the face
Of ev'ry laughing vale.

VI.

“And thou, my soul, the transport own,
Fir'd with immortal heat;
While dancing pulses driving on,
In cheerful motions beat.

VII.

“Long as the sun shall rear his head,
And chase the flying glooms,
When from the ocean's eastern bed,
The gallant bridegroom comes;

VIII.

“Long as the dusky ev'ning flies,
And sheds a doubtful light,
Till shadows thick'ning round the skies,
Vest half the globe with night,

IX.

“O Watts! thine heav'nly lays so long,
Shall ev'ry bosom fire;
And ev'ry muse, and ev'ry tongue,
To speak thy praise conspire:

X.

“When thy fair soul shall on the wing
Of shouting seraphs rise,
Then with superior sweetness sing
Amid thy native skies:

XI.

“Still as thy gentle numbers flow,
Melodious and divine,
Angels above and saints below
The deathless chorus join :

XII.

“To our far shore the sound shall roll,
As Philomela* sung,
And east to west, and pole to pole,
Th’ eternal tune prolong.”

The only production of this year was a third volume of Sermons, which appeared, March 25th, designed for the sabbath-evening worship in families. At that period the majority of the dissenting meeting-houses were only open in the morning and afternoon; the evening was generally devoted to catechetical exercises and domestic instruction. In the fifth edition of the Sermons, the three volumes in 12mo. were reduced into two in 8vo. and the prefaces were abridged and united. Several of the discourses in the last collection, are beautiful meditations upon the right improvement of the death of friends and kindred, originally addressed to the mourning family of Mrs. Abney, and largely amplified when delivered from the pulpit.

It was at this period that the dissenting ministers in the metropolis formed themselves into a voluntary association, in order to promote the interests of their body. They had frequently united to preserve their religious liberties from the aggressions of arbitrary power, and in their collective capacity on various occasions had addressed the throne; but no society had been regularly formed for the purpose of mutual advice and co-operation. A meeting of the three denominations was accordingly held at the George, in Ironmonger Lane, July 11, 1727, the Rev. Mr. Boyce in the chair, when several resolutions were passed, which formed into a body all approved min-

* Mrs. Rowe.

isters, whether presbyterian, independent, or baptist, living within ten miles of the cities of London and Westminster. It was also agreed that a committee should be chosen to conduct the affairs of the general body, consisting of seven presbyterians, six independents, and six baptists. At the first meeting Mr. Watts was not present, but at a second, on the 25th of September, when the Rev. Mr. Asty presided, his name in connexion with some others in addition occurs. The committee appointed to represent the congregational ministers consisted of Messrs. Ridgley, Watts, Bradbury, Hurriion, Lowman, and Asty.

A meeting of congregational ministers, twenty-nine in number, was held at Mr. Watts's meeting-house, Dec. 5, 1727, when he presided. The proceedings of this meeting are thus reported in the minutes:

“All the minutes of this book being first read over, and the design of this meeting represented, there was a considerable debate about the rule or method by which the list of the congregational ministers should be settled. The two most considerable opinions proposed and urged were these: 1. That those only should be accounted congregational ministers who somehow or other manifested their agreement to the Savoy Confession of faith and order of congregational churches. 2. That the rule by which the ministers were admitted, Sept. 25th, to give their vote for the choice of the committee, should be the rule by which the list of the congregational ministers should be determined and settled, viz. those who had been known and approved preachers, and chose to be ranked among the congregational ministers, and did not design to vote in the body of the Presbyterian or Baptist ministers. After much time spent, and many arguments on both sides, it was agreed *nem. con.* that the rule by which the ministers were determined to have a vote for choosing a committee of a *third body* of protestant dissenters, on Sept. 25th last, be followed in admitting any minister into the list of that body, to vote with it

on political occasions for one year, i. e. till Michaelmas next. Note. It was called a *third body*, because some present were very desirous to exclude the term congregational out of the whole question, unless the first rule were followed, and the congregational ministers distinguished by agreeing to the Savoy Confession. Night coming on, and the ministers withdrawing themselves, those of the other opinion permitted the question to be put in this form, rather than break up the assembly and do nothing." The leaven of antinomianism was now spreading in the metropolis; and certain ministers who wished to be ranked with the congregationalists, entertaining latitudinarian principles, of course objected to the Savoy Confession as a test of admission, because opposed to their views — hence, the conclusion that was resorted to.

The eminent services which Watts had rendered to religion and literature, had long attracted the notice and called forth the approbation of scholars at home and abroad; and, in addition to the marks of respect he privately received from them, he was honoured in 1728 by the universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, with a diploma of Doctor of Divinity. Never was academical distinction more properly bestowed: it was wholly unsolicited on his part, and we may gather from his modest and unobtrusive character, wholly unexpected. "Academical honours," says Dr. Johnson, "would have more value if they were always bestowed with equal judgment." "Learned seminaries," Toplady remarks, "would retrieve the departing respectability of their diplomas, were they only presented to (I will not say such men as Dr. Watts, for few such men are in any age to be found), but to persons of piety, orthodoxy, erudition, and virtue." "The presenting of such titles," observes Erasmus Middleton, "to people who either can pay for them, or whose silly vanity prompts them to have their names ushered in with a sound, without any just qualification in the world beside, exposes the honours of a university to contempt, and the persons who

bear them to ridicule. The name of Doctor, though it cannot make a man intuitively learned or wise, should give the world a just expectation not to find him at least weak or illiterate." Several of Watts's brethren in the metropolis were diplomated at the same time; as Mr. Jabez Earle, Mr. John Evans, Mr. William Harris, Mr. John Comyng, and Mr. Zephaniah Marryat. This event gave rise to the following humorous lines, sent by Dr. Earle, to his friend Harris:

"Since dunces now are doctors made,
As well as men of skill;
What does the title signify?
I'll tell thee, honest Will.

"The same as trappings to a horse,
Which, be he fleet or jade,
Not for his own, but rider's sake,
So wondrous fine is made.

"So when our universities,
Doctorial honours give,
'Tis not *our* merits they declare,
But *their* prerogative."

Dr. Watts once more appeared before the public as the friend of education, and published "An Essay towards the encouragement of Charity-Schools, particularly among protestant dissenters, 1728." This was the substance of a sermon preached before the managers of one of these institutions, probably the one kept in Crutched Friars, Aldgate, as it was printed at the request of several gentlemen connected with it. It is true, with reference to these benevolent establishments, as it is with almost every other method of usefulness now in operation, that the dissenter has led the way for the churchman, and provoked him by example to "labours of love." In adopting means for the education of the poorer classes, the establishment has but followed in the track of the nonconformity she so indignantly spurned from her pale; and whilst this fact ought not to be advanced to encourage the spirit of party, it ought not to be

concealed, as an evidence of the superior practical utility of a voluntary Christian association to that of an endowed corporation. The first English charity-school was founded among the dissenters in Gravel Lane, Southwark, in 1687,* as an antidote to the school of one Poulter, a Jesuit, who instructed the children of the poor gratis. This was during the semi-papish reign of James, when protestantism was threatened by a catholic monarch, and the principles of his creed were industriously disseminated by Jesuitical emissaries. The dissenters commenced their school with forty children, but these soon increased to one hundred and thirty, who were admitted without distinction of parties and denominations, and taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of religion, according to the Assembly's Catechism.†

In his Essay Dr. Watts, whose candour cannot be impeached, gives us the following account of the progress of these institutions in the church and among the dissenters: "Many others were formed by persons of the established church, to which several dissenters subscribed largely. But at last they found, by sufficient experience, that the children were brought up in too many of these schools *in principles of disaffection to the present government, in bigotted zeal for the word CHURCH, and with a violent enmity and malicious spirit of persecution against all whom they were taught to call Presbyterians*, though from many of their hands they received their bread and clothing. It was time, then, for the dissenters to with-

* Yet the National-School Society, for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the established church, in their annual report say, that the "first English charity-school was opened in Westminster, in 1698." In thus contending for the honour of the establishment, the truth of history is unwittingly violated; for *eleven years* before, the Southwark presbyterians founded theirs. Matthew Henry observes, in his private MS. "I went early, January 1, 1712—13, to Gravel Lane, in Southwark, Mr. Marriott's meeting-place, where there has been a charity-school for twenty-five years" [answering to 1687], "there I preached an anniversary sermon, on Prov. iii. 9: 'Honour the Lord with thy substance.' A collection was made, amounting to £35."

† See Charity-School Sermons, by Read, Chandier, and Neal.

draw that charity which was so abused; and since the favour of our rulers gives us leave to educate children according to our sentiments and the dictates of our consciences, some generous spirits amongst us have made attempts of this kind, and employ their bounty in the support of a few such schools. And as we hope this charity will be acceptable to God and useful to mankind, so we are well assured it will be a sensible service to the present government, which has no friends in the world more sincere and more zealous than the protestant dissenters.”* That the grave charge here brought by Watts against the charity-schools of the establishment, that of propagating disaffection to the Hanoverian succession and sentiments friendly to the exiled Stuarts, was not unfounded, is candidly acknowledged by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London. “This is,” says he, “a very heavy objection indeed, that in many of the charity-schools the children are trained up to disaffection to the government, and it is a point that the government is nearly concerned to look after, since it is to little purpose to subdue and conquer the present ill humours, if a succession of disaffected persons is to be perpetually nursing up in our schools.” After this his lordship adds, “that there is not at present the like ground to complain of disaffection as there was some years ago;” yet he acknowledges, “that while the protestant succession remained doubtful, and no stone was left unturned to defeat it, some persons who had their views a different way, that is, Jacobites, endeavoured to get the management of these schools into their hands, and to make them instrumental in nourishing and spreading an aversion to the protestant settlement.” The attempt to convey a political bias to the popular mind under the mask of charity, was happily discovered; and the exposure served to place in a stronger light the claims of the dissenters to the gratitude of

* Essay. Works, vol. iv. 527, 8vo. edit.

the monarch as his staunchest adherents, and to his protection from the repeated persecutions of the dominant hierarchy.

But few memorials of the personal history of Dr. Watts at this period can be collected; his time was spent principally between London and Theobalds, chiefly in his study; and though he was associated with his brethren in many of their transactions, yet he seems to have avoided as much as consistent with duty, from weakness and perhaps from inclination, the distractions of public life. He was in correspondence at this time with the Rev. Mr. Francis, and probably with his aged father, concerning the dissenting interest at Southampton. The congregation there had been long under the care of Mr. Boler, but growing infirm Mr. Francis removed from Girdler's Hall in the city to be co-pastor with him. Several letters passed between Dr. Watts and this gentleman, which I have not been able to discover; but in them he persuades his continuance at Southampton, and expresses himself in terms of the warmest affection and esteem.

The institution of an academy in the midland districts of the kingdom, was the subject of anxious deliberation during the year 1728. Upon the death of Mr. Jennings in 1723, the academy under his care at Hinckley, in Leicestershire, was dissolved; and to repair the loss sustained by the dissenting interest, a proposal was made to revive it under the direction of Mr. afterwards Dr. Doddridge. This excellent man was then commencing his career at Kibworth, a small village in the same county; and his eminent acquirements, as well as his knowledge of Mr. Jennings's plan of education, whose pupil he had been, pointed him out as a proper person to undertake the charge. A letter detailing the course of study pursued, from the pen of Doddridge, was taken up to town by Mr. Some of Harborough, and submitted to the inspection of Dr. Watts, for the purpose of indirectly ascertaining his opinion upon the project. This letter was returned to the country with some observations by the Doctor, from which he

seems to have entered cordially into the plan. At this period Doddridge was a comparative stranger to Watts: the former remarks in a postscript to the Rev. Matthew Clarke, Nov. 17, 1725, "Mr. Watts will be glad to hear that Mrs. Jennings is well. He hardly remembers that he ever saw me, otherwise I should be very glad to send my respects to him; for I have received so much entertainment and advantage from his writings, that I cannot but have an affection for his person, and should think myself happy if providence should ever give me an opportunity of cultivating an acquaintance with him." The private approval of Dr. Watts having been obtained, and the public sanction of a general meeting of ministers at Lutterworth, April 10th, 1729, Doddridge commenced his labours as a theological tutor, which brought him into frequent correspondence with the subject of this memoir.

It must have been towards the close of the year 1728, that Dr. Watts published his "Book of Catechisms." In 1727 a request was made to him by Sir Gilbert Elliot, to undertake the composition of a catechism; in April, 1728, we find him writing to Mr. Say in answer to a similar wish, that several schemes were already drawn out for the purpose; and in 1729 a discourse on catechetical instruction appeared, connected with a second edition of the catechisms.

The attention paid by the early nonconformists to the scriptural instruction of the young was most exemplary, and formed in some cases the most laborious part of pastoral duty. Of the Rev. John Ratcliffe, pastor of the presbyterian church, Jamaica Row, Rotherhithe, from 1705 to 1708, his biographer relates, "He entirely devoted every Monday, from five in the morning to eight at night, for the several parts of the work. His catechumens were young persons of all parties, without any distinction of denominations, if they were but willing to receive the benefit of his assistance. Certain hours in the morning were taken up in hearing the younger children recite the answers of the Assembly's Catechism; those of

some further standing being employed to hear them, and others to take care to preserve order, and an exact account of every one's proficiency and behaviour. Mr. Ratcliffe afterwards spent two hours in examining those that were more grown, upon the parts and sense of an answer, or more frequently upon a text of scripture, which he closed with some practical inferences from the subject before them, a pathetic exhortation suited to the capacities and temptations of children, and an earnest prayer for them. After dinner the time was filled up till five with some profitable and free conversation, and the evening was spent in like endeavours for the good of the other sex. The numbers thus instructed were no less than *ten thousand*, within the eight years he was employed in it. Sometimes there have been no less than *two thousand* present on a day."* The catechism chiefly in use among the dissenters, was that drawn up by the assembly of divines at Westminster; but both in sentiment, style, and language, this formulary is obviously unfitted for children. Easier exercises had, indeed, been prepared by Owen, Bowles, Gouge, M. Henry, Noble, Cotton, and others; but these were not sufficiently general and popular, to render Watts's labours unnecessary. The collection of catechisms which he furnished, contains "The Child's First and Second" — "The Assembly's Shorter Catechism, with Explanations" — "A Preservative from the Sins and Follies of Childhood, drawn up in the way of Question and Answer" — "The Catechism of Scriptural Names" — "The Historical Catechism" — and "A Large Collection of Remarkable Scriptural Names." Several of these pieces have obtained an extensive circulation, and the first especially is an established favourite in the schools and families of dissenters. In the year 1729, a second edition of them appeared, collected into one volume, to which a judicious essay was attached, "On the way of

* Wilson's Hist. of Diss. Chur. iv. 355.

Instruction by Catechisms, and of the best manner of composing them."

In 1729 appeared "A Practical Discourse of Reconciliation between God and Man, by the late learned and pious Mr. John Reynolds." To this was prefixed a recommendatory preface by Dr. Watts, dated, "London, Oct. 19, 1728."* This "great and excellent man," as he terms him, poet, divine, and scholar, resided a considerable period at Shrewsbury, and removed to London in the year 1718. He was the author of many ingenious and useful works, a contributor to the Occasional Papers, and one of Matthew Henry's continuators.† In his preface Dr. Watts criticises the various productions of his friend; and observes with reference to the treatise he edited, "whosoever can read it through with an attentive mind, and yet after all can obstinately refuse to be reconciled to the God of heaven, has just reason to fear that the 'god of this world has blinded their eyes,' and hardened their hearts, in order to prevent their acceptance of this great salvation." The Doctor's pen was employed upon several other performances of Mr. Reynolds. His "Compassionate Letter to the Poorer part of the Christian World" he revised, divided it into sections, and omitted in one of the last editions, the word "poorer" in the title-page, thinking it of universal adaptation. A Latin epitaph on "Bigotry," inserted in the Occasional Papers, No. 6, vol. iii. he also translated, and transferred it to his own Miscellaneous Thoughts.‡

The benevolence of Watts's character, and the usefulness of his life, did not secure him from the derision of the wits, and the censures of the critics. In an early edition of the *Dunciad*, his name was introduced, in connexion with that of the elder Wesley, the rector of Epworth. The circumstances which led to his being honoured with a niche in the temple of the

* This Preface is not inserted in Watts's Works.

† See p. 324.

‡ *Miscell. Thoughts*, No. 20.

“Mighty Mother” have not transpired. The line which stands at present thus,

“Well purg’d ; and worthy Withers, Quarles, and Brome,”

appeared in a surreptitious edition as follows :

“Now all the suffering brotherhood retire,
And ’scape the martyrdom of jakes and fire ;
A gothic library of Greece and Rome
Well purg’d ; and worthy Wesley, Watts, and Brome.”

Dr. Watts remonstrated with the author ; and his name with that of Wesley’s was deprived of the undesirable distinction. “I never offended Mr. Pope,” he observed, “but have always expressed my admiration of his superior genius. I only wished to see that genius employed more in the cause of religion, and always thought it capable of doing it great credit among the gay or the more witty part of mankind, who have generally despised it, because it hath not always been so fortunate as to meet with advocates of such exalted abilities as Mr. Pope possesses, and who were capable of turning the finest exertions of wit and genius in its favour.” This remonstrance had its desired effect, and the writer no longer sat in the seat of the Dunces. The elder Wesley’s name was probably omitted owing to the interposition of his son Samuel, who corresponded with Pope, and was highly esteemed by him. The above information was derived by Mr. Nichols from the Rev. Mr. Lamb of Dorchester, who received it from Mr. Price, Dr. Watts’s colleague.*

In February, 1729, the diligence of Watts was again apparent in the publication of a “Caveat against Infidelity, or the danger of apostacy from the Christian faith.” The materials of this treatise were collected in the year 1722, and designed as an antidote to the loose and dangerous sentiments then propagated by the enemies of truth. The writer contents him-

self with assuming a defensive attitude ; his object being to guard the friends of religion, and not to assail the advocates of infidelity. Hence, he does not prominently introduce the evidences of the Christian faith, but notices the specious and sophistical opinions by which it is often indirectly impugned : he does not contend with the confirmed unbeliever, but reasons with the doubting Christian. The volume is divided into five sections : On the necessary Articles of Christianity — Considerations to prove the Doctrine — Various Queries and Objections of the Deists answered — General Exhortations to Christians — Preservatives against Apostacy from the Faith of the Gospel. The value of this volume has been deteriorated by the luminous defences of more modern divines ; it cannot either be compared with the learned efforts of many of the writer's brethren in the ministry ; yet still to the particular class to which it was directed, the foundation of whose faith had been shaken but not destroyed, it was calculated to be useful. The deistical controversy was much agitated at the commencement of the eighteenth century ; and the dissenters sent forth a goodly host of combatants into the field. Collins, Tindal, Woolston, Morgan, and Dodwell, appeared on the side of infidelity ; and Leland, Chandler, Lardner, Browne, Reynolds, and Doddridge, for the cause of truth. The adversaries of religion in that day, excepting a few persons of learning and ingenuity, were, however, widely different to those who are now found in the ranks of infidelity : they were “ men of wit and pleasure about town,” imposing upon the ignorant and unwary by flippant declamation and shallow philosophy. Some divines of the establishment were for checking their career by the aid of the civil magistrate ; but against the prosecution of Woolston the dissenting ministers strongly though ineffectually protested. Whatever evils might be enumerated as the consequence of freedom of religious discussion ; far greater might be advanced resulting from the exercise of a spiritual despotism. Truth is too potent to court the aid of

civil enactments and penal laws, to skulk from the fair field of debate behind the magisterial chair, and contend with its thousand foes by incarceration and fine, instead of by calm and deliberate inquiry. The deistical controversy of the last century was a signal benefit to the cause which was assailed; it has enriched our theology, illustrated the resources we command, shown the strength of those foundations upon which our hopes repose, and unveiled Christianity to the confusion of the sceptic, exhibiting the majesty of truth and reflecting the benignity of heaven.

The next work that comes under our notice is entitled "The Doctrine of the Passions explained and improved; or, a brief and comprehensive scheme of the natural affections of mankind, and an account of their names, nature, appearances, effects, and different uses in human life." The character of the treatise may be gathered from this full and descriptive title—the writer investigates the nature of the mental affections—their general design and use—the circumstances that most powerfully influence them; as, natural constitution, climate, season, employment, health or sickness—and some admirable rules for their government and regulation are proposed at the close. Descartes divides the primary passions into six—admiration, love, hatred, desire, joy, and sorrow—by no means an accurate distribution: Dr. Watts, who has evidently well studied his treatise, divides them into three—admiration, love, and hatred—minutely examining their several modifications and derivatives. The subject has a most important practical bearing upon man in his social, civil, and personal relations; and the work in question deserves the serious and attentive perusal of every one anxious to perform his part aright upon the great theatre of public life, within the range of immediate neighbourhood, and in the privacy of the domestic circle. The happiness of individuals has often been infringed, and the comfort of families sacrificed, where *one* mind has undergone no proper training—where the early

ebullitions of passion have met with no check — the capricious will encountered no rein — and the character left to grow up and be confirmed in its native wildness and instability. To be proficient, however, in the art of self-government, Dr. Watts well knew that the aids of religion are indispensable; that divine grace alone can implant a permanent and enlightened moral principle; a principle of guidance and control, “the spirit of power and of a sound mind,” achieving the mastery of self, and conquering the appetites and propensities of carnal nature. It is when the gospel comes not in word only to the ear, but in power to the heart, that the axe is laid to the root of the tree, instead of pruning a few of its excrescences; the display of unhallowed tempers is then succeeded by the attractive beauty of holiness; and the every-day actions of life are ordered by the calm decisions of the judgment, and not by the sudden impulses of unbridled feeling.

The Doctrine of the Passions originally appeared in outline, as an introduction to the “Discourses on the Love of God, and the use and abuse of the passions in religion.” Both subjects appearing to the author capable of considerable expansion, he enlarged his plan, and the contents of the volume were amplified into two separate treatises. The latter work arose from the declining state of religion, and the growing deadness of the churches to its vital influence: it was designed to vindicate the affectionate Christian, to reprove the formalist, and to show that the gospel, as Cudworth remarks, is not merely “a letter without us, but a quickening spirit within us.” Dr. Watts was an attentive observer of the signs of the times; not only did the spiritual prosperity of his own people lie near his heart, but his expansive charity led to a lively concern for the improvement of others; and he could not witness symptoms of degeneracy, without attempting to correct the evil and avert the calamity. The excitement produced by the political changes of the seventeenth century, had a powerful and, in many instances, an unfortunate influence upon various religious

classes of the period. Some weak, yet dreamy and ardent spirits, belonging to the successful party, in the intoxication of the moment, were led to interpret their triumphs as plain and unequivocal signs of heavenly approbation. The judgment of God was seen in the routing of a cavalier, and the special interposition of Providence in the victory of a round-head; the turbulence of human passion was mistaken for the fervour of devotion; and the high eminences of spiritual attainment were awarded to those who connected the most extravagant displays of animal feeling with the profession and exercises of piety. A different error was introduced by the restoration of the monarchy and the settlement of the national convulsions. The state of unnatural excitement which subsisted during the commonwealth, was followed by one of lamentable depression; and the evil that resulted from enthusiastic perversions, was equalled if not surpassed by that which sprung from a drowsy supineness. A large body among the dissenters, and nearly the whole of the establishment, agreed in reducing the elements of religion to a few cold theorems and formal observances; the expression of a joy that is unspeakable and full of glory, was denounced as a relic of former fanaticism; and Christian experience, condemned as the offspring of visionary minds, was banished from the pale of cultivated and polite society. Syllogistical reasoning usurped the place of the doctrine of Christ, and dry and jejune disputes were heard instead of the whole counsel of God. Dr. Watts observed with pain this new divinity dominant in the church, and engrafted among the presbyterians, and to counteract the growing evil he produced the work now under review. No one was better qualified for such a task; his unexceptionable personal piety, his calm and dispassionate judgment, his knowledge of the human heart, and of the state of the religious world, eminently fitted him for a work which the circumstances of the church so loudly demanded. He shows that godliness has not only an outward form but an inward power—that pious affections,

impugned by philosophy as a weakness, are the peaceable fruits of righteousness — that to excite is the use, to govern the abuse of the passions in religion — and that pure and unadulterated Christianity, dwells semi-distant from the frigid zone of formality as well as from the tropic climes of fanaticism.

Another publication of Dr. Watts's appeared in the year 1730; "A Short View of the whole Scripture History, illustrated with Remarks on the Laws, Government, &c. of the Jews." This was written in the way of question and answer, and intended as a kind of sequel to the catechisms. Lord Barrington had such a high opinion of this work, that he promised the author in one of his letters to keep a copy of it in his own study, and to leave it in his nursery, hall, and parlour. To form a proper estimate of Watts's labours, we must constantly keep in mind the time in which he lived. The press now teems with religious exercises and popular theology for the young, and little effort would be necessary to construct an educational formulary, having such multifarious works to use. But it was widely different a century ago: there had been then comparatively few labourers in the field; there was but little stock in hand that was available; and the amount of time and labour required in the composition of these lessons of instruction, was far greater than at first sight may appear.

It was at this period that Dr. Watts's acquaintance commenced with the amiable and accomplished Countess of Hertford, celebrated for her literary acquirements and fervent piety. This lady, the friend of Mrs. Rowe, and the patron of the poet Thomson, was the daughter of the Hon. Mr. Thynne, brother to Viscount Weymouth. She married Algernon, Earl of Hertford, son of Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, who, uniting in his own person the blood and the possessions of the illustrious houses of Percy and Seymour, was, perhaps, the greatest subject this country has ever seen by hereditary right. He was summoned to parliament during his father's life-time as Baron Percy, in 1722; was created Earl of Northumber-

land and Earl of Egremont, each with a special limitation, and became Duke of Somerset upon his father's demise, Dec. 2, 1748. He died Feb. 9, 1750, when the titles of Earl of Hertford, and Baron Beauchamp of Hache, and Seymour of Troubridge, became extinct. His lady survived him, and died July 7, 1754. She appears to have possessed an elegant and cultivated mind, and to have gladly exchanged courtly splendour for her favourite literary pursuits and devotional exercises. Thomson thus apostrophises her in his *Spring* :

“ O Hertford, fitted or to shine in courts
With unaffected grace, or walk the plain,
With innocence and meditation join'd
In soft assemblage, listen to my song,
Which thy own season paints, when nature all
Is blooming and benevolent, like thee.”

In a collection of letters, published by Mr. Hull in two volumes, from distinguished persons, there are eleven written by the countess. Mr. Shenstone justly says in the preface, that “there are discernable in them a perfect rectitude of heart, delicacy of sentiment, and a truly classic ease and elegance of style.” The correspondence of Watts with this lady, illustrious by birth, by native talent, by elegant acquirements, and unaffected piety, cannot now be recovered; but many of her letters to him are inserted in this volume from Dr. Gibbons, with additions furnished from other sources. Those written at the close of life are tinged with melancholy, owing to the death of her only son at Bologna. The countess never recovered the stroke given to her health and spirits by that event; her time, chiefly spent with her daughter in the halls and castles of the Percys, was devoted to retirement and prayer; affording the gay world an example, how the mind loathes its vanities under the pressure of earthly calamity.

Besides the accession of so valuable a friend as the countess, the acquaintance which had commenced between Dr. Watts

and Doddridge, through corresponding about the academy, was ripening into a firm and intimate attachment. Writing to Mrs. Owen, at whose house the latter met with the lady afterwards his wife, he makes the doctor one of his referees, as to his character and prospects. But whilst these eminent men were thus cultivating that intercourse, so valued by both in after-life, two individuals were removed, whose loss Watts sincerely and deeply lamented. The one was Mr. Samuel Harvey, the assistant minister at Crutched-Fryars, to whose "pious memory" he dedicates an epitaph in his *Miscellanies*;* and the other was Mr. Edward Broadhurst of Birmingham†, to whose "marble" he was called to contribute an inscription.

FROM SIR GILBERT ELIOTT, BART.

"London, Jan. 21, 1726.

"Reverend Sir,

"My wife was favoured with yours of the 14th instant. I return a thousand thanks for the obliging expressions of your concern for us, and particularly for your Christian sympathy in comforting my wife upon the melancholy occasion of my terrible misfortune and greatest unhappiness. I took the first opportunity I could to kiss your hands, gratitude and inclination equally engaging me to it. I propose to wait upon you when you come to town. In the mean time, give me leave to put you in mind of the request I made you some time since, about a catechism of natural religion, which is a subject untouched, and would be, I am persuaded, of singular use. I must tell you what brought this to my memory: I was reading the other day in the fourth volume of Monsieur Saurin's Sermons, '*Sur les travers de l'esprit*

* *Miscell.* No. 70.

† A very valuable minister and tutor, born in Derbyshire, and removed by death in the 39th year of his age. July 21, 1730. *Miscell.* No. 70.

Humain,’ page 338; these are his words: ‘*Combien peu y en a-t-il qui aient l’art et même temps l’intention de proportionner la foi des enfans à leur âge, n’exigeant qu’ils ne croient à l’âge de dix ans que ce qu’ils peuvent concevoir à cet âge-là, et qu’ils ne croient à l’âge de quinze ce qu’ils peuvent concevoir à l’âge de quinze, et ainsi du reste? Combien peu de Catéchismes, où cette gradation d’années et de capacité soit observée, et où l’on ne propose d’abord les vérités les plus abstruses du Christianisme?*’ I hope this was a happy providence, directing me to address you as the gentleman in the world that I believe, without flattery, to be most capable of so necessary and useful a work. I hope for a favourable answer, and should be glad to know when you come to town.

“My most humble service attends my lady Abney, Mrs. Gunston, and the young ladies. I am with most sincere esteem, Reverend Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

“GILB. ELIOTT.”

TO MRS. ROSEWELL.*

“Madam,

“When you peruse the Sermons on Death, guard your heart from too painful impressions: I would not open the wounds that have been made, but attempt to pour the balm of the gospel into them. You will find something in the eleventh discourse borrowed from the dying bed of my departed friend and brother. It may pain you a little, but I trust it will please you more. May all grace be with you and yours here and hereafter.

“I am, Madam,

“Your most obedient servant,

“I. WATTS.

“March 6, 1726.”

* With a copy of the third volume of Sermons.

FROM MR. ROBERT PORTER.*

“ Oct. 29, 1726.

“ Sir,

“ When I took leave of you in England, I had no small honour done me in being desired to write to Mr. Watts.

“ I have seen but very little of Holland, and, consequently, am capable of giving but a very little account of the country ; and, indeed, there are not a great number of things observable in the Provinces. I was much pleased at Delft with the magnificent tomb of William Maurice, Prince of Orange, which really is no common monument: this I think Misson has given an account of. What they have erected for Van Trompe has likewise in it a great deal of propriety to the subject of it. I cannot help taking notice here of the absurdity of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's in Westminster Abbey, who is figured in an easy careless posture like a beau ; whereas Trompe, on the contrary, lies with his head upon a cannon. The stadt-house at Delft has written over the door,

‘ Hæc domus amat, punit, conservat, honorat,
Nequitiam, pacem, scelera, jura, probos.’†

“ As soon as you enter there hangs depending from the ceiling a tub without a bottom, decreasing gradually to the top which is likewise open. This is put over persons who have committed crimes, and with this (their heads appearing out above) they are condemned to walk along the streets. At Haerlem I saw the books which the citizens say were first printed ; and according to them (for Mentz is a rival in this point), Cos-

* This gentleman was a student of medicine, a member of Dr. Watts's church, and afterwards a physician in London.

† “ This house hates vice, loves peace, swift vengeance flings
Impartial upon malefactors' heads ;
To laws insulted timely succour brings,
And glory round the brows of Virtue sheds.”

terus, their townsman, first invented this art.* The house where he lived is now little better than a petty stationer's. The college of physicians have erected a statue (such as it is) to his memory in their physic-garden, and behind upon the pedestal are these lines :

‘ Costerus cirra redimitus tempora lauro
 Quisquis ades, quare conspicatur, habe.
 Hæc propria heroum fuit olim gloria, quorum
 Vel gestis celebris vita vel arte fuit.
 Invento diu gesta suo, servavit, et artes,
 Quis neget hunc tantum bis meruisse Deus.’†

“This good precaution the states of Holland have, that every night a watch is placed upon the church or stadt-house, that he may thus overlook the town, and discover any fire that might break out, and as a proof of his watching he is obliged to sound a trumpet every hour. At some distance from Leyden is a very neat pesthouse kept in that order to be ready at an hour or two's warning, if any such calamity should happen. Dr. Boerhaave has a very distinct way of teaching, but has not an equal gaiety in his dress with an English physician. He was first designed for the ministry, and has a brother of that profession, who was, on the contrary, designed

* Laurence Coster—Mr. König, a member of the Dutch Society of Sciences, has devoted much time and industry to prove, that the first attempts were made by Coster about the year 1420. The books referred to are kept in the Stadthouse.

† “See Coster here with laurels deck'd,
 Ask you the cause of such respect ?
 If thus of old their heads were crown'd,
 For bold heroic deeds renown'd,
 Or theirs who with superior mind
 Disclos'd some art to bless mankind ;
 What power divine but will bestow
 A double wreath to grace his brow,
 Whose wondrous skill to deeds and arts
 Eternity of fame imparts !”

Besides this monument there is a statue of him set him up in the street before the house in which he resided ; the statue is nine feet high, placed upon a pedestal, upon which Coster on one side is represented carving letters upon the bark of trees, and on the other working in a printing office.

for physic; this gentleman has an impediment in his speech, and the people don't greatly admire him, but the doctor constantly, when his brother preaches in the town, goes to hear him. These trifling remarks, Sir, can give you but small entertainment: I wish I could have the honour to afford you more in the remaining part of this letter.

"I wonder, amidst all the studies which employ our thoughts, we take not more notice of those miracles which present themselves to our view in the lower rank of creation. Were these attended to, they would prodigiously enlarge our minds, and give us far more exalted ideas of the supreme being. Perhaps it might almost puzzle Mr. Derham, were the question asked, whether his quadrant or microscope, whether a star or an insect, has given him greater surprise or satisfaction. But man stalks heedless and thoughtless along amidst a world of beings which surround him on every side, and because they occur frequently to his sight he takes no regard of them. If I might be allowed, Sir, the presumption of presenting you what I have frequently thought on this subject, I would say, we may as rationally find footsteps of Divinity in the most abject reptile upon the ground as in the sun himself. How wonderful must be the contrivance in the legs of a scolopendra!* How inexpressibly curious must be the structure of those muscles which move its unnumbered joints! Or to carry this still farther, how amazingly small must the nerves be which convey the spirits to actuate those muscles in such a regular succession! And I question not but the limbs of every insect are composed of such constituent parts, adapted to the nature of the creature, as answer to the connexion of the bones in the human body, attended with all the supplement of cartilages or epiphysis. All animals as they fall below each other in the scale of existence have their organs suitably prepared; nor is there more wisdom, no nor

* An insect of a very slender and long body, very smooth, and of a yellowish or reddish colour, furnished with a vast number of legs, and having a cleft tail.

power, evinced in the formation of an elephant than of an Ichneumon.

“It may not be displeasing to reflect a little on the perceptions with which animals seem furnished. And I am apt to think a pile of building to some may appear a level plain; nor can I yet find sufficient reason for the contrary. There is no difference in their velocity in ascending a brick-wall, or traversing the flat surface of the ground, and they will mount or run down a perpendicular height with equal swiftness, intrepidity, and unconcern.

“As to the degree of their sense of pain, it seems plain from what I have said concerning the formation of their parts; and Shakspeare sure is in the right when he says,

‘————— The beetle that we tread upon
In corporal sufferance feels a pang as great
As when a giant dies.’

“However, I think it barbarous to take away the life of any animal (but what we are necessitated to), and that from an ostentation of the superiority of human power, especially considering the short duration of time they enjoy among us is the whole of their life, and that they have no future existence. Mr. Locke, I remember, in his *Treatise of Education*, advises parents to let their children have as many birds, squirrels, &c. as they will; for he thinks the care they take of them will give a tincture of humanity to their minds. And, by the way, Leonardo da Vinci, the famous Florentine painter, could not bear to see a bird even confined in a cage, and, as he walked along the streets, would purchase them, and set them at liberty.

“It is observable, that the Supreme Being has given them such perceptions as are suited to the functions of their lives, and the different places of their residence. A bee is in its element while hovering over a parterre, and a charnel-house is the paradise of a toad. To some the most loathsome stench

is a perfume, and others nauseate the most grateful odour ; it is the happiness of these to lie basking in the noon-day sun, of those to hug themselves in dust and obscurity.

“The most trivial thing in nature may entertain a speculative mind with many an agreeable meditation. What wonderful art appears in a bird’s nest ! How contemptible is the very mention of it, and yet what great sagacity appears in its make ! Not only every species composes them of different materials, and in a peculiar plan, but each constantly presents the same form, and invariably keeps to one model. Mr. Addison has observed this before me, but there are two other considerations which fall under this head that gentleman has not noticed. One is the strength and firmness with which those little buildings (if I may so call them) are made. A piece of architecture founded on a rock is not more secure than the basis of a bird’s nest, which is so intricately interwoven with the branches of a tree. An oak may be riven with lightning or torn up with a hurricane before the storm shall be able to dislodge the nest.

“The other consideration is, they, whose young can bear the severity of the cold, or where they would perish by being exposed to the severity of the weather, accordingly provide for their offspring. A crow brings up its little family upon the summit of an elm, while a sparrow nurses her tender progeny within the close recess of a house-ridge.

“The organs of sight in some can endure and take delight in the effulgence of the sun, and others cannot bear the light ; therefore a lark never builds in a barn, nor an owl in a corn-field.

“Is it not remarkable, that among all insects the bee and the pismire should be so regardful of futurity, and show such indefatigable industry in laying up their winter’s provision ? And if the entrance of an hive is guarded by proper centinels to prevent a foreigner’s admission to the community, could we discover the passage to the subterraneous kingdom of ants,

possibly we might find the like policy used by them, and the same outguards posted before their separate states. Those animals, whose life is determined to a short period, discover none of this care; for in them it would not only be useless but burdensome: or, as Mr. Cowley expresses it,

‘Wisely the ant against poor winter hoards
The stock which summer’s wealth affords;
In grasshoppers, that must at autumn die,
How vain were such an industry!’

“The Supreme Being has exerted an infinite benevolence towards every individual of his creatures, and has made the lives of all easy and pleasant to themselves. In those which amphibiously search their food by land and water, how must it have obstructed their flight if that element had adhered to the feathers of water-fowl! Where the necessity of their lives confines them to places which must otherwise have been destructive to them, how has their Maker sufficiently guarded them from those injuries! ‘God,’ says Boerhaave, ‘lest fishes should be affected by the salt water which surrounds them, has placed innumerable glands in their skins which secrete an oil.’ He has left no creature unguarded from and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, but each carries with itself a sufficient shelter from the cold. Nay this, in those of the same species, is proportioned according to the difference of the climate they inhabit: the skin of hares is remarkably thicker in the northern than the southern parts of England.

“I think this moral, Sir, may naturally be drawn from what I have mentioned. If the Supreme Being has shown such extensive benevolence towards this inferior rank of his creation, and if he has given them all satisfaction and pleasure in their own momentary life, what unknown and superior joy must he have reserved for man, whose existence is not confined to time and this world, but whose duration he has

designed shall measure with eternity ! And, on the contrary, how dreadful will be the effects of his vengeance on those incorrigible wretches who take no care to please him, and live, as it were, in defiance of his wrath, when they shall have an angered Omnipotence by which to be punished, and an everlasting state in which to endure those punishments ! *These are but a small part of his works ; but the thunder of his power who can understand !*

“ Sir, as soon as I was settled here I wrote to my mother, to desire Mr. Price at the close of the then next succeeding sacrament, to offer up my thanks to God for my safe arrival here ; but I find she had anticipated me herein, and, before that letter came, had already sent to him on that account. You will please, Sir, to present my humble service to him, in whose and in your own prayers I beg I may be remembered, and hope I shall ever be enabled so to behave myself, that through me no scandal shall fall on the profession I have made, or on the religion of my Saviour. I am, Sir,

“ Your most obliged

“ And most humble Servant,

“ R. PORTER.

“ Sir, you will believe me when I say I shall be glad to receive a letter from Mr. Watts. If you can ever find leisure for this, I hope it will come safe to me at Mr. John Frasenburgh's, upon the Long Bridge in Leyden, Holland.”

TO THE REV. SAMUEL SAY.

“ Dear Brother,

“ I hoped to have heard some word from you ere I sent this book, which I think I promised you in my last. It is no charge to you I presume to receive what I send this way,

otherwise I fear lest the gift be not worth the carriage. If you think one of these manuals may be useful for your daughter, I send one to her. The other is at your disposal. I would become all to all, and even as a child to children, that by any means I might save some. Farewell, dear brother, and continue to love

“Your affectionate friend and servant,

“I. WATTS.

“My salutations attend Mrs. Say.

“Lime-Street, in London,

“Feb. 2d. 1727.”

FROM THE REV. DANIEL MAYO.*

“Kingston, Feb. 29, 1727.

“Rev. and dear Sir,

“I find in your last a fresh specimen of your humbleness and goodness, and subscribe to your prudent advice, and the rather, because, as I promised you, I am willing you should judge what is fit for me to do in the troublesome affair, as a kind friend to both parties you are engaged with.

“I have herewith sent you a copy of a letter I have by this post sent to Sir G. E., in which I have endeavoured to suppress such thoughts as will arise when I think of the strong temper and carriage of some persons in this whole affair; but

* This gentleman, the son of the Rev. Richard Mayo, one of the ejected ministers, was the pastor of a dissenting church upwards of thirty-five years at Kingston-upon-Thames. After the death of Matthew Henry he preached at Hackney two sabbaths in the month, where the Gravel-pit meeting-house, now occupied by Dr. Pye Smith's congregation, was built for him. He afterwards removed to Silver-Street, upon the decease of Mr. Jeremiah Smith, where he finished his labours, June 13, 1733, aged 61 years. Mr. Mayo divided with the subscribing ministers during the Salter's-Hall controversy. He was educated in Holland under the celebrated Professor Witsius, and published during his residence there a Latin thesis upon miracles.

perhaps you may think a word or two might yet have been spared. Whether I should have omitted any words I will not be positive, but the things intended thereby I am sure should be thought on by him, and they will be thought on with a becoming temper if he be what I gladly hope he is.

“I am, Sir, your most obliged friend and humble servant,

“DANIEL MAYO.

“P. S. I design to wait on you in Lime-Street on Saturday at about five o’clock.”

TO SIR G. E.

“Kingston, Feb. 29, 1727.

“Sir,

“If you had written to me yourself I should not have delayed an answer so long as since the time I received a letter from your son Charles: by what I read therein and hear from other hands, it appears how highly you resent some unguarded expressions of mine in private conversation, which I am persuaded have been represented to you. What the words were, as I cannot exactly remember, so I am confident no one that heard them can take upon himself to repeat upon oath; but this I am sure of, they did not proceed from malice in my heart, nor were spoken with design to calumniate, falsify any person living or dead: nor do I believe any one of the hearers (not he in particular that related them) did in the least suspect or imagine any such thing. For this I appeal to every one then present.

“If I had an opportunity of giving you a true and full information of the whole matter, in the presence of the Reverend Mr. Watts, or the whole company in which I then was, I believe yourself would not think my offence deserves so many and such severe accusations and menaces as are in your son’s

letter. God and my conscience acquit me of the guilt of malice and enmity, &c. which I am there charged with; and upon consultation with the learned in the law, I fear no ill consequence as to myself by any legal prosecution; which, however, for many reasons very obvious to every body, I think ought not to be commenced nor threatened.

“Though I cannot remember exactly the words spoken, and never shall make any confession of particular words said to be spoken by me, nor own such guilt as I know myself to be (I had almost said perfectly) free from; yet as I have at all times, when this matter hath been mentioned, readily acknowledged, so I now in this manner own to you, I was in the wrong to say what I said, because I impertinently talked about what did not concern me; and I am truly sorry for what was said, especially considering how it hath been represented and resented; and so far as you are or can be justly offended thereby, I very freely ask your pardon. I do most sincerely wish you and all yours prosperity in this world, and eternal happiness in the next, and remain, Sir, yours in all good offices you will please to accept of.

“D. M.”

FROM SIR GILBERT ELLIOTT, BART.

“Epsom, March 4, 1727.

“Reverend Sir,

“I have your favour of the first instant, to which I had made an immediate return, but business prevented. Mr. Mayo has written to me, which I told you I could not accept as a reparation for the injury; but such a letter, so void of manners, so full of jesuitical evasions, I should have believed it dated from the Sorbonne, if it had been polite enough. Since he will not make the acknowledgment before the company where he uttered the slander, there is no more to be said.

Forgive me, dear Sir, to appeal to you, for the healing proposal I made in justification of my conduct, if necessity require it. A missive apology is properly an expedient or palliative cure in no manner equal to the present case ; and I do assure you, I demand nothing of him but what conscience and honour would both oblige me to, was I in his situation. I cannot but give you one passage in the words of his letter: ‘ I freely ask your pardon, which I think, by the laws of Christ, I have as much reason to expect to receive as give, where it is needful for me, or where I am obliged to ask it.’ I must observe, to take the coherence and structure of his letter, it is asking pardon for nothing, a mere evasion. But if I understand the law of our blessed Lord, no man can expect pardon for injury to his neighbour, if he be capable to make full restitution in a proper manner, and refuse to do it. I am sure I have great reason to ask pardon of you, for the trouble and interruption I have given on this melancholy occasion, and to return you a thousand thanks for all your civilities and favours.

“ My most respectful services ever attend my Lady Abney, the young ladies, and Mrs. Gunston. I am,

“ Reverend and dear Sir,

“ Your most affectionate humble servant,

“ GILB. ELIOTT.”

TO MR. SAY AT IPSWICH.

“ Dear Bro.,

“ Mr. Ashurst informed me some weeks since he saw you at Ipswich, and you gave him reason to expect your company a day or two at Hedingham Castle when I was there. I am arrived here this day, and hope to spend all next week there ; if your affairs permit you to fulfil your promise, I know it will not be disagreeable to Mr. Ashurst, and I am persua-

ded your company will be acceptable to the Lady Abney, &c. And if you will share a bed with me for a night or two, you will be a very agreeable companion to your old friend and brother and humble servant,

“ I. WATTS.

“ Hedingham Castle, Augt. 10th, 1727.”

TO THE REV. SAMUEL SAY.

“ Dear bro. Say,

“ I repeat my sincere thanks for your kind visit at Hedingham Castle. I wish your situation of affairs had not forbid your longer stay. Distance and absence of body in this incarnate state forbids the pleasures of conversation to intellectual minds that dwell in them. Writing is a relief, but still a slow way of communication. May God keep our hearts still pointing heavenward, where the sweetest society shall never be interrupted by such avocations as disturb us here !

“ This only tells you that I have sent last week a small packet for you to Mrs. Porter’s. When you receive it, you will please to inform

“ Your most affectionate brother,

“ and humble scrvt.,

“ I. WATTS.

“ Sep. 12th, 1727.

“ My salutations attend Mrs. Say.

FROM SIR GILBERT ELIOTT, BART.

“ Epsom, Nov. 8, 1727.

“ Rev. Sir,

“ I proposed myself the pleasure of seeing you before this, but several unexpected accidents have prevented me ;

and as I do not know when I shall enjoy so great a satisfaction, I take this opportunity to renew my old request, that you would be so good and charitable as to oblige the world with a short catechism, in a plain, easy, intelligible way, adapted to the several ages and capacities of children. Give me leave to be importunate in my request, because it would be of great use to a society that I have some concern in. It would look like flattery and not sincere friendship, was I to tell you what a general and deserved applause your writings meet with. Sure this is a great encouragement; let me use it as an argument to undertake so useful and beneficial a work, which seems to be reserved by Providence for your happy genius and extensive capacity. It was no small pleasure to hear upon the road by Mr. Tonge of your health, which I hope and wish you may still long enjoy to be continued as a further blessing in your day and generation. My respectful services attend Lady Abney; I hope she will be my advocate in this cause, and use her interest with you in my favour. I should be extremely glad to hear of your welfare, as being with a sincere esteem, Rev. and dear Sir,

“Your most affectionate humble Servant,

“GILB. ELIOTT.”

TO THE REV. SAMUEL SAY.

“Apl. 11th, 1728.

“Dear Sir,

“Your letter dated from Feb. 10th to March 5, afforded me agreeable entertainment, and particularly your notes on the 2nd psalm, in which I think I concur in sentiment with you in every line, and thank you. The epiphonema to the 16th psalm is also very acceptable; and in my opinion, the Psalms ought to be translated in such a manner for Christian worship, in order to show the hidden glories of that divine poesy.

G g

“ I beg leave only to query about the *Sheol* in Ps. 16, whether that phrase of *not seeing corruption*, ought to be applied to David at all, since Peter, Acts, ii. 31, and Paul, Acts, xiii. 36, seem to exclude him. And though I will not say, that your sense of the *soul*, i. e. the *life*, may answer the Hebrew manner of reduplication of the same thing in other words; yet, as David sometimes speaks of the *soul* as a thing distinct from the body, why may not the *soul* be taken so in this place, and *Sheol* signify *Hades*, the state of the dead?

“ I am glad my little prayer-book is acceptable to you and your daughter. I perceive you have been also (among many others) uneasy to have no easier and plainer catechism for children than that of the Assembly. I had a letter from Leicestershire the very same day when I received yours on the same subject; and long before this, a multitude of requests have I had to set my thoughts at work for this purpose. I have designed it these many years. I have laid out some schemes for this purpose: and I would have three or four series of catechisms as I have of prayers. I believe I shall do it ere long if God afford health. But, dear friend, forgive me if I cannot come into your scheme of *bringing in the creed*; for 'tis in my opinion a most *imperfect and immethodical composition*, and deserves no great regard, unless it be to put it at the end of the catechism for form's sake, together with the Lord's prayer and ten commandments, as is done in the Assembly's catechism. The history of the life and death of Christ is excessively long in so short a system; and the design of the death of Christ (which is the glory of Christianity) is utterly omitted. Besides, the operations of the Spirit are not named. The practical articles are all excluded. In short, 'tis a very mean composure, and has nothing valuable, *præter mille annos*. My ideas of these matters run in another track, which, if ever I have the happiness to see you, may be matter of free communication between us.

“ I am sorry I forgot to put up the coronation ode in my

packet. I will count myself in debt till I have an occasion to send you something more valuable along with it. Two days (ago), I published a little essay on charity-schools, my treatise of education growing so much longer in my hands than I designed. If it were worth while to send such a trifle you should have it. In the mean time I take leave, and with due salutations to yourself and yours,

“I am

“Your affectionate brother and servant,

“I. WATTS.”

FROM PROFESSOR GREENWOOD, A. M.*

“Harvard College, Sept. 12, 1728.

“Rev. Sir,

“Yours of the 10th of May last I received this week, together with the generous present of the second edition of your *Astronomy and Geography*, and your *Prayer-*

*Hollisian Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy in Harvard College, New England. When tidings of Mr. Hollis's death (see page 205) reached America, Mr. Greenwood read to the students, April 7, a philosophical discourse concerning the mutability and changes of the material world, which he thus introduced: “You cannot expect that I should go on in the ordinary course of my lectures at this time, regardless of that great change that has passed upon the religious and most generous founder thereof. I have thought it more proper to turn my thoughts upon this mournful occasion, to the mutability and changes of the material world.” After treating of the resurrection of the body, and the immortality of the soul, he remarks, “If this be so, with what comfort and hope may we survey the relics of departed pious friends! They have ended one course of change to begin another; they have borne their fruit in this world, and returned to their seed that they may spring up the sooner in another, productive of other good fruit. And, as in the vegetable kingdom, it is with a superior pleasure and expectation that we consider the revival of such plants as have always been distinguished by the plenty and delicacy of their fruit; so, with earnest desires and hopes, we should wait for the day when we shall behold the resurrection of such as have distinguished themselves by acts of charity and bounty. And with such expectations and hopes, nature itself will allow me to bid a solemn farewell to the remains of that unparalleled benefactor to this society, Thomas Hollis, Esq., who has laid the foundation of this and other philosophical and mathematical exercises.”

book for the assistance of children. It is an undeserved honour you do me in your correspondence, and I acknowledge myself under the strongest obligations of gratitude and all possible returns. Those I have shown your Prayer-book to, are very well pleased with the design and performance; and some have told me, that, were it not that we are suspicious of novelties, they would encourage the reprinting of it among us. Your Astronomy and Geography is highly worthy the esteem our students have of it, and if there are enough in the country to be purchased, I propose this fall to make it the *vade mecum* in those studies.

“Could I obtain treatises on all the mathematical sciences, which are proper for the education of divines, written with such a freedom and ease of expression, as well as perspicuity of thought, it would exceedingly facilitate the business of professing the mathematics, &c.

“It is our most hearty prayer that God would confirm your health still more and more, and give an opportunity to go on as you have so excellently done in your Logic, Geography and Astronomy, to show us what studies you pursued, and in what method, in order to arrive at that perfection we admire in your theological tracts.

“I have sent you inclosed a small book of sermons, which were preached among us upon the death of his late majesty, and the accession of the present king to the throne, which, being very much admired among us, I have thought they might not be unacceptable to you. I am, with the utmost respect,

“Your obliged humble servant,

“ISAAC GREENWOOD.

“Please to present my humble service to the Rev. Mr. Price, your colleague.”

Dr. Watts's Remarks upon the scheme of Mr. Jennings's Plan of Education, drawn out by Doddridge, with the Annotations of the latter.

FROM A MANUSCRIPT BY DR. WATTS.

“Upon reading the whole of this letter, I am sensibly struck with the following thoughts:

“1. How wonderful and extraordinary a man was the late Mr. John Jennings! The little acquaintance I had with him made me esteem and love him; but my love and esteem were vastly too low for so sublime and elevated a character. The world and the church know not the dimensions of that mournful vacancy which they sustain by his death.

“2. How necessary it is that *two* persons at least should be engaged to fill up all the parts of that office, which the ingenious writer of this letter has made to devolve upon one. The diversity of genius, the variety of studies, the several intellectual, moral, and pious accomplishments, the constant daily and hourly labours necessary to fulfil such a post, can hardly be expected from any one person living.

“3. Yet if there be one person capable of such a post, perhaps it is the *man* who has so admirably described this scheme of education; and as he seems to have surveyed and engrossed the whole comprehensive view and design, together with its constant difficulties and accidental embarrassments, and yet supposes it to be practicable, I am sure I can never think of any person more likely to execute it than himself; although if an elder person joined with him, for the reputation of the matter, at least, it would be well. The beauties and congruities of the scheme are so many and various, that, if I should have made my remarks upon them, as I have done (*en passant*) upon some little improbables, I must have filled a quire instead of a sheet of paper.

“Remarks.

“1. Why oratory once a week in the second half year, and not cultivated a little towards the end of the course, when the pupil should be taught to preach?*

“2. Why not render the Greek authors into Latin, and then into English?†

“3. If in the first half year popular arguments were turned into an algebraic form, would it be amiss, in the second or third half year, to turn the same into a logical form?‡

“4. Upon the whole I cannot but think Mr. Jennings’s mode of treating logic in a strict mathematical way, is very improper; and though I mightily approve of many things in his third book of logic, and of the perpetual references to various authors which the pupil may read in private, yet I have given my best sense of the form of logic in what I have written.§

“5. I do not think so universal a contempt should be poured on the ontological part of the old systems of logic as some have done: human nature is ever ready to turn into extremes. I wish there were a good system of ontology, treating of its absolute and relative affections, so far as is useful, set in a good light, and regular short method.||

* “I think that provided for in the Lectures on the Art of Preaching referred to the sixth or seventh half year.

† “I acknowledge it to be the best way, and intend it.

‡ “Whether by logical he meant syllogistic.—If it be only analytic and synthetic, it is what we did at Mr. Jennings’s, and I am sorry that I omitted to mention it.

§ “It is with due deference to the superior judgment of Dr. Watts, that I still think that Mr. Jennings’s method of treating logical and ethical subjects of all others the most proper for academical lectures. Yet I am highly sensible of the value of the doctor’s Logic, which will afford me an opportunity of enriching my tutor’s system with some of the finest references.

|| “I highly approve of the addition proposed; and would earnestly entreat the doctor to prepare a few lectures on that subject, for which I will not fail to make room in my intended course.

“6. Though there may be some good hints lost for want of transcribing; and yet I hardly think it necessary to copy out every academical exercise, as it would fill up time which might be better employed.*

“7. One thing, I think, was very useful in the academy where I was educated; and that was, that plain easy books of practical divinity, such as Grotius de Veritate Rel. Chr., &c. were recommended to the pupils to be read in their own closets on Saturdays, from the very beginning of their studies. For this purpose our tutor never read lectures on Saturdays; and, indeed, when all is done, it is a good acquaintance with practical divinity that will make the best Christians and the best ministers.†

“8. You will have many lads coming from grammar schools; and as many such scholars will not be fit to enter upon your academical course with proper advantage, should not the perfection of the studies of grammar, algebra, and geometry, be the business of your first half year?‡

“9. Are the hands of enemies so effectually chained up from offering us any violence, that they cannot indict or prosecute you under the pretence that your academy is a school?”§

* “I should, therefore, incline to find out a medium, and the plain short-hand, which is one of the first things I should teach, would do much to obviate the objection.

† “I acknowledge this to be a useful hint; and hope my pupils will allow some time to practical writers *every day* as I have done, unless when accidentally prevented, for more than ten years.

‡ “I propose that the perfection of these studies should be the employment of the first year.

§ “I know not how it may be in other places, but about us I cannot discern so much fury in the clergy; nor do I imagine they could make any thing of a prosecution. It was once attempted to the shame of the undertakers, with regard to Mr. Matthews of Mount Sorrel.”

Dr. Doddridge soon had occasion to change his opinion, and to experience something of the “fury” which his candour would not allow him to apprehend. The Rev. Mr. Wills, of Kingsthorpe, a small village in his neighbourhood, full of the divine right of kings and priests, remonstrated at his intruding within the pre-

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“Grosvenor Street, Feb. 23, 1729.

“Sir,

“I could not have been so long without making my acknowledgments for the favour of your excellent and obliging letter, had not my Lord Hertford’s illness in a long and severe fit of the gout confined me to a continual attendance to his chamber. He is now, I thank God, on the recovery, though not yet able to walk without the help of crutches.

“Our human state is indeed liable to many inconveniences; we are loaded with bodily infirmities, and tormented with passions; but a few circling years will clear the prospect, and we shall, through the grace of God, be relieved from all the pains and sorrows which vex us here. My health has been very uncertain all this winter: at the beginning of it a violent rheumatism confined me to my bed and chamber for some weeks; and I am at present very much disordered by a very severe cold, which has lasted me more than a fortnight, and is rather worse than it was at first. My Lord and my daughter assure you of their sincerest regards. I am truly concerned to hear that you have been so ill, but I hope you will enjoy a more confirmed state of health for the future, that you may pass your pilgrimage here with as little uneasiness as mortality will admit of.

“Governor Shute* brought me your picture, which I shall always set a high value upon, as I shall do on every thing that reminds me of so worthy a friend.

cincts of his parish to preach; and Chancellor Reynolds verified Dr. Watts’s anticipation, by attempting to put down his academy. An act still remained on the statute-book respecting schoolmasters, the 13th of Charles II., which the toleration act had not noticed, and a prosecution was commenced to enforce its penalties. But, happily a member of the house of Brunswick was upon the throne, and George II. issued a *nolo prosequi* for the protection of the defenceless nonconformist.

* Mr. Shute was the brother of Lord Barrington, and Governor of Massachusetts from 1716 to 1730.

“I will not trouble you any longer at present, than to beg to be remembered in your prayers, that I may lead a life of holiness for the few remaining years that may yet be left me.

“I am, with sincere friendship,

“Sir, your most humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE REV. PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D.D.

“Harborough, Nov. 8, 1729.

“Rev. Sir,

“The great regard I have for your judgment, and my confidence in your generous and most obliging friendship, engages me to beg the favour of your advice in a very important affair, with which I am exceedingly embarrassed.

“I have now before me an unanimous and most pressing invitation to Northampton, accompanied with all the circumstances of seriousness, zeal, and affection, which is possible for a plain honest people to express. You know, Sir, that it is a very large congregation, and though their sentiments be much narrower than I could wish, which alarms some of my wisest friends in these parts, yet I am ready to hope I might have a comfortable settlement amongst them, and a fair prospect of considerable usefulness, with the blessing of God attending my labours. They are, indeed, a people of a very low taste as any I ever met with, which is a circumstance I own disagreeable to me, but which, if it were the only objection, might well give way to the solemn arguments on the contrary side.

“But the greatest difficulty of all, is that which relates to my scheme for academical education. I have been preparing for the business of a tutor several years; I am now entered upon it, and find it a delight rather than a fatigue. On the whole I have reason to believe, and it is the judgment of Mr.

Some, Mr. Saunders, and several of my other friends in these parts, that my designs for education are as likely to succeed as any others which I can form for the service of the church, since my intimate acquaintance with Mr. Jennings's method may give me advantages above others who are vastly my superiors in genius and learning. Besides that, I am under such obligations to my pupils and their friends, as would make it highly indecent for me to lay aside the business till their course be dispatched.

“The people at Northampton do indeed freely offer to admit of my going on with this employment amongst them. But, allowing it were possible to do something that way, it is apparent that many great advantages must be resigned which I am very loath to quit. The prudence of Mrs. Jennings and her generous friendship, which makes this family far more agreeable to my pupils than any other which I could offer them in exchange. The temper of the dissenters in these parts, which cheerfully allows innocent freedoms, which to such young students should not be denied. The great leisure I have for study, while all the care of the people lies on Mr. Some, and the countenance which his name gives to my scheme, besides the much greater and more important advantage I receive from his most intimate friendship and daily conversation. While I am here I consider myself as still in a course of education, and hope, if God spare my life to the end of these four years, to have made some considerable improvements in my academical scheme, and to be in many other respects abundantly fitter for public service than I now am. If I go to Northampton, I may indeed spare a few hours every day to read and explain Mr. Jennings's lectures to one class at a time; but I shall have very little opportunity of increasing my own stock, which is yet but very small. I can never expect a flourishing academy, for provisions are very dear there, and many other circumstances make it an inconvenient situation for young students; and, at present,

my engaging in such a variety of business, might, perhaps, shock my constitution, and much more probably expose me to the censure of the world, as guilty of inexcusable rashness and arrogancy. Mr. Some and Mr. Saunders do not think it prudent to oppose my going; but I am confident they would neither of them be thoroughly pleased with it. I was very unwilling to determine the affair absolutely till I had consulted with you. I beg your speedy answer, and desire that you would please to communicate this to Dr. Hunt, Mr. Neal, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Jolly, Mr. Anther, and any other friend whom you may think proper. I have just been writing to Dr. Wright about it, and should be glad if you had an opportunity of talking over the business with him. I beg a particular remembrance in your prayers, and humbly hope that God will direct me to what will be most for his glory, and the good of his church, to the service of which I have devoted my life, and all my little capacities and opportunities of usefulness. I cannot conclude without returning my hearty acknowledgments to good Dr. Watts for his many favours. I assure you, Sir, that I have the most tender and respectful sense of them, and shall rejoice in every opportunity of cultivating a further friendship with you, as one of the greatest honours and pleasures of my life.

“I am, Reverend Sir,

“Your most obliged humble Servant,

“P. DODDRIDGE.”

FROM THE SAME.

“Harborough, Nov. 22, 1729.

“Rev. Sir,

“I hope you will pardon the liberty I take of reminding you of a letter I wrote to you a fortnight ago, to beg the favour of your advice in the present circumstance of my affairs. I would by no means urge you to any thing which would be an inconvenience to you; but as it is high time the business should be determined, and many ill consequences may follow on keeping it longer in suspense, I expect your answer with some impatience. I fear, lest in this sickly season, some illness should have prevented your writing. I heartily pray for the continuance of that life and health which is so important to the church and the world; and am, with much greater respect than I can express,

“Reverend Sir,

“Your most obliged and affectionate Servant,

“P. DODDRIDGE.

“P. S. Mr. Joseph Saunders (brother to Mr. J. Saunders of Kettering) and one of my pupils, is a man of so good a genius and so excellent a character, that I conceive very delightful hopes with regard to him. His circumstances are narrow, and those of his excellent brother are at present much perplexed. His coming to me has prevented his having an exhibition from either of the funds, which makes me the more solicitous to do him what service I can, by recommending him to my friends. If it lies in your way, Sir, to give any assistance towards his education, I should take it as a particular favour, and I hope you would have a great deal of reason to be thoroughly satisfied in having chosen a very worthy object of regard.”

FROM THE HON. JONATHAN BELCHER.*

“Whitehall, Jan. 8, 1730.

“Reverend Sir,

“I believe you will find among your last year’s New-England letters, one that came by me from my esteemed friend the Rev. Mr. Colman; and I think, sometime in April last, I had the pleasure of waiting on you at my Lady Abney’s, and afterwards of seeing you at Tunbridge, since which I had promised myself the satisfaction of a more particular personal acquaintance with Dr. Watts; but the sovereign God (in whose hands our times are) having lately confined you at Theobalds, and called me to an affair of life that engrosses much of my time to be in readiness to look homeward early in the spring; I say, these things have debarred me of that satisfaction and happiness I have so much desired. In New England I have often regaled myself with your ingenious pieces, and I can assure you (without a compliment) all Dr. Watts’s works are had in great esteem and honour amongst us. It was with uncommon concern I observed your weak tender state of health the last Lord’s day; and although, as you very excellently set forth to us, ‘that the God of Nature can make new vessels, and the God of Grace can fill them with

* Mr. Belcher was appointed Governor of New England in 1730, and continued in that station until the year 1740. He was a native of the Massachusetts, where his father was a wealthy merchant. After an academical education in his own country, he came over to Europe, was twice at Hanover, and was introduced to the court there when the Princess Sophia was the presumptive heiress to the British crown. The gracefulness of his person, his talents, and property, procured him considerable notice. He lived in great state, was hospitable, fond of splendid equipages, and of an aspiring turn of mind. In his government he was a stickler for the prerogative of the crown; and, in the estimation of the people, was indifferent to the liberties of the subject. He was accused of being attached to the episcopal clergy, and of conspiring with them against the congregational interest in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. His high spirit, his want of suavity of manner, procured him many enemies; and the charge, as it was made by anonymous parties, was probably without any foundation.

treasure, and although the apostle tells us we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, yet Christ's ministers are the salt of the earth, and how beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things! And when Christ fills his vessels with precious treasures, and makes his ministers burning and shining lights, God's people will sorrow most of all to hear the ministers tell them, they fear they shall see their faces no more.' But I hope it may stand with the holy will of God to restore and confirm your health, that his church may have Dr. Watts long in store, still to go on, by the grace and assistance of your ascended Lord, in multiplying the seals of your ministry to his honour and glory, and the eternal happiness of those whom you shall turn from the error of their ways; and then those sons and daughters you have here begotten in Christ, will serve as sparkling gems, to give lustre to that crown of righteousness which God, the righteous Judge, will fix on your head in the great day of his appearance. Amen. God grant it may be so!

"And now, Sir, since it has pleased the all-wise God (in his providence) to remove me from one ordination of life to another, and to a station where I must stand in a glaring light, exposed to the view of the whole world, and every one will think himself entitled to be my *censor morum*, to subject my words and actions to his ill-natured cavils and criticisms; I am sensible, great is the burthen and duty of the place with which the king has honoured me. I, therefore, desire you to join with me, while I bow my knees to the God of all grace and wisdom, that he would give me a wise and understanding heart, to discern between good and bad, and to know how to go out and in before his people. Every day fills my soul with care and solicitude, that I may discharge my trust to the honour of God, the good of his people, and my own comfort and credit. When I consider how ungratefully and unprofitably I have lived to God and man, it is with shame that I tell

you, I am this day entered into the forty-ninth year of my age. My days are swifter than a post, and short (perhaps very short) the race I have to run : may I then double my diligence for the honour and service of God and man, and so as may most of all promote my own eternal happiness.

“ You will pardon me for the freedom I have taken with a gentleman, more a stranger than I could wish, and believe me to be, with great esteem and respect, Reverend Sir,

“ Your most obedient and humble servant,

“ JONA. BELCHER.

“ P. S. My service to the Rev. Mr. Price.”

CHAPTER XIII.

1731—1736.

STATE OF DISSENTERS.

THE FIRST NONCONFORMISTS:—DECLENSION OF THEIR SUCCESSORS.—METROPOLITAN DISSENTERS.—THE “INQUIRY” BY STRICKLAND GOUGH.—DODDRIDGE’S “FREE THOUGHTS.”—STATE OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—THE “HUMBLE ATTEMPT” TOWARDS REVIVAL.—CONTROVERSY BETWEEN WHITE AND TOWGOOD.—THE “STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF HUMAN REASON.”—“PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS.”—REMARKS OF DR. JOHNSON.—DEATH OF MISS ABNEY.—VISITED BY DODDRIDGE.—HOPKINS’S BENEFACTION.—MR. COWARD.—BURY-STREET LECTURE:—NEAL’S PREFACE:—SERMON ON BAPTISM.—NORFOLK CONTROVERSY.—LETTER FROM DR. GIBBONS.—COWARD’S ACADEMY.—“RELIQUÆ JUVENILES.”—THE “REDEEMER AND SANCTIFIER.”—CONNECTION WITH THE “GENTLEMAN’S MAGAZINE.”—CORRESPONDENCE.

WE have now advanced midway into what may be called the second age of nonconformity. Seventy years had elapsed since its founders began to assert its principles, and to suffer for its sake. The cause they espoused in their day widely extended itself; the bush which the flame could not consume covered the land with its offshoots; and whatever remained of the piety of the first reformers, was found in the bosom of their churches. But religion did not flourish among them under a tolerant government with the same vigour, as when “troubled on every side” by the executives of despotic power. The unfavourable change which commenced soon after the “fathers fell asleep,” has been already noticed; their doctrinal views were, in many instances, abandoned by their de-

scendants; and as the truth departed from the pulpit, its vital and practical influence disappeared from the people. The first nonconformists were Calvinists in sentiment; they zealously testified against the semi-pelagianism which had crept into the establishment; and with a fervour and laboriousness worthy of apostolic times, preached "Christ Jesus the Lord." A more palatable creed was craved after by those of their successors, whom education merely had made dissenters; and it is remarkable, that those who departed from the faith, with scarcely one exception, pursued the same track. Arminianism, which, under the powerful advocacy of the Wesleys, won its tens of thousands of converts, was the first step of congregational decline; the second stage was Arianism; and the third and final lapse was into Socinianism. The consequences of this apostacy were soon apparent in empty meeting-houses, and wholly extinguished interests; the error carried the chill of death along the path it travelled; but happily it was confined to the Presbyterians and Baptists, and did not extend its ravages to the Independents. The latter body remained uninfected with the new theology, and though a spiritual lethargy had fastened upon some of the churches, there were many flourishing amid surrounding barrenness and decay. In the metropolis the number of places of worship belonging to the Presbyterians and Independents, amounted in 1695 to fifty-seven; in 1730 there were fifty-eight, but many of these had been enlarged, so as to accommodate about four thousand additional hearers. It is estimated that the inhabitants of the city had increased one-sixth part during this period; so that in proportion to the population, the dissenters had positively retrograded.

The unsatisfactory state of the dissenting interest, elicited considerable inquiry as to the causes of its decline; many mourned in secret over the melancholy fact; others attempted to point out the means of revival from the press. In the year 1730 Mr. Strickland Gough, a young minister who afterwards

conformed, published a pamphlet, entitled "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Decay," &c. ; but unevangelical himself in his views, he overlooks the true source of the evil, and contends for an external reformation, without touching the seat of the disease. An anonymous author appeared in answer to Mr. Gough in a small treatise, entitled "Free thoughts on the most probable means of reviving the dissenting interest, occasioned by a late inquiry into the causes of the decay"—afterwards ascertained to be the first production of Doddridge's pen. His intelligent mind and evangelical spirit at once perceived the reason why religion drooped in the localities Mr. Gough pointed out—the apathy of the ministry in some instances, and their lamentable theological errors in others ; and he expresses his conviction, that nothing but the plain, experimental, and affectionate proclamation of the doctrines of the gospel, can preserve a congregation from decay, or revive it in decline. It was only, however, in particular districts, that decreased numbers and diminished spirituality appeared : of one of the midland counties, Northamptonshire, Doddridge testifies, "I know that in many of the congregations the number of dissenters is greatly increased within these twenty years ; and the interest continues so to flourish, that I am confident some of our honest people, who converse only in their own neighbourhood, will be surprised to hear of an inquiry into the causes of its decay." It was chiefly in London and in the West of England that Arianism found an entrance : but as the irruption of a tempest is often narrow in its span, while it is lengthened in its course ; so was it with the inroad of heresy, and numerous and flourishing communities existed on either hand of its line of desolation.

The Independent churches could boast a goodly number of faithful ministers, who laboured zealously for the advancement of true religion, witnessed with painful anxiety the signs of deterioration, and applied themselves from the pulpit and the press, to "strengthen the things that were ready to

die." The excellent Mr. Some of Harborough published a sermon with this design in 1730; and in March, in the following year, Dr. Watts sent forth his "Humble Attempt towards the revival of practical religion among Christians." This treatise is divided into two parts: an address to ministers, founded on Col. iv. 17, "Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received;" and an address to the people, from Matt. v. 57, "What do ye more than others." The former part was drawn up for the ordination of Mr. John Oakes, over the church at Cheshunt, November 12, 1729; but being prevented by illness from attending, he was requested to publish what he had intended to deliver: the latter part is the substance of several sermons preached at Bury Street. This publication obtained an unexpected notoriety, as it originated an able controversy upon the principles of nonconformity. In exhorting the dissenting body to increased purity of life and more active exertion, Dr. Watts assumed the fact, that they were favoured with superior advantages, for the cultivation of personal religion, than the members of the establishment — that they were not so much in danger of substituting the outward forms of religion for the power — that they were freed from the inventions of men and the imposition of human ceremonies in divine worship — that they were not confined to a perpetual repetition of set forms of prayer — that they had the choice of their own ministers — that the communion of their churches was kept more pure and free from the admission of scandalous and unworthy members — and from these considerations he argues their obligation to improvement in proportion to their privileges. Though the writer had no design whatever to provoke a controversy; though his aim was rather to expose the failings of his own denomination, than those of the dominant hierarchy; yet, as the positions which he assumed involved all the main points at issue between the dissenters and the establishment, it was hardly to be expected that they would be suffered to pass current

in silence. A champion for the national church appeared in the person of the Rev. John White, B. D. fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, and vicar of Ospring in Kent, who published "Letters to a Gentleman dissenting from the Church of England." In his first letter he asserts the superiority of his own communion to any scheme of dissent; and in the two succeeding ones, assails, with some asperity, those who seceded from it. Dr. Watts does not appear to have taken any notice of his opponent; but Micaiah Towgood, a minister in the West of England, accepted the challenge he gave, and produced "The dissenting Gentleman's Letter to Mr. White." It is foreign to our present purpose to trace the history of this controversy; several pieces appeared on both sides; but the vicar was plainly no match for the Exeter pastor. Though Towgood was one of those who departed from the doctrinal sentiments of the first nonconformists, yet he explains the principles and vindicates the reasons of their secession with great ability; his wit, his acuteness, his pungent reasoning will always please; and his volume is still read with interest, whilst the work of his antagonist has sunk into oblivion.

Dr. Watts, though never in the possession of robust health, was now enjoying an interval of comparative vigour, one of the few bright and sunny periods that mark his often clouded career. Besides engaging in arduous literary employment at home, he was able to attend to his pastoral duties abroad, and the strength with which he was favoured was carefully expended for his people's benefit. He appears to have occupied his pulpit regularly during the year 1731, and in April and December he preached the sermons forming the first part of the "Evangelical Discourses." His indefatigable mind was next employed on the deistical controversy; and in the same year that produced the attempt to rouse the dissenters from their lethargy, his work on "The Strength and Weakness of Human Reason," appeared anonymously.

This important topic is argued at considerable length, in conversation at four conferences, between Logisto, an inquiring deist, Pithander, a Christian, with Sophronius, as moderator. "If," as Dr. Johnson remarks, "the writer is unhappy in coining names expressive of his characters, he manages the discussion with his usual ability and tact." The sufficiency of the light of nature, in the discovery of truth and the search after happiness, was loudly asserted by the philosophical oracles of the time; the volume of inspiration was thrown aside as a complete work of supererogation; and the proper cultivation of the intellectual faculty, maintained to be alone requisite to meet all the exigencies of man. In opposition to these views, the necessity of a divine revelation is ably argued and satisfactorily proved in Watts's treatise; deism is chased through its various subterfuges; and reason shown, from the history of human opinion, to be a weak and erring faculty, utterly inadequate to find out the mind of the Most High, and ascertain the knowledge of his will. We have the page of history, to which the appeal can be made, to ascertain what the unaided powers of the human mind have been able to discover of moral and religious truth. The possession of the greatest talents has been no security from the grossest errors; though endowed with the most transcendent mental qualities, men have still remained perplexed with doubt, involved in uncertainty, and degraded by superstition. Many among the wisest of the ancients made not even the remotest approximation to some of the most important truths recognized now by natural religion; they were deluded with the most trifling fancies; and wasted their "strength" upon "that which profiteth not." And yet the masters of the Grove, the Portico, and the Lyceum, were not inferior in intellectual ability to the mighty names of Cudworth, Clarke, Cumberland, Wilkins, and Wollaston; they had the same natural phenomena to behold, and the same providential administration to reason from; and their

argumentative powers were disciplined by the same processes of mathematical and dialectic science. Modern philosophers indeed, professedly following the same guide, throwing aside the volume of revelation, have pretended to surpass them in moral and religious discovery; but it has not been owing to their superior mental vigour, but because of the intervening communications of divine truth; their best views have emanated from the fountain of scripture; the light that breaks forth in their works is a reflection from the lamp of inspiration. It has been objected to Watts's work, that he has made his deist a feeble reasoner, that he is too soon and too easily convinced by his antagonist, and pays too much deference to the opinions of the moderator; but the arguments of Logisto are carefully selected from the leading writers on the deistical side, and he does not yield the victory to his opponent, but at the point where legitimate controversy ends and sophistical cavil commences.

A production of a different character, the "Philosophical Essays," with the "Scheme of Ontology," was published in June, 1732. Some of these metaphysical disquisitions are evidently founded upon the doctrines of Des Cartes, whose *Principia* Dr. Watts attentively read whilst a student in the academy. He was in early life a disciple of the fanciful, yet ingenious French philosopher, adopting and expanding his doctrine of spirits, but resigning his system of the material world at the feet of Newton. The reputation of Des Cartes is sullied by the charge of constructing the ground-work of modern scepticism, though certainly undesignedly on his part; but to him the honour in some degree belongs, of pointing out the road to true philosophy by reason and experiment—a path which Gassendus, Bacon, and Boyle, soon afterwards so successfully pursued. It has been observed by Mr. Dyer, that Dr. Watts, in his first essay, confounds the idea of *space* with that of *empty space*; and does not consider, that though space might be without matter, yet matter being extended,

cannot be without space. In the third essay concerning the origin of our perceptions and ideas, he notices the strange opinion of Malebranche,* whose mystical philosophy it is difficult to understand, that we see all our ideas in God; and explains at length the Cartesian doctrine, which has been embraced by Locke and most modern metaphysicians. This theory supposes, that our ideas originate in sensation and reflection, to which Watts adds, rather needlessly, a third source, viz. *abstraction*; for as he grants that the materials of the latter are derived from the two former, it cannot properly be reckoned a third primary source. Some writers, as Brown,† maintain that we have all our ideas from sensation; and this must be admitted, if his definition of the word idea is correct, which he supposes a representation of some sensible object laid up in the imagination. The fourth essay is on innate ideas: and here the masterly reasoning of Locke is followed, but cautiously guarded, it being granted that there are certain circumstances, in which it is impossible for the mind to avoid receiving certain ideas, and assenting to certain propositions, the necessary consequence of its constitution—a position which Locke himself seems to admit, under the name of innate practical principles. Though an ardent admirer, Dr. Watts was not a servile follower of the great modern philosopher: indeed, one design of the philosophical essays is, to point out his fallacies, correct his mistakes, and guard the unwary against the errors into which they might be led by a blind deference to his authority. In the inquiry, whether the soul always thinks,‡ he takes the affirmative side of the question, in opposition to him; and, by a train of beautiful and conclusive reasoning, confutes a notion which would go far to destroy the lofty distinction between mind and matter. Locke's notion as to the *principium individuationis*, that perso-

* La Recherche de la Verité, lib. iii. part ii. c. vi.

† Brown's Procedure of the Understanding, p. 55, &c.

‡ Essay 5.

nal identity consists in a continued consciousness of the same actions, and not as Watts defines it, in the same intelligent substance or conscious mind, the same soul united to the same body, is ably combated.* But the charm of these philosophemes is, the lessons of practical piety which they inculcate, and the modest spirit in which they are conducted. "Every art," says he, "puzzles my reasonings and baffles all my science." His disquisitions have all of them an important moral; he finds some truth to humble and instruct in his most severe and abstruse inquiries; and culls many a flower from the barren fields of metaphysical speculation. Justly does Dr. Johnson remark, "Whatever he took in hand was, by his incessant solicitude for souls, converted to theology. As piety predominated in his mind, it is diffused over his works: under his direction it may be truly said, *theologiæ philosophia ancillatur*, philosophy is subservient to evangelical instruction; it is difficult to read a page without learning, or, at least, wishing to be better. The attention is caught by indirect instruction; and he that sat down only to reason, is on a sudden compelled to pray."

On the 2nd of April, 1732, Dr. Watts preached a funeral sermon for Miss Sarah Abney, the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas, who died March 20th, which he wrote out in manuscript, and presented to the sorrowing mother and the two surviving sisters. Of this young lady he gives a high character: — "Religion was her early care, a fear to offend God possessed and governed her thoughts and actions from her childhood, and heavenly things were her youthful choice. She had appeared for some years in the public profession of Christianity, and maintained the practice of godliness in the church and the world; but it began much more early in secret. Her beloved closet and her retiring hours were silent witnesses of her daily converse with God and her Saviour." Among her papers were found recollections of the sermons she had heard, and a journal of her religious

* Essay 12.

experience. She was attacked by malignant fever, accompanied with delirium, but previous to her decease she had many lucid intervals, in which she humbly yet confidently expressed her trust in Christ and hope of heaven. Part of the 139th psalm was frequently repeated by her, and the paraphrase of the 17th faltered from her lips just before they were closed by death.

During the summer of 1733 Dr. Watts was with the Abney family at Theobalds, where in July he was favoured with the company of Dr. Doddridge. In the correspondence of the latter the following notices of this visit occur: — “I go this evening to Theobalds by Lady Abney’s invitation.” — “Pray tell Mrs. Tingey that I have spoken to Dr. Watts on her account, who unhappily forgot her case, though I had given it in writing; but he hopes to have an opportunity of introducing it before all the legacy is distributed, and faithfully promises he will do it if he can.” — “I have been at Theobalds, where Dr. Watts and the family are very well.” The legacy here referred to, was probably that of the “dying Hopkins” whom Pope satirised,* in the distribution of which Dr. Watts had a share. The “Gentleman’s Magazine,” which was then commencing, has preserved the following memorial of this benefaction: — “April 25th, 1732, John Hopkins, Esq., died, at his house in Broad-street, worth £.300,000, bequeathing £.500 to be distributed by Dr. Calamy, Dr. Watts, Dr. Evans, and Dr. Wright, to poor widows of dissenting ministers; and £.1,000 to poor dissenting ministers in the country, not exceeding £.10 each.”† There was also a bequest of £.100, to repair the wall of and make a gateway to the burial-place of the dissenters, near Sherbourne, Dorset. Mrs. Tingey, for whose case Doddridge solicited the interest of his friend, was the widow of the Rev. Thos. Tingey, his predecessor at Northampton, afterwards pastor of the church

* Mor. Ess. iii. 85.

† Gent. Mag. ii. 725.

in Fetter Lane, a man of "uniform piety," cut off in the vigour of life, in the year 1729.*

Among the influential lay dissenters in the metropolis at this period, was William Coward, Esq., with whom Dr. Watts was brought into frequent intercourse. This gentleman had been a merchant in the city, but was then living in retirement at Walthamstow. Tenacious of his own opinions, and singular in his habits, it is said that he would never allow the door of his mansion to be opened to any visitor, however pressing the emergency, after eight o'clock in the evening; but his eccentricities, and they were neither few nor slight, were counterbalanced by his sterling virtues. With unwearied assiduity he assisted the metropolitan and country ministers in their benevolent exertions; his enterprising spirit led him to design and promote various plans of usefulness; and his princely fortune was liberally expended in supporting the interests of religion. A course of sermons was preached at the Bury-street meeting-house, in the year 1733, at his request and under his patronage. The ministers employed in the service were Dr. Watts, Dr. John Guyse, Dr. David Jennings, Mr. Price, Mr. Neal, and Mr. Hubbard. These sermons were intended to be printed at the termination of the course; and accordingly they appeared in two volumes, in the year 1735, under the title of "Faith and Practice, represented in fifty-four sermons on the principal heads of the Christian Religion." Nine of the discourses in this collection are by Dr. Watts: the preface and the dedication are from the pen of Mr. Neal, who stipulated in his agreement with Mr. Coward, that this task should be committed to him. He observes, with reference to himself and colleagues, "We are conscious to ourselves, that our aim has not been to seek our own honour or interest, nor to flatter the humours and gratify the passions of any of the divided parties of Christians; but to teach the plain doctrines of our divine religion as we receive

* Ridgley's Sermon on his death.

them from the bible, and to exhort mankind to the zealous practice of piety, virtue, and goodness, upon evangelical principles." Of the merit of these lectures Dr. Doddridge has observed, "I cannot recollect where I have seen a set of important thoughts on such various and weighty subjects more judiciously selected, more accurately digested, more closely compacted, more accurately expressed, or in a few words more powerfully enforced, than I have generally found in these sermons." This work rapidly passed through several editions, confirming the justness of the encomium; the reputation of its authors as scholars and theologians, was a sufficient guarantee for its excellence and orthodoxy; and it is still deservedly esteemed as a compendium of sound doctrinal and practical divinity. In its adaptation to the errors of the times, it was peculiarly valuable; establishing the divine origin of Christianity against the bold aggressions of infidel philosophy — expounding its fundamental truths to the overthrow of Socinian hypotheses — and asserting its practical tendency in opposition to the licentious perversions of Antinomian delusion.

The sermon on "Christian Baptism," in the Bury-street collection, contains a candid statement of the sentiments of the denomination to which Dr. Watts belonged, as to the proper subjects for that ordinance, and the mode of its administration. But certain zealots for immersion, eager to plead the authority of a name so distinguished, have given a most unfair interpretation to some paragraphs in the discourse. Mr. Ivimey also, the highly respected historian of the English Baptists,* appears inclined to claim him as a proselyte; for he observes, that "he was not very zealous for sprinkling," nor "remarkably tenacious for infants being the proper subjects of baptism." Dr. Watts's views upon this controverted subject will be best explained in his own words: "The Greek word

* Ivimey. Hist. of Eng. Baptists. iii. p. 221. note

‘baptizo’ signifies to ‘wash’ any thing properly by water coming over it.” After mentioning what “learned men have argued” in proof of this assertion, he pleads for the manifestation of Christian charity among those who agree in so many important particulars and differ only in trifles. “Our brethren who reject infant baptism, as well as we who practise it, all agree in a belief of the sacred institution of this ordinance, and in a reverence for it; we all agree that children should be devoted to God, and should be partakers of all the utmost privileges into which the Scripture admits them, and that they should grow up under all possible obligations to duty; and since each of us desires to find out the will of Christ, and to practise accordingly, it is a most unreasonable thing we should be angry with each other.” In reply to the question, “Who are the subjects of this ordinance of baptism, or to whom is it to be administered?” he states, “The first, the most proper, or, at least, the most evident subjects of it, are, persons who confess their sins, and profess to repent of them, and who accept of the grace and salvation offered in the gospel; but in the Christian church from its early ages, and we think from the apostles’ time, it hath been the custom also to baptise the infant children of professed Christians; and though there be no such express and plain commands or examples of it written in the scriptures as we might have expected, yet there are several inferences to be drawn from what is written, which afford a just and reasonable encouragement to this practice, and guard it from the censure of superstition and will-worship.” The views of Dr. Watts were plainly those of the Pædobaptists in general; he regarded believing adults, who had not been baptised before, as proper subjects for the ordinance as well as the children of believers; and he was zealous for sprinkling, not as an exclusive mode of baptism, but as the mode most suitable for its ministration, which propriety and decency seem alike to suggest. In the year 1782 several pamphlets were published upon the baptist con-

troversy by the Rev. John Carter, of Mattishall in Norfolk, and the Rev. William Richards, of Lynn. In one of his pamphlets Mr. Richards asserted, in reference to sprinkling not being the proper mode of baptism, that "Dr. Watts told his friend Mr. G. [meaning Dr. Gibbons], that he wished infant baptism was laid aside." This assertion occasioned a letter from Dr. Gibbons to Mr. Carter, of which the following is an extract :*

"London, June 22, 1782.

"Reverend Sir,

"I find it has been asserted in a publication, that Dr. Watts declared to me (for I am said to be the person referred to, though only the initial letter of my name, and not my name at length, is printed), that he wished 'infant baptism was laid aside.' It is not a little disagreeable to me, that what I mentioned casually in conversation, without the least apprehension I should hear of it again in the public manner I have done, should have come into the press, and thence communicated to the world. But as this has been the case, it may not be improper, nay it may have become necessary, for me to give a plain account of the matter, which I shall do with the strictest regard to truth, and without the least tincture of partiality.

"The doctor and myself were one day, perhaps two or three years before his decease, in a free converse together, when (I cannot recollect how the subject was introduced) he expressed himself to this purpose: that he had sometimes thought of a compromise with our Baptist brethren, by their giving up their mode of baptism, immersion, on the one side, and our giving up the baptism of infants on the other, as he had not observed any benefit arising from the administration of the ordinance to them. This was the whole, from what I

* Ivimey. iii. 222.

remember, the doctor said upon the point; which, in my opinion, falls much short of a declaration from him, that he wished infant baptism to be laid aside." It would be highly desirable, for the sake of peace and the manifestation of Christian charity, if the Baptists and Independents were to merge into one body, as there is no difference between them as to doctrine or discipline, but upon the one point of baptism: Dr. Watts would, it appears, have conceded the baptism of *infants*, if the other party would have given up the *immersion* of adults; but no reason exists, why the object should not be effected without any such compromise, and these two powerful sections of the church be blended, each attending to its own peculiarities of observance, and tolerating one another in love. It may be hoped, from the recent infusion of liberal feeling into many of the Baptist churches, from the rapid abandonment of the odious practice of close communion, that the time is not far distant when a comprehension will be accomplished, and "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim."

Mr. Coward's friendship for Dr. Watts, and attachment to the dissenting interest, have already been mentioned; and during the year 1734, among his other labours of love, the scheme of a college for the education of young men for the ministry was proposed by him. The seat of this institution he designed to have been at Walthamstow, where he resided; and the professorship of divinity he offered to Dr. Doddridge, whom he warmly solicited to remove from Northampton to take the charge. Dr. Watts was deeply interested in this design; his influence over Mr. Coward was employed to induce him to change various parts of his scheme; and it was owing partly to his advice, that the property he designed for the academy was vested in the hands of trustees. In several instances in which large benefactions had been left by will to the dissenting interest, tedious and expensive litigations had been instituted by interested parties, and the designs of the

testator had been often by this means defeated. Mr. Coward devoted upwards of twenty thousand pounds to the benevolent object he contemplated; and these large funds have since been faithfully appropriated to fulfil the wishes of the donor. He designed to furnish the dissenters with a learned ministry, to supply to them in some degree the advantages of the two national universities, which were elosed against them by intolerant subscriptions; he evidently wished also to provide them with an orthodox ministry, and, hence, enjoined it upon all his lecturers, to make Christ the prominent theme of their discourses, and to educate the students in the principles of the Assembly's Catechism. To give full and entire effect to his wishes in this respect, to expend the property of the founder in instilling those religious views and principles which he sanctioned, has been carefully observed in the appointment of tutors and trustees: Dr. Doddridge was the first tutor, Dr. Watts was one of the first trustees. The academy was first placed at Northampton, and after subsequent removals to Daventry, and again to Northampton, where it was dissolved on account of the Arianism of its tutor, it was re-established at Wymondley, where for several years it has flourished.* Mr. Coward died in 1738, leaving behind him this monument of his benevolence, which has supplied the dissenting churches with a number of useful ministers, and which, under the direction of its present president, the Rev. T. Morell, is likely to prove a still more extensive blessing.

In March 1734 a collection of early compositions was published, under the title of "*Reliquiæ Juveniles; or, Miscellaneous Thoughts, in prose and verse, on natural, moral, and divine subjects, written chiefly in younger years.*" This small volume is dedicated to the Countess of Hertford, whose permission the author appears to have requested. Of this work, familiar to most religious readers, it is enough to say with one

* The academy is about to be removed to London.

of his biographers, "many of the pieces are highly beautiful ; some few are on literary subjects, but the far greater part contain the effusions of piety from the lips of a man of genius. They ought to form part of the library of every young person of taste and seriousness."* Soon afterwards the treatise on the "Sacrifice of Christ, and the Operations of the Spirit" appeared, probably in 1735, as a presentation copy is acknowledged by Bishop Gibson in that year. This is a conversation piece, and was published anonymously, with a view to recover those who had fallen into error, and to establish those who were wavering upon these important points of the Christian faith. Dr. Watts was grieved to see, as he remarks, "a new sort of Christianity" published and propagated, referring to the defection of his presbyterian brethren ; some had already discarded the necessity of a Redeemer to atone, and a Sanctifier to renew ; and had abandoned the peculiar truths of the gospel for the cold and cheerless dogmas of natural religion. His treatise is, therefore, an attempt to contend for the "faith delivered to the saints," and proclaimed with such success from the pulpits of the first nonconformists ; he states the inefficiency of human means to counteract the evils and to meet the exigencies of the fall ; and the necessity of that provision which the gospel exhibits, for the judicial destitution of man in the atonement of Christ, and for his moral destitution in the influence of the Holy Spirit.

At the close of this year, a correspondence commenced between Dr. Watts and Edward Cave Esq. the proprietor, printer, and probably the original editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. This periodical which was then in its infancy, was fast rising in public estimation ; and its respectable publisher, to encourage the correspondents to his miscellany, proposed rewards for the best poetical contributions upon certain given subjects. The first subject proposed was in the year 1733, on her Majesty's Grotto, and the poems written by the contend-

* *Memoirs prefixed to practical works*, 27.

ing parties, were inserted in several numbers for that year, and afterwards published in a pamphlet entitled “The Contest.” The prizes appear to have been adjudged upon this occasion by a number of individuals selected by the editor. In the following year the person fixed upon as the poetical arbitrator was Dr. Watts; and he accordingly, though with some hesitation, undertook the office of literary judge. The subject proposed was astronomy, upon which four poems were written. In a letter to Mr. Cave Dr. Watts adjudged the prize with so much candour and good-nature, that the poets, though proverbially a sensitive race, cheerfully acquiesced in his decision. This task was afterwards performed by Dr. Johnson, who remarks in a letter to the publisher—“as to the *prize poems*, a backwardness to determine their degrees of merit is not peculiar to me. You may if you please still have what I can say; but I shall engage with little spirit in an affair, which I shall hardly end to my own satisfaction, and certainly not to the satisfaction of the parties concerned.”

FROM LORD BARRINGTON.

“Becket-house, Feb. 4, 1731.

“Rev. Sir,

“At last I have received the kind present* you so long since ordered me. I have read it over, and looked over some parts of it again; I shall lay it in my nursery, hall, and parlour, and keep it in my study. I think it a book that will be very instructive and entertaining to people of all ages and conditions. You know I am very much for the whole bible’s being looked through, and not one part of it only, or even the New Testament alone in prejudice of the rest. I think you have done very good service in giving us the apocryphal history, as a part of the account of God’s transac-

* The View of the whole Scripture History.

tions with his people. But, after saying this, I must own to you I could have wished you had made your sections, especially at the beginning, not barely as historical ones, but with a view to the different dispensations of God to mankind (I mean in that part of the book before the law), though still preserving the order of the Bible. The breaks that arise from that consideration, are what are most likely to lead us into the true knowledge of the Bible. Without them the history of the Bible will be little more than the amusement of other histories. I am, Sir,

“Your very faithful humble servant,

“BARRINGTON.”

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON.*

“Whitehall, April 30, 1731.

“Good Sir,

“I was solicitous to know the writer of a book which came to me with an anonymous letter, because I was very much pleased with the performance. The reasonings are clear and strong; and the manner of writing serious and truly Christian. You judge very right of what I mean by the insufficiency of reason to be a guide in religion; and it is strange, how the person who has written against my Second Letter,† should understand me in any other sense, when he knew I was writing against those who assert such a sufficiency of reason as renders revelation needless; and when I had guarded against all misconstructions, by distinguishing between reason in a state of innocence and in a state of corruption; and took the estimate of what it can do, from what in fact it has done.

“Since you are resolved that the author of the ‘Strength and Weakness of Human Reason’ shall continue unknown, I will

* Edmund Gibson, D. D.

† Second Pastoral Letter.

punctually comply with your direction in that particular, till you shall think fit to discharge me from the obligation you have laid me under. But, in my own private judgment, I cannot think the reasons you mention for your continuing unknown of weight enough to hinder the doing justice to yourself.

“I am, Sir,

“Your assured friend and servant,

“EDM. LONDON.”

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“May 17, 1731.

“Sir,

“I am afraid you will think me very ungrateful for the favour you have done me in sending me your excellent book;* for such I may justly call it, since I never read any thing written with more piety, or founded upon juster principles. If you design one for Mrs. Rowe, be so good as to send it to me, and I will convey it to her as soon as I get to Marlborough, which I hope to do next week. I should not have been silent thus long, but I have been of late a perfect nurse; for the old servant who bred me up, and whom I now look on as a mother, was so ill about a fortnight since that she was given over for many days together; and, however it might sound to the fashionable part of the world, I dare own to you, that it was a great affliction to me, and hindered me from doing every thing but trying to contribute what lay in my power (by my care and prayers) to her recovery. As soon as she grew a little better my Lord fell into a severe fit of the gout, and is not yet able to set his feet to the ground, and I can

* Probably the “Humble Attempt,” &c.

seldom be long enough out of his room to write a letter: this I hope will plead my excuse, since, whatever I may appear to be, you may be assured I am in reality with the sincerest esteem,

“Your most obliged friend

“and faithful servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE REV. P. DODDRIDGE, D. D.

“May, 1731.

“Reverend Sir,

“I very willingly comply with the request of my good friend, Mr. Hawtyn, in writing to you by him, as it gives me an opportunity of introducing to your knowledge a person very much esteemed by us in these parts, on account of his genius, learning, piety, and conduct, and, at the same time, of paying my respects to Dr. Watts; with what sincere reverence and affection I do it, I hope, Sir, I need not tell you at large. I cannot but think, that whenever I have been so happy as to see and converse with you, my countenance must have discovered the inward pleasure that was diffusing itself over my mind on such an occasion. I am deeply sensible of the favour which you have done me in joining with some other friends in recommending me as a tutor at your board. I do not impose upon myself, my conscience witnesses for me in the sight of God, that the hopes of usefulness, rather than the prospects of any worldly advantages, have engaged me to undertake the work. And I persuade myself that your prayers are sometimes concurring with mine, that the great Author of knowledge and of grace may impart to me all that furniture of both kinds which such a station re-

quires, and may succeed my attempts for the edification of his church and the glory of our common Lord. Till heaven is enriched by your removal thither, I hope, Sir, to find in you a counsellor and a friend, if God should continue my life; and I cannot but admire the goodness of Providence in honouring me with the friendship of such a person. I can truly say, your name was in the number of those which were dearest to me long before I ever saw you. Yet since I have known you, I cannot but find something of a more tender pleasure in the thought of your successful various services in the advancement of the best of causes, that of real, vital, practical Christianity. What happened under my observation a few days ago, gave me joy with regard to you, which is yet so warm in my mind that I hope, Sir, you will pardon my relating the occasion of it. On Wednesday last I was preaching in a barn to a pretty large assembly of plain country people, at a village a few miles off. After a sermon from Heb. vi. 12, we sung one of your hymns (which, if I remember right, was the cxi. of the second book); and in that part of the worship I had the satisfaction to observe tears in the eyes of several of the auditory, and after the service was over some of them told me that they were not able to sing, so deeply were their minds affected with it, and the clerk, in particular, told me he could hardly utter the words of it. These were most of them poor people who work for their living. On the mention of your name, I found they had read several of your books with great delight, and that your Hymns and Psalms were almost their daily entertainment. And when one of the company said, ‘What if Dr. Watts should come down to Northampton?’ another replied with a remarkable warmth, ‘The very sight of him would be like an ordinance to me.’ I mention the thing just as it was, and am persuaded it is but a familiar natural specimen of what often occurs amongst a multitude of Christians who never saw your face. Nor do I, by any means, intend it as a compliment to a genius capable of en-

tertaining by the same compositions the greatest and the meanest of mankind; but to remind you, dear Sir, (with all the deference and humility due to a superior character) how much you owe to Him who has honoured you as the instrument of such extensive service. Had Providence cast my lot near you, I should joyfully have embraced the most frequent opportunities of improving my understanding and warming my heart by conversing with you, which would surely have been greatly for my advantage as a tutor, a minister, and a Christian. As it is, I will omit none which may fall in my way; and when I regret it that I can enjoy no more of you here, will comfort myself with the thoughts of that blessed state where I hope for ever to dwell with you, and to join with you in sweeter and sublimer songs than you have taught the church below. It is my desire and my expectation, that these and your other writings may be transmitted to the remotest generations, and that thousands yet unborn may have eternal reason to be thankful for them. And it is, I hope, a desire animated by a higher principle than that sincere affection, gratitude, and respect with which I am, dear and honoured Sir,

“ Your most obliged, humble servant,

“ P. DODDRIDGE.

“ P. S. My most humble service attends Lady Abney, and her most agreeable family, with Mr. Price, Mr. Neal, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Anther, &c.”

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“Marlborough,* Aug. 3, 1731.

“Sir,

“I hope you have before this time heard that Mrs. Rowe has received your book, which I took care to have safely delivered to her. I assure you it has been my companion in many of my evening walks; and the moderation with which you treat our way of worship, ought, in my opinion, to engage the leading people of our church to judge with equal candour of yours, and then methinks there would be little cause for separation, since we all acknowledge one Shepherd. The summer is almost past, and we have seen very little of it, since I think we have scarce been able to leave off fires for above three days together. I have a cough which still hangs upon me, but I hope air and exercise, with the blessing of God, will soon remove it. I am with a very sincere esteem, Sir,

“Your most faithful friend and servant,

“F. HERTFORD.

“My Lord and my young people send their services to you. I assure you my little boy† is grown a great proficient in your Songs for Children, and sings them with great pleasure.”

* At this place the Earl of Hertford had a country-seat, a large mansion commenced by the first Duke of Somerset of the Seymour family. It occupied the site of the ancient castle, but has since been converted into an inn. In a grotto by the old keep Mrs. Rowe wrote her “Friendship in Death,” and Thomson also composed here a great part of his “Seasons.” The poet, however, is said to have preferred the society of the Earl and his jovial companions to that of the Countess, and to have left with no little reluctance the festive board and its accompaniments, for the silent grotto and poetical inspiration.

† George Lord Viscount Beauchamp.

FROM THE REV. MESSRS. HUNT, DRAKE, P. DODDRIDGE.

“Olney, Feb. 23, 1732.

“Rev. Sir,

“As you have already been informed of some circumstances relating to the dissenting interest here at Olney, and were so good as to appear ready to espouse the cause of your friends here, we think it proper to address ourselves to you, with this account of the present state of things amongst them, which we desire you would please to communicate to the board, with our most humble service to the gentlemen there.

“We suppose it is not unknown to many of them, that most of the dissenters in this town have for some time been extremely fond of lay preachers in the Antinomian strain, and have entertained very strong prejudices against all the regular ministers in these parts; nevertheless, there are a few amongst them who are persons of great candour and good sense, as well as eminent piety; these have invited us over to preach a lecture here once a month, and we have each of us taken our turns according to the advice of Dr. Watts and some other friends in town. We have found a very numerous auditory, and apprehend, by the most moderate calculation, it must amount to near five hundred people. A great many of these are churchmen, who express very high satisfaction in what they hear; and, indeed, considering the character of the clergyman of the town on the one hand, and that of many of his people on the other, it seems probable that several of them would come over to the dissenters if a regular minister were fixed here, and some of them have not scrupled expressly to declare it. The dissenters seem all satisfied, many of them much pleased; and we hope a farther acquaintance with our brethren and their labours, may remove remaining prejudices, and bring many to a better temper: on all these accounts we think it a desirable thing that the lecture should still be supported; but

the number of our practical friends here is so very small, that it would be too burthensome, were it to lie on them alone to uphold it. We can truly say, we know not any lecture to which an exhibition is granted, where the auditory is so numerous, and the prospects of usefulness seem more encouraging. Nor are we without our hopes, that the continuance of this lecture may be the means of fixing a regular minister here at length, which would be a great satisfaction to us, as we hope it might greatly conduce to the advancement of the truth as it is in Jesus, and the glory of God in the salvation of souls. One thing more we take leave to add, that though our preaching here has been evidently in the Calvinistical strain, and we judged it prudent at our first appearance here to declare our sentiments very freely and expressly in that respect, yet we do not find it has given any disgust to those of our hearers who statedly attend at church.

“We cannot, dear Sir, conclude this address to you, without assuring you that it is matter of abundant joy to us, that the great Lord of the church is pleased to continue your life, health, and extensive usefulness. We cannot express our gratitude to you for your many important services to the public, or our thankful sense of that friendship with which you are pleased to honour us. We have no end in the proposal we now make, but the promoting that cause of truth and holiness, peace and love, in which you have been so faithfully, so warmly, and, through grace, so successfully engaged. We promise ourselves a share in your remembrance at the throne of grace; and are, with sincere respect,

“Reverend and dear Sir,

“Your most obliged humble servants,

“W. HUNT,

“J. DRAKE,

“P. DODDRIDGE.”

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

“Whitehall, March 7, 1732.

“Good Sir,

“I thank you heartily for your late kind present;* but, as the course of my life has led me into studies of another kind, I am sensible I cannot profit so much by it as others will do whose thoughts have been more employed in that way.

“It is certainly a very laudable exercise of the mind, especially as you apply it throughout to the good of religion; and what you have published will, I doubt not, be of great use to the growing generation, by leading them into a just way of thinking and reasoning. One thing I wonder at, and that is, how a mind that thinks so closely, can at the same time frame itself to that easy and familiar way, which appears in some of your other writings. I commend you and your labours to the divine care and direction, and remain with great truth,

“Sir,

“Your very faithful friend and servant,

“EDM. LONDON.”

FROM ZABDIEL BOYLSTON, M. D.†

“Boston, N. E. Aug. 12, 1732.

“Rev. Sir,

“The repeated and undeserved favours you have done me, have laid me under such obligations as I am at pre-

* The Logic.

† This excellent man, one of the most eminent of the Boston physicians, was the object of virulent persecution, on account of being the first to commence inoculating the small pox in that town. It was brought into the harbour by the Saltortugas fleet, in April, 1722, and raged with awful violence for several months.

sent unable to discharge; and my long silence savours so much of ingratitude, that had I not a long indisposition of body, viz. a convulsive asthma, which has torn me down for five or six years past, to have pleaded for me, I must have been without excuse.

“I thankfully accept the present of your extraordinary performances, viz. fourteen sermons on various subjects, that on king George’s death, your four catechisms, and an humble attempt to revive religion, &c. All which, and indeed every piece which drops from your golden pen, meet a joyful acceptance in general from those who see them here in New England as well as those at home. May your shining gifts and graces be increased, your very valuable useful life and health be preserved, and your pious endeavours be more and more successful in the work of the Lord to which you are called!

“Your concern to find out the donor of a handful of cranberries sent you some years past, and the repeated acknowledgment of so small a present, surprises me, considering your public and extraordinary labour in studying, preaching, writing, conversing, visiting, &c. in your weak state of health. That you should regard such a trifle, or the unworthy giver, is but agreeable to your uncommon goodness and gratitude to all.

“I am sorry I cannot at present inform you of the success of our later practice of inoculating the small-pox. Although our physicians generally came into it, at a time when they

Dr. Cotton Mather recommended the physicians to inoculate, but they all declined it except Dr. Boylston. To show the confidence he had of success, he began with his own children and servants. Many sober pious people were struck with horror, and were of opinion, that if any of his patients should die he ought to be treated as a murderer. The vulgar were enraged to that degree, that his family were hardly safe in the house, and he often met with affronts and insults in the streets. The faculty convened by the justices of the peace resolved, “that the continuing the operation among us, is likely to prove of the most dangerous consequence.” Dr. Mather’s nephew, the Rev. Mr. Walter, who was privately inoculated, had a hand grenade thrown into his house. Boylston, however, persevered in spite of all opposition, and at the date of this letter it seems that the physicians had come over to his views. He wrote a work, detailing the success of his practice, which was published soon afterwards.

found it their interest so to do, yet they have declined giving the public an account, notwithstanding they succeeded well therein. However, if it may please God to restore my health, I intend to collect their number and success, with my own, which will amount to hundreds, and give them the public, though it may be thought too late.

“The bearer, Mr. Joseph Baxter, is a young gentleman of so much worth as will in my opinion recommend him to all. He has behaved so well here, that we hope he may at least meet with the common civilities abroad. He was designed for the pulpit, and preached some years; but the organs of speech in him proving weak, and his voice low, about a year past he altered his profession, and became a pupil to me, and has been industrious and made a considerable progress in the practice of physic and surgery, and now comes to London to inform himself further in the cure of diseases, in order to serve his country better at his return. I am, Rev. Sir,

“Your most humble

“And most obliged servant,

“Z. A. BOYLSTON.”

FROM THE HON. JONATHAN BELCHER.

“Boston, Oct. 20, 1732.

“Rev. and dear Sir,

“In August last I had the favour of yours of the fourth of May, with your lamentation on the death of that excellent Christian, Mrs. Sarah Abney. God indeed in his unerring wisdom orders every thing at the best time, yet, to speak after the manner of men, her death was untimely to the world, and uncommonly so to those who were happy in her relation and acquaintance. She seemed to be seasoned with

a peculiar modesty, grace, and piety, and her conversation discovered a good knowledge of the world and things. But, dear Doctor, I must not excite you, or any of her surviving friends, to new grief. I doubt not but she has dropped anchor within the veil. May God of his infinite mercy enable us to follow her in imitation of the holy Jesus!

"I heartily condole with you and his bereaved flock, in the death of Dr. Calamy,* who was a faithful labourer in his Master's vineyard, and I doubt not is entered into the joy of his Lord.

"I know, Sir, the station in which God has set me is surrounded with snares and difficulties, and requires great care and thought: bow then your knees with mine to the fountain of grace and wisdom, that I may so conduct my administration, as most of all to advance the honour of God, with the welfare and happiness of his people; then shall I at last be able to give up a joyful account of the talents committed to my trust.

"May the God of the spirits of all flesh restore your health, and strengthen your tender crazy constitution; and may the great Head of the church replenish you continually with the effusion of his Holy Spirit, for the better edification of the body of the church, and at last receive you to the general assembly and church of the first-born, and the spirits of just men made perfect.

"This is, and shall be, the hearty prayer of, Sir,

"Your affectionate friend,

"And very humble servant,

"J. BELCHER."

* "1732, June 3, Edmund Calamy, D.D. a dissenting minister in Westminster." *Obituary, Gent. Mag.* ii. 826.

"A few days before his death he plainly apprehended that his end was near, and did in a particular manner pray for a blessing upon his wife and children, that were about him, and then took his leave of them, and hardly ever had the use of his reason afterwards." *Funeral Sermon by Rev. D. Mayo, dedicated to Sir William Ellys.*

FROM SAMUEL HOLDEN, ESQ.*

“Carpenter’s-Hall, Dec. 28, 1733.

“Sir,

“The papers you communicated contain two stories remarkably sad and profane, though I fear there are but too many instances of the like nature.

“Mr. Chandler told me one which happened at a coffee-house where he was present. A person came in retching and straining as though he wanted to vomit. He was asked what ailed him. He replied, he had been the day before at the sacrament to qualify himself, and that he should never be easy till he got the d——d bread and wine off his stomach.

“How those who have it in their power to remove the occasions of such horrid impieties (and yet continue them for secular ends), can answer it to the great Judge of all, must be left to their own consciences, if they have any.

“My respects wait upon yourself and the good family.

“I am, Sir,

“Your most humble and affectionate servant,

“SAMUEL HOLDEN.”

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

“Whitehall, Jan. 22, 1734.

“Good Sir,

“Since I received the favour of your present† it has become part of my Sunday’s exercise, and I have now read it

* Dr. Benjamin Colman, of Boston in New England, preached and published a funeral sermon for this gentleman, in which are contained several extracts from his letters to the doctor, which show Mr. Holden to have been a man of considerable abilities and eminent piety. He was chairman of the committee of protestant dissenters in London.

† Discourses on the Love of God, &c. 2nd edit.

over with pleasure, and I hope not without profit. The new notion that has prevailed among us of late years, that the Christian religion is little more than a good system of morality, must in course draw on a disregard to spiritual exercises, which calls on all serious Christians to do all that is in their power to raise and keep alive a spirit of devotion and piety in this lukewarm and degenerate age. I pray God to give a blessing to your labours in this way, and remain with great respect,

“Sir,

“Your faithful friend and servant,

“EDM. LONDON.”

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“Grosvenor Street, Feb. 9, 1734.

“Sir,

“The fresh proof of friendship you design to give me, is as agreeable to me as it must be to receive any instance of kindness and approbation from those we sincerely esteem. Since you allow me to object to any thing in the dedication,* I will trespass so far upon your good-nature as to beg you will leave out whatever may imply my attempting to write poetry; but if there be any among the things you have of mine which you think worth placing among yours, I shall have just cause to be pleased at seeing them come abroad in

* This was the dedication of the “*Reliquiæ Juveniles*,” which was submitted to the Countess’s inspection, and doubtless altered in accordance with her request; for though it abundantly evinces the partiality of the friend, and enulogises her poetic taste, there is no express mention of her poetical attempts. The above letter is an interesting document, as it not only intimates the Doctor’s possessing some of her Ladyship’s compositions, but places beyond doubt the authorship of the four poems inserted in the 63rd Number of the *Miscellanies*. These are introduced in an epistle to *Philomela*, the name by which Mrs. Rowe was distinguished, and are expressly attributed to *Ensebia*, the title which the Countess herself selects as a cognomen. The paper is entitled “*Piety in a Court*,” and is founded upon the well-known lines,

“The court’s a golden, but a fatal circle.”

such company, if you will have the goodness to conceal my name either under that of Eusebia or a Friend; a title which I shall think myself happy to deserve. My Lord and the children assure you of their services and kind wishes, and I am with great truth and regard,

“Your most obliged

“and faithful humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE SAME.

“April 8, 1734.

“Sir,

“I have received the book to which you had the partiality to prefix my name. This public mark of your friendship, and the kind opinion you express of me, would be in danger of giving me a self-satisfaction which I have no title to, if a crowd of frailties and defects, which are too frequently reminding me how far I am from meriting your esteem, did not hinder me from giving way to a complacence which would be criminal unless my life were more perfect.

“I have gone almost half through the book, from which I have received the pleasure your writings never fail to give me, a pleasure attended by profit and reason.

“I am, Sir, with the truest friendship,

“Your most obliged and faithful servant,

“F. HERTFORD.

“My Lord and our young people send services to you.”

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

“Fulham, July 14, 1734.

“Good Sir,

“I return you my hearty thanks for your late valuable present, which has given me both pleasure and profit; and I am satisfied it will give the same to every honest mind that attends to it. Only I am somewhat afraid, that the first part to sect. 14,* though laid out with great exactness, yet, being also abstracted and philosophical, may discourage persons, who are not accustomed to close thinking, from going on to that part which more immediately relates to practice, and which throughout is very plain and edifying.

“You will pardon the freedom I take, and believe me to be, with great truth and respect,

“Sir,

“Your very faithful friend and servant,

“EDM. LONDON.”

TO WILLIAM DUNCOMBE, ESQ.†

“From Lady Abney’s at Newington, Nov. 1, 1734.

“Sir,

“Your present of a ticket, which entitles me to Mr. Hughes’s poems, was an agreeable surprise. My acquaintance and intimacy with that ingenious gentleman, was in the

* Doctrine of the Passions. 2nd. edit.

† This gentleman was a younger son of John Duncombe, Esq., of Stocks in Hertfordshire. He was born in 1690, and married in 1726 the only sister of Mr. John Hughes. He collected and published his brother-in-law’s poems, in two volumes 12mo., upon his decease, assisted chiefly by the MSS. of Alexander

younger years of life chiefly : our later situations in the world divided us so far as to prevent frequent conversation, though not to destroy mutual esteem. Your lady I believe I have seen as a child in some of my ancient visits to Mr. John Hughes, when his brother Jabez was a little boy.* While I write thus, methinks I recall youth, and revive some buried ideas. But eternity lies before me, and appears in a much nearer view. May I be found ready for the important summons! * * * * *

“I have seen the French ‘Athaliah’† long ago, and by your translation now enjoy the English; but a man of my character must not too much indulge what relates to the modern stage, because of its vicious entertainments. It is my opinion, that dramatic poesy might have been useful to many happy purposes, had it always been kept within the bounds prescribed by virtue and religion, as Racine has done. But, as you say from Horace concerning yourself, ‘*Quid rerum atq; decens curo, et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum,*’ so I must say (at

Strahan, Esq., the translator of the *Æneid*. Some pathetic verses are prefixed to the edition by Miss Cowper, afterwards Mrs. Madan, Mr. John Bunce, and Mr. Lewis Duncombe. He died Feb. 26, 1769, aged 79. Several of the most eminent characters in the literary world were among his friends and correspondents : Mr. Pope, Alexander Bayne, Esq., professor of the municipal law in the university of Edinburgh, Dr. Rundle, Bishop of Derry, Thomas Southerne, Esq., Mrs. Rowe, Archbishop Herring, and Christopher Pitt, Esq., the translator of Virgil. Mrs. Duncombe died in 1735—6, leaving an only son, the Rev. John Duncombe, M.A. one of the six preachers in Christ Church, Canterbury, the Editor of the “Letters of several eminent persons deceased.”

* Mr. Jabez Hughes was, like his brother, a votary of the muses, and an excellent scholar. He published in 1714 a translation of “The Rape of Proserpine,” from Claudian; and “The story of Sextus and Erietho,” from Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, lib. vi. in 8vo. A reprint of these translations, with notes, appeared in 12mo. in 1723. In 1717 he also published a translation of Suetonius’s “Lives of the Twelve Cæsars;” and several novels from the Spanish of Cervantes were inserted by him in “The Select Collection of novels and histories,” printed by Watts, 1729. He died Jan. 17, 1731, in the 46th year of his age. A volume of his “Miscellanies in verse and prose” was published in 1737. His widow accompanied the lady of Governor Byng to Barbadoes, and died there in 1740.

† One of Racine’s plays translated by Mr. Duncombe, and printed by Watts in 1723.

least since my last published miscellanies), ‘*Nunc itaque et versus et cætera ludicra pono.*’

“Mr. Samuel Say, of whom you write, was an old intimate of Mr. John Hughes, at the same time with me, being all fellow-students together in logic and philosophy. He is very lately fixed in London, a minister to that congregation which was lately under the care of the Rev. Dr. Calamy.

“With all due salutations

“I am, &c.

“I. WATTS ”

FROM EDWARD CAVE, ESQ.*

“St. John’s Gate, Dec. 16, 1734.

“Reverend Sir,

“As a stranger I ought to make some apology for giving you this trouble; but your good-nature will excuse my presumption, and your known attachment to the *belles lettres* is encouragement enough to expect your attention to what is offered you by one who is a well-wisher to the sciences.

“The undertaker of the ‘Gentleman’s Magazine,’ a monthly book, which you have possibly heard of (I dare not presume it has merit enough to deserve a place in your library), for the entertainment of his readers, and as a spur to ingenuity, annually proposes a subject to exercise the wits of the age, and to spirit emulation annexes a prize to the best perform-

* This gentleman is better known under his assumed name of Sylvanus Urban. He commenced the Gentleman’s Magazine in 1731, and by that fortunate speculation amassed a large fortune. With this periodical Dr. Johnson was connected from 1738 to 1743. His first contribution was an alcaic ode, which appeared March, 1738. Mr. Cave died January 10th, 1754, leaving behind him the reputation of being a worthy and benevolent man. His attention to his magazine was so unremitting, that Johnson was apt facetiously to remark, that he never looked out of the window but with a view to its improvement.

ances. The first subject of this kind he offered the public was on her Majesty's Grotto, and the poems wrote thereon were inserted in several magazines in the year 1733, and published in a separate pamphlet, called 'The Contest;' and the prizes were adjudged according to the impartial opinion of some gentlemen who were so kind as to undertake that office.

"The subject given out for a prize for the year 1734 was Astronomy. Four poems have been wrote upon it, which you will find p. 503, 562, 563, 564; and the prize being to be determined this month, three of the writers, the fourth is unknown to us, unanimously refer the decision to your judgment and determination, declaring their entire satisfaction in your opinion, to whomsoever it shall give the preference: only please to observe, there are two degrees of merit; the first is entitled to the best prize, the other to the second best. If you will be so good as to comply with their request, they will esteem it as a peculiar favour, and you will also hereby oblige him, who is, with true respect and very great esteem, your humble servant,

"EDWARD CAVE."

TO EDWARD CAVE, ESQ.

"N——on, Dec. 26.

"Sir,

"Though I have sported with rhyme as an amusement in the younger years of life, and published some religious composures to assist the worship of God, yet I never set myself up among the numerous competitors for a poet of the age, much less have I presumed to become their judge.

"'Tis too great a honour, Sir, you have conferred upon me to place me in that situation, when I find myself so utterly unfit to execute such an office; and if I ever had been blessed with a capacity of this kind, yet there is a certain limit and

period to all mortal powers. The gay colours of imagery, and the sprightly relish of verse, die away and vanish in my advancing age; for I have almost left off to read as well as to write that which once was so engaging. One ought to preserve a quick sense of beauties and blemishes, and an elegant taste of sentiment and language, in order to pass a judgment on the labours of the muses. I acknowledge your civility, Sir, and the respect of the gentlemen who have done me this honour. I wish, in return, I could adjudge the prizes to every one of them, for all have their peculiar merit.

“The first has many delightful couplets in the description of nature, but perhaps it dwells too long, for so short a poem, on the natural influences of the heavenly bodies, which is the proper subject of another science; and it omits too great a part of the theme which was proposed to the candidates, i. e. Astronomy. Had the elegant author enlarged upon astro-nomic subjects, his genius would have come nearer to the prize; and yet I must confess also he has several agreeable thoughts and lines concerning Venus,* the Polar star,† and the art of Navigation derived from Astronomy, both which last are too much neglected and almost forgotten by the other three.

“The second author will forgive me if I think the preface of twenty lines too long for the poem which follows it, and

* “But see how gentle Vesper, sweetly gay,
 Leads the fair evening with its silver ray,
 Now gilds the night, now ushers in the day. }
 When Luna sinks beneath the western main,
 O’er other lands and unknown worlds to reign,
 Thy lustre, friendly star, supplies her place,
 We scarce complain we want her fuller face.”

† “The Polar star eternally remains
 Fixt to the north, on the celestial plains;
 The wandering mariner’s unerring guide,
 When toss’d in tempests on the swelling tide;
 When raging winds across the billows roar,
 And heave the beaten ship from shore to shore,
 He views his compass with observing eye,
 The magnet rearing to the polar sky;
 Guided by this a certain course he forms,
 Thro’ thickest darkness and thro’ fiercest storms.”

adds but thirty-one lines to it; yet there are, I think, several good verses in it, and particularly the description of the moon and earth mutually eclipsing each other,* is a part of astronomical science mentioned in this poem only. I could wish the third and fourth had touched upon eclipses and the art of sailing more expressly; for I am sure these would afford various and happy ideas for the muse to illustrate with her ornaments.

"I persuade myself the authors of the two first will yield up the prizes to the two latter, wherein the several themes of astronomy are more particularly kept in sight all the way, nor are the proper beauties of poetry omitted.

"And what shall I say, Sir, to these two? If I must speak my opinion, the beginning of the fourth pleases me best, and the latter end of the third; though I confess the conclusion of all four of them happily derives honour to the Creator from these sublime works of his hands. In fine, I am ready to cry out with Palæmon in Virgil, '*Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere Lites.*' Methinks I could wish the beauties of them both united; for I am ready to think sometimes the third exceeds, and sometimes the fourth. The fourth seems to me to have the greatest variety of thoughts, yet I cannot say, in the main, that they are described in better verse than the third. He must be a nicer judge than I who determines the prize between these two."

The conclusion of this letter is wanting, but Mr. Cave adds, "The learned gentleman, after making some judicious inqui-

* "Here smoothly gliding through the lovely throng,
The earth appears to roll her orb along;
One even course, her poles inclin'd, she keeps,
And, softly spinning on her axle, sleeps.
Sometimes her interposing orb is seen
To shade, in dark eclipse, the night's fair queen;
So, in her turn, the correspondent moon
Opposes her dark orb, and veils the sun.
Lo! how she fills her silver horns with light,
And with reflected glory reigns by night!
While all the stars that gild heaven's azure road,
Ruis'd by a hand divine seem worthy of a God!"

ries, why several curious sentiments relating to the subject were omitted, which too he supposes (and rightly) may be found in *Astrophil's* [the assumed name of one of the candidates] larger poem, leaves the matter to a superior determination; but the two persons concerned, perfectly satisfied in his judgment, do not desire any further application, having, as they are intimate friends, compromised the matter. Nevertheless, since it is such a nice point, and lies between the same persons who shared the prizes last year, when the decision was declared almost equally puzzling, we have assigned them now as we then did, both prizes of the first rate."

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

"Whitehall, Jan. 19, 1735.

"Good Sir,

"I thank you very heartily for the book* I lately received, and which I have read with great satisfaction and delight. The seeing so shameful a departure from true Christianity on the two points which are the subject of your book, has long been a sensible concern and grief to me, and especially when I see it countenanced and propagated by many who call themselves Christians, but are in reality little more than deists; for if the great work of our redemption, and the blessed fruits of it, are to be laid aside, I cannot see that the name of Christian signifies much. You have set this matter in so clear a light, and worked up the whole in so agreeable a manner, that I hope, by the blessing of God, it will have great effect; and it would have had greater, if you had set your name to it. To deal clearly with you, I have thought for some time that those doctrines, and others of the same kind, have received a grievous wound from the indifference about them (to say no worse) which some dissenting

*The "Redeemer and Sanctifier."

ministers have discovered of late; and the wound is the deeper, because hitherto the dissenters were, without exception, zealous for them, and the present manifest abatement of that zeal in some of their leading men, will be reckoned an evidence of their present conviction, that their doctrines are either false, or at least of small moment. Forgive me if I add, that I think due care has not yet been taken to satisfy the world, that, notwithstanding the defection of some dissenters, there are many among them, and those of great note, who are not in the least tainted with the modern notions, but adhere steadfastly to the true doctrines of the gospel, as delivered to us by Christ and his apostles. I am, with great truth and esteem, Sir,

“Your very faithful friend and servant,

“EDM. LONDON.”

TO A FRIEND.

“Stoke Newington, near London, Jan. 21, 1735.

“Sir,

“Your letter, dated about the middle of October, should have been answered long ago, had I not been withheld from my study by long illness; nor am I yet fully recovered. I take pleasure, Sir, to find your honest inquiries after truth, and that you are not willing either to put off your children, or to be contented yourself, with a mere set of words, instead of clear and intelligible doctrines.

“I will, therefore, write you my thoughts in a few lines, of that impotency and inability of man to believe and repent, and return to God, which arises from the fall, and which is, I think, the best and the only way to secure our thoughts from running into the extremes of Antinomian opinions on the one side, or Arminian on the other.

“This impotency, though it may be called natural, or rather, native, as it comes to us by nature in its present corrupted state, yet it is not a want of natural powers, either of understanding or will, to know or choose that which is good; for if there were not natural powers sufficient for this purpose, I do not see how men could be charged as criminals, in not receiving the gracious offers of the gospel. This impotence, therefore, is what our divines usually call a moral impotence, i. e. their mind will not learn divine things, because they shut their eyes; they will refuse the proposals of grace, they shut it out of their hearts, they have a delight in sin, and dislike to Christ and his salvation; they have a rooted obstinacy of will against the methods of divine mercy, and against the holiness which is connected with happiness. And yet this moral impotency is described in scripture by such methods as represent us ‘blind,’ or ‘dead in sin,’ and that we can no more change our nature, than the Ethiopian can change his skin, or the leopard his spots; and the reason of these strong expressions is, because God knows this natural aversion to grace and holiness is so strong and rooted in their hearts, that they will never renounce sin and receive the salvation of Christ, without the powerful influence of the Spirit of God, even that same Spirit which can cure those who are naturally blind, or can raise the dead.

“Now that this weakness of man to do that which is good is a moral impotence, appears by the moral remedies which are applied to cure it: viz. commands, promises, threatenings, which sort of methods would be useless and ridiculous to apply to natural impotence; that is, to make the blind see, or the dead arise. It must be concluded, therefore, that man has a natural ability, i. e. natural powers, to do what God requires, but at the same time such a native aversion of will, that he will never do it without divine grace. Thus there is a fair way laid for the necessity of divine grace, and yet at the same time a just foundation laid for the condemnation of impenitent sinners. I have spoken more largely to this subject in

the eleventh of the Bury-street Sermons, which were published last year in two volumes octavo.

“May the wisdom and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ direct you to walk in a safe way to eternal life, and to lead your children therein! at the same time assuring you, that the happening to take a little different turn of thought in some of the difficult inquiries, is not of so vast importance as some persons would make it to be, with respect to our salvation, provided we do but maintain a constant dependence upon the grace of the Spirit of God in all our duties to assist us, and on the perfect righteousness or obedience and sufferings of Christ, as our atonement for sin, and the only effectual ground of our acceptance with God. I am, Sir, under frequent returning weaknesses, rendered unable to write much, and, therefore, subscribe

“Your friend and humble servant,

“I. WATTS.”

FROM THE SECOND LORD BARRINGTON.*

“Becket-house, Feb. 22, 1735.

“Rev. Sir,

“My lady begs you to accept through my hands her best thanks for your last kind letter to her. She is fully sensible of the favour you do her, both by the handsome manner in which you speak of her deceased Lord, and the excellent motives you propose for her consolation.

† William Wildman Viscount Barrington was in his eighteenth year when he succeeded to his father's title and estates, and when the above letter was written. He took a prominent part in politics, and held various offices under the government. In 1710 he became member for Berwick. He was master of the great wardrobe in 1751; Secretary at War in 1755; Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1761; Treasurer of the Navy in 1762; and reappointed Secretary at War in 1765. He quitted the House of Commons in May 1778, and the War Office in December. He became joint Postmaster-general in 1781, and died Feb. 3, 1793.

“ Give me leave, Sir, to return you my thanks for your kind wishes on my account. My late dear father was often commending me in a manner far above what I any ways deserved, and for which I esteem myself entirely indebted to his paternal fondness. But, if I was to have chosen to whom I would have been so commended, it should have been to Dr. Watts at Lady Abney’s. I esteem it incumbent on me to come up as far as I am able to his account of me, which I shall endeavour to do by the closest imitation of his bright example.

“ The desire you express of having my father’s head among your collection of learned men, is worthy of a person who had so long an intimacy and friendship with him. I am sensible, that if all the world had the same regard and so quick a remembrance of men of merit as yourself, a picture would be entirely superfluous. Yet if you think, that from the inspection of the late Lord Barrington’s picture, any may be induced to follow the pattern of virtue and self-denial he has set, it may be easily done. I am in a very particular manner, Sir,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ BARRINGTON.”

FROM EDWARD CAVE, ESQ.

“ St. John’s Gate, March 11, 1735.

“ Reverend Sir,

“ I am commissioned by the gentlemen who are candidates for the prize, to return you their most grateful acknowledgments, for the pains you have so kindly taken in discussing their respective claims. They did not expect so learned and critical a dissertation on their several pieces, whose merit, they imagined, was far from entitling them to so great an honour. But since you have condescended in so polite and candid a manner, to examine their several preten-

sions to the prize, it is the least part of their gratitude to declare their unanimous satisfaction in your opinion of their deserts, and accordingly have amicably adjusted the difference betwixt themselves.

“With regard to what you have added in the postscript to your letter, I must allow, Sir, there has been too much reason for the censure you have passed on the magazine; but it shall be my future care to let nothing pass of that kind; and to convince the world I am much better pleased with ingenuity of a more serious turn, I have proposed a considerable reward for poems on five sublime subjects, on which, if it suited your leisure, and you have not taken an absolute leave of the muses, I should be proud of a poem from Dr. Watts.*

“I must own myself tardy in not paying you my respects till now; but multiplicity of business, and a great deal of illness, has been the reason, which I trust your goodness will take as an excuse for a neglect not intended by your very humble servant,

“EDW. CAVE.”

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.†

“Sir,

“I am extremely concerned that I cannot have the pleasure of seeing you on Thursday, since I think it very long

*The following advertisement appears in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1731, with reference to this prize: “Be it known to all men by these presents, that the sum of *fifty pounds* will be given to the person, who shall make the best poem, Latin or English, on *Life, Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell*, viz. all the said subjects jointly, and not any single one independent of the rest.—London, July 31, 1731. I promise to pay to the author of the best poem, on or to his or her order, the sum of fifty pounds, according to the intent, sense, and meaning of the above advertisement.

“SYLVANUS URBAN.

“P.S. This reward will be punctually paid by Edward Cave at St. John's Gate, or, in case of his demise, be made payable out of £100 claim on the Assurance Office in Hatton Garden.”

† There is no date to this letter, but the doctor has written on the back of it “April, 1735.”

since I had that satisfaction, which I assure you I wish for much oftener than I enjoy; but it is my lot at present to be in waiting,* and besides my Lord has been laid up, and still is so with a most severe fit of the gout, so that what time I can spare from my attendance on the Queen is passed by his bed's side. If he is able to be lifted into the coach he talks of leaving London next week. We have had an unpleasant winter; for, betwixt illness and accidents, there has scarce been a week in which the whole family was well enough to go out. I have for my own particular case suffered extremely, first from an intermitting fever, which lasted a long time, and since that from a bruise I got on horse-back by a wagon, which crushed my stirrup-leg in so sad a manner, that, though it is more than seven weeks ago, I have still great trouble with it. My Lord and my young people assure you of their hearty compliments. I hope you will be so good as to remember me in your prayers, and believe me, as I am with great truth and esteem,

“Your most obliged humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

TO WILLIAM DUNCOMBE, ESQ.

“Newington, May 23, 1735.

“Sir,

“Your letter, and the present of Mr. Hughes's ‘Works,’ were joyfully received by me the next day after I saw you. Methinks I see the very man, my old acquaintance, there, with his temper and softness, his wit and sprightly genius, spreading almost over every page. ’Twas well Tele-machus took Mentor with him, when he ventured into Calypso's island, painted by such a pencil, while the goddess

* Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen Caroline.

was dressed by such a poet, and she and her nymph Eucharis had airs and sonnets given them by such a master in music.

“ But my sorrow freshens and renews upon my heart, that such a genius did not live to write more moral and divine odes in advanced years, to be a counterpoise to all the charms of pleasure, and youth, and beauty, which his younger poetry indulged. Yet it must be confessed, I can find nothing that is an offence to virtue and piety, so far as I have perused, which amounts to more than half. The Christian scheme has glories and beauties in it, which have superior power to touch the soul, beyond all the gods and heroes of the heathen heaven or elysium. I should have been much pleased to see so fine a pen employing its art on such themes. Mr. Pope’s ‘Messiah’ always charms me. I speak not now of Mr. Hughes’s odes ‘On the Creator of the world,’ the ‘Ecstasy,’ &c. because I have read them long ago: these have so much dignity in them, that I wished for more of the same kind. Pray tell me, Sir, when I shall be so happy as to see you next, whether Sir R. Blackmore’s preface to his ‘Alfred’ does not convince you, that a Christian poet has happier advantages than a pagan? His prefaces are certainly better in their kind than his poems, as several gentlemen of good taste have acknowledged. And why should not some great genius seize those advantages, and leave old Homer no longer right to the supreme laurel?

“ But I forget myself and my years, though when I am upon such a subject, *rejuvenescit calamus renuentibus annis*.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your obliged humble servant,

“ I. WATTS.”

FROM THE HON. JONATHAN BELCHER.

“Boston, Oct. 24, 1735.

“Worthy Sir,

“In June last Mr. Boylstone brought me your obliging letter of 2nd. of May. I again thank you for your prayers and good wishes for me in the weight of the government. It shall be my study to be faithful to my master, and with a tender eye to keep inviolate all the liberties of my dear country, and such a practice I think very compatible. I was sorry to hear of the death of the late ingenious and religious* ————. I looked on him as a part of our glory and defence; but what shall we say, the ‘residue of the spirit is with God? Ashur shall not save us, neither will we ride on horses; and cease ye from man whose breath is in his nostrils, for wherein is he to be accounted of?’ God’s church and people shall be safe here and safe for ever; while their faith is fixed, trusting in the Lord, they shall be as Mount Zion, which cannot be removed but abideth for ever. I have from others the same account you give me of the declining state of the health of my predecessor, Governor Shute, for whom I have a great esteem, as a gentleman of great virtue and integrity: ‘his days have filled up the age of a man, whose strength is not the strength of stones, nor his flesh of brass.’ We must all cry out at last, ‘Corruption, thou art my father! O worm, thou art my sister and mother!’ but happy, thrice happy shall they be, who, when this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality, shall be able to triumph over the last enemy of mankind, and say, ‘O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory?’ This I hope will be the portion of my worthy friend, Colonel Shute, who, I doubt not, in God’s best time, will

* Probably Lord Barrington.

come to his grave in full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season. *Favit Deus.*

“I ask leave to condole with the Hon. Lady Abney on the death of Mrs. Gunston, and to congratulate her on the mercy of God in her own recovery. May she live long in good health, a still more extensive blessing to her family and this unworthy world !

“I thank you, Sir, very heartily for your share of the fifty-four discourses delivered at Mr. Coward’s lecture, the two volumes being sent me by my excellent friend Dr. Guyse.

“I pray God to pour out upon you and upon your brethren more and more of his Holy Spirit. That you may be faithful to your great Lord and Master, even unto death, and then receive the crown of life, is the prayer of,

“My dear friend,

“Your most obliged and most humble servant,

“J. BELCHER.”

CHAPTER XIV.

1736—1739.

STOKE NEWINGTON.

TENDENCY OF WATTS'S MIND.—SITUATION AT LADY ABNEY'S.—HIS STUDY.—INSCRIPTIONS.—HOUSE AT STOKE NEWINGTON.—EMBEL-
LISHMENTS.—ILLNESS.—NIGHT STUDIES.—DR. OWEN.—DEATH OF MRS.
ROWE.—“DEVOUT EXERCISES.”—HER CHARACTER.—WORK ON “HU-
MILITY.”—OPINION OF BISHOP GIBSON.—NEW-ENGLAND REVIVAL.—
PRESIDENT EDWARDS'S NARRATIVE.—PREFACE.—WATTS AND GUYSE.—
“HOLINESS OF TIMES AND PLACES.”—TIME FOR CELEBRATING THE
LORD'S SUPPER.—RISE OF METHODISM.—SENTIMENTS OF THE DIS-
SENTERS.—OPINIONS OF BARKER, DODDRIDGE, AND WATTS.—INTER-
VIEW WITH WHITFIELD.—CORRESPONDENCE.

THE biography of Watts has been hitherto a detail of lite-
rary labours; few incidents occurred to disturb the calm and
even flow of his history; and little presents itself to interest
those who are fond of novelty and eager for excitement. “The
life of a scholar,” says Goldsmith, “seldom abounds with ad-
venture — his fame is acquired in solitude.” That retirement
which is indispensable for literary pursuits, deprives those
who would distinguish themselves by intellectual exertion of
the opportunity, and often of the inclination, to mingle promi-
nently in the active concerns of life. In the language of
Milton they must shut themselves up

“In some high lonely tower,
Where they may oft outwatch the bear
With thrice-great Hermes.”

The *studious* are seldom *practical* men : years of patient devotion to abstruse pursuits, unfit them for the tumult of a bustling world ; or the sensitiveness which usually accompanies the higher endowments of genius, leads them to recoil from a contact with the prejudices and passions of mankind ; or the timidity which is the usual product of long habits of seclusion, causes them to shun those engagements which induce prominence and notoriety. The tendency of Watts's mind was towards a life of retirement ; this disposition was strengthened by the ill health to which he was subject ; but when summoned to the post of duty, he never failed to tear himself from his beloved solitude, to meet the task that was assigned unto him. And when free from the attacks of his complaint, the duties that devolved upon him were many and arduous. Besides his regular ministry at Bury Street, he had an extensive correspondence at home and abroad to maintain ; he was intimately connected with the various plans of usefulness that were formed among the dissenters ; in the concerns of New England he took a prominent part ; and he was frequently called to the discharge of extraordinary ministerial services. In the midst of such avocations, and a constant martyr to disease, to produce such a number of important works, embracing a range of subject so extended, evinces an industry and application rarely equalled, never surpassed. What is said of Gallus in Cicero's treatise on Old Age, was often true with reference to Watts at the commencement of his career — when he sat down to write in the morning, he was surprised by the evening ; and when he took up his pen in the evening, he was surprised by the appearance of the morning.

It was the happiness of Dr. Watts to be placed in circumstances the most favourable for the gratification of his taste and genius : he had none of the anxieties of domestic life, with a large share of its comforts : the kind attentions of Lady Abney anticipated all his wants, and afforded every facility for the prosecution of his studies. Under her roof he pursued

the “noiseless tenor of his way,” a blessing to the family, the church, and to the world, repaying the regard of his hostess with his prayers and counsels. In doing good he was truly in labours more abundant; he was constantly on the watch for opportunities of usefulness; and suffered no occasion of advancing the cause of his divine Master to escape him unimproved. The end at which he aimed in his numerous writings was not to procure applause, or to relieve his readers of a vacant hour; but to communicate a medicine to the mind diseased, to vindicate Christianity from the aspersions of shallow philosophers and licentious wits, and assert the great principles of virtue and religion in a degenerate age. At the entrance of his study, on the outside, appeared the following lines of Horace, denouncing the faithless friend, printed and hung up in a frame :

“ Absentem qui rodit amicum
 Qui non defendit, alio culpante ; solutos
 Qui captat risus hominum, famamq ; dicacis,
 Fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
 Qui nequit, hic niger est ; hunc tu, Romane, caveto.”

Sat. 4. l. 81.

The spaces in the study where there were no shelves, were abundantly covered with prints of considerable persons, mostly divines. On one side of the large and high pannel over the fire-place an inscription from Horace was hung up among the portraits :

“Locus est pluribus umbris.”

On the other side of the pannel there was another inscription, encircled with portraits, soliciting an addition to his illustrious shades :

“Quis me doctorum propria dignabitur umbra.”

The house at Stoke Newington in which Lady Abney re-

sided, and which was occupied by her surviving daughter* until the year 1782, still retains some interesting memorials of Dr. Watts. There is a costly apartment, called the painted room, a curious specimen of the taste of the age in which it was arranged. The mouldings are gilt, and the whole of the pannels on the sides are painted with subjects taken from Ovid. On the window-shutters are some pictorial decorations, which are supposed to have been added by Watts's pencil. These consist of the emblems of Death and Grief, together with the arms of Gunston and Abney, evidently alluding to their lamented decease. The contrast between these mournful emblems and the other embellishments of the room, is strongly marked. Dr. Watts frequently employed his pencil in his leisure hours; and some of his paintings, the heads of Democritus, Heraclitus, Aristotle, and Alexander, are said to have been executed with considerable taste and skill. In the grounds attached to the manor-house the stately "elms" still remain, which are mentioned in his poems as the scene of friendly intercourse with their beloved owner.† Associations of a pleasing and profitable kind, connect themselves with a spot, the residence for so many years of so much piety and genius; the devout mind is humbled by a sense of its own deficiencies, and excited to emulate the example of eminent attainment placed before it; and the prayer is prompted in the heart of the Christian visiter, that as "the harvest" is still "plenteous," more such labourers may be sent forth by the Lord of the harvest.

The infirmities of age began now rapidly to advance upon Dr. Watts; he already trembled beneath the weight of years;

* Of this lady the late Dr. Winter was accustomed to relate an anecdote of his early life with great glee. Dressed in the costume of a belle of George the First's reign, with formidable hoop and all the appurtenances of the *ancien régime*, her appearance betokened considerable antiquity. On being introduced to her presence the boy was abashed; but the good dame, by way of being familiar, condescended to inquire how old he thought she was. The awe-struck youngster, eyeing the venerable figure before him, replied, "Madam, *nine hundred years!*"

† Brown's Stoke Newington.

while his attenuated frame, and the tremulous hand with which he seems to have written his letters, bespoke "the shadows lengthening as the day declines." The year 1736 was one of retirement from public labour on account of illness, which originated the hymn entitled "Complaint and Hope under great pain." The effects of intense mental application appeared in a broken constitution and completely disordered and debilitated nervous system. The sufferer was greatly distressed by insomnia, or continual wakefulness. For several nights successively he could obtain no sleep, except such as was forced by medical preparations; and even the strongest opiates lost their virtue by repeated use, and only served to aggravate his malady. In one of his sermons he recurs to his youthful studies; and attributes his weakened frame and frequent attacks of illness, to the laborious exertions of his early life. "Midnight studies," he remarks, "are prejudicial to nature: a painful experience calls me to repent of the faults of my younger years, and there are many before me have had the same call to repentance. Wearing out the lightsome hours in sleep, is an unnatural waste of sunbeams. There is no light so friendly to animal nature as that of the sun."* Diligence is commendable in every student, but many have fallen victims to their ardour for literary renown; and an early death or a premature old age has been the result of their severe yet injudicious economy. "Dr. Owen," Watts observed upon one occasion, "was accustomed to say, that he would gladly part with all the learning he had acquired by sitting up late at study in younger life, if he could but regain the health he had lost by it." In seasons of sickness, when incapable of public service, Dr. Watts refused to take his salary from the church, saying that as he could not preach he had no right to it. But his people, to their honour, did not listen to such a proposal, as so much of the church's increase was owing to his labours, and so great a portion of his life had

* Ser. xv. vol. ii.

been spent in its service. Mr. Price too joined with them in opposing the wishes of his colleague, at the same time that he admired the delicacy of feeling that prompted him to decline his income.

In the commencement of the year 1737 the circle of Watts's intimate acquaintance was broken by the death of Mrs. Rowe, whose piety, talents, and amiable qualities caused her loss to be universally deplored. She died suddenly, on Sunday morning, Feb. 20th, leaving in her cabinet letters for the following friends, whom she held in high esteem: Dr. Watts, the Countess of Hertford, Mr. James Theobald, the Earl of Orrery, and her mother-in-law, Mrs. Sarah Rowe. The doctor's letter was accompanied with the manuscript of her "Devout Exercises" in several loose papers, which she requested him to publish, after having subjected it to a careful revision. These devotional meditations were published in the September following, with a preface written by himself, and a dedication to the Countess, as an "intimate friend" of the deceased. During an intimacy of nearly thirty years, he had enjoyed ample opportunities of estimating the merits and defects of Mrs. Rowe; and the opinion of her character, expressed in his prefatory letter, is remarkably just and dispassionate. Far from joining with her admirers, who almost elevated her into a divinity, he yet meets the severe animadversions of her impugnors; and finds an apology for the transports and raptures which marked her experience in an ardent temperament and vivacious imagination. The frigid calculating formalist, familiar with the theory, but strange to the power of godliness — the worldling, upon whose heart no spark of devotion has yet fallen — may turn from her pages with disgust, or by an unwonted stretch of candour regard her as an amiable visionary; but he who has been warmed by the same heavenly fire, will be able, in some degree, to sympathise with her devout aspirations. "It was much the fashion," says Watts in his preface, "even among some

divines of eminence in former years, to express the fervours of devout love to our Saviour in the style of the Song of Solomon; and I must confess, that several of my composures in verse, written in younger life, were led by those examples unwarily into this tract." It may be questioned, whether such a mode of expressing religious feelings, the natural product of an eastern clime, is judicious; for men of corrupt minds, in an earlier period, "turned the grace of God into lasciviousness;" and an impure imagination and an unsanctified heart, will connect carnal and sensual ideas with the employment of such imagery. Be it, however, remembered, that the taste of the age in which Mrs. Rowe lived was essentially vitiated; the adoption of a tumid passionate style was necessary to pamper the popular appetite; and, hence, the sickly sentimentalism of Sterne, and the bloated effusions of Hervey, which are now justly discarded, were, at a period not much posterior, not only tolerated but admired. Her mind was tinctured not only by the prevailing taste, but by the mystical writers she had read; but he who on this ground alone would unsparingly condemn her compositions, gives ample room for others to suppose, that he is a stranger to the "devout exercises" in which she delighted—that he has *light* but not *love*—and that however clear his head, his heart is cold.

A few months previous to the publication just noticed, Dr. Watts sent forth a treatise entitled "Humility represented in the character of St. Paul," dated from his retreat at "Newington, March 25." It consists of various papers which he tells us had lain by him in his desk for several years. The tract is founded upon Ephesians, iii. 8, "less than the least of all saints;" and exhibits in an impressive manner, the advantages invariably attendant upon the cultivation of a similar temper to that which the passage expresses. Though written in an exceedingly plain and homely style, it is by no means deficient in striking remark, and lively delineation of charac-

ter. Bishop Gibson commends it for its fidelity, point, and individuality, for which the author had thought it necessary to apologise. The habit of generalising has been in every age the besetting sin of the ministry ; and the fastidious politeness of modern times, has rendered it too much a characteristic of the pulpit addresses of the present day. To illustrate important axioms in morals and religion by the events of domestic life ; to descend from general exhibitions to the delineation of individual character, in the way the bishop approved, would shock the taste and alarm the sensitiveness of a fashionable audience, and sound harsh and invidious to "ears polite." And yet to "declare the whole counsel of God," it is necessary to advance painful and unpalatable truths ; and much more efficient and useful would the ministry be, if less deference was paid to the prejudices of hearers, and more attention to the treatment which their circumstances demand. A maxim of Christian morals may frequently be best enforced by the miseries attendant upon its neglect ; and no ideal representation, no declamatory harangue, is so directly calculated to convince as those illustrations which come home to the consciences and every-day experience of an auditory. In clear and evangelical exposition of truth the present age may perhaps exceed any of the preceding ; but in its plain and pointed application to the state and character of the individual it is lamentably deficient. The skilful operator is often obliged to probe the wound in order to cicatrise and heal ; and he who would be a physician to the souls of men, must unveil, examine, and expose the foulness of the stain he would remove.

The attention of Dr. Watts was powerfully arrested at this period by an extraordinary revival of religion in New England, of which he was informed by his trans-atlantic correspondents. A small district of about thirty miles' compass, on the banks of the river Connecticut, containing twelve or fourteen towns and villages, was the scene of one of the most remarkable out-pourings of the Holy Spirit since the apostolic

age, during which multitudes of young and old were brought under a serious concern, and turned to the Lord with "weeping and with supplication." In the town of Northampton, favoured with the ministry of that master in moral and metaphysical science, Jonathan Edwards, the "cloud" arose, at first little as "a man's hand," but which, gradually spreading over New Hampshire and the Massachusetts, descended in showers of holy influence upon the churches embosomed in their tracts of wood and wilderness. For several months the sanctuaries were unable to contain the crowds that thronged unto them; the houses of the ministers were besieged with contrite and anxious inquirers; and every day witnessed some thoughtless prodigal reclaimed or hardened heart subdued. The expatriated puritans compelled by persecution to seek a quiet home and peaceful altar across the waters, had diligently "sowed," and their descendants now "entered into their labours:" the devotion of the pilgrim fathers was rewarded, and their prayers were answered in abundant blessings upon their children. The season of heavenly light and hallowed influence which visited the western wilds, was not evanescent as the early dew: for several successive years, under the ministry of Gilbert Tennant, Whitfield, and others, the power of divine truth was exemplified in awakening numbers of the most careless and profane. The tidings of colonial revival speedily reached the mother country, and elicited various opinions as to its cause, its permanence, and its merits. By the wisdom of this world it was pronounced the result of enthusiastic excitement — a cold and heartless philosophy attributed it to the influence of social sympathy — men of taste and refinement formed an unfavourable judgment, from the occasional irregularities that marked its progress — whilst not a few in professedly religious circles treated it as the offspring of error and extravagance. But the spiritual phenomena exhibited were too extraordinary to be accounted for upon natural principles; and the chief actors in the work

were men too intellectually acute to be themselves deceived, and far too upright to propagate deception. Dr. Watts, therefore, hailed it as an instance of gracious visitation from on high — from contention and decline at home, he gladly turned to the brighter prospect that opened in the aboriginal forests of America — and attentively traced the rise and watched the progress of the “time of refreshing.” He wrote to his friend Dr. Colman of Boston for information, who forwarded his wishes to Mr. Williams, a minister in the neighbourhood where the revival commenced. This application coming under the notice of Mr. Edwards, produced his “Faithful Narrative of the surprising work of God, in the conversion of many hundred souls in Northampton and the neighbouring towns and villages of New Hampshire,” which he sent as a letter to Dr. Colman. Mr. Edwards observes, “Having seen your letter to my honoured uncle Williams of Hatfield, of July 20, wherein you inform him of the notice that has been taken of the late wonderful work of God in this and some other towns in this country, by the Rev. Dr. Watts and Dr. Guyse of London, and the congregation to which the last of these preached on a monthly day of solemn prayer; as also of your desire to be more perfectly acquainted with it, by some of us on the spot; and having been since informed by my uncle Williams, that you desire me to undertake it, I would now do it in as just and faithful a manner as in me lies.”

The manuscript of Mr. Edwards’s narrative was sent by Dr. Colman to England, and published under the direction of Dr. Watts and Dr. John Guyse in the year 1737. The editors remark in their preface,

“The friendly correspondence which we maintain with our brethren of New England, gives us now and then the pleasure of hearing some remarkable instance of divine grace in the conversion of sinners, and some eminent examples of piety in that American part of the world. But never did we hear or read, since the first ages of Christianity, any event of

this kind so surprising as the present narrative hath set before us. The Rev. and worthy Dr. Colman of Boston, had given us some short intimations of it in his letters; and upon our request of a more large and particular account, Mr. Edwards, the happy and successful minister of Northampton, which was one of the chief scenes of these wonders, drew up this history in an epistle to Dr. Colman. There were some useful sermons of the venerable and aged Mr. Wm. Williams published late in New England, which were preached in that part of the country during this season of the glorious work of God in the conversion of men, to which Dr. Colman subjoined a most judicious and accurate abridgment of this epistle; and a little after, by Mr. Edwards's request, he sent the original to our hands, to be communicated to the world under our care here in London. We are abundantly satisfied of the truth of this narrative, not only from the pious character of the writer, but from the concurrent testimony of many other persons in New England; for this thing was not done in a corner."

The cheering facts which the "Narrative" records, form by no means an isolated instance of religious revival. The succeeding history of the western continent, furnishes us with similar plenteous communications of heavenly influence, producing a deep and general concern in behalf of spiritual and eternal things. In our own days such exhibitions of divine grace have been witnessed, and the testimonies of men the most intelligent, and widely removed from enthusiasm, have been forwarded to our shores, recounting what God hath wrought. It seems as though such occurrences were intended in the divine administration signally to own and bless the piety and devotedness of the early settlers. They were "some of the best people, of the best nation on the face of the earth, and in its best age"—they took joyfully "the spoiling of their goods" at home to promote the interests of true religion, and banished themselves beyond the bounds of civilisation,

rather than yield their consciences to the yoke of spiritual tyranny—and though many died of the hardships of exile, with no shelter but the forest, yet their “labour has not been in vain in the Lord.” The fruit has been gathered, the harvest has been reaped by their posterity; and the ark of liberty and religion, which they transported to a foreign soil to preserve inviolate, has been handed down to their children’s children.

In January, 1738, Doddridge was in London, procuring subscriptions for his “Family Expositor;” and in February he paid a visit to Lady Abney and Dr. Watts at Newington. The latter was now engaged in preparing his discourses on “The Holiness of Times, Places, and People,” which appeared in the month of May, which Doddridge mentions with approbation in a letter to his friend Dr. Clark of St. Albans.* In the summer he assisted at the ordination of the Rev. Samuel Snashall, at Stoke Newington, and gave the charge to the minister. Dr. Gibbons observes, “I well remember that the minister who prayed over Mr. Snashall, before the doctor gave the charge, made use of this expression, ‘Lord, we remember our faults this day.’ The doctor took notice of it as falling from the lips of his reverend brother, and approved and adopted it into his preface to his charge in the easiest and happiest manner. Such was his ready and immediate command of thought and language.” “The Holiness of Times, Places, and People,” consists of five essays upon the following important topics: “The Perpetuity of the Sabbath, and the observation of the Lord’s Day” — “Of the Time of Day for administering the Lord’s Supper” — “The Holiness of Places of Worship” — “The Jewish Worship and the Christian compared” — “The Holiness of the Jewish and Christian Churches considered and compared.”

The first essay originated with a discourse on the same

* Dated, “Newport Pagnel, June 23, 1738.”

subject, printed in the Bury-street collection.* It considers the obligation of a sabbatical institution upon Christians, which it establishes by the same line of argument as is usually employed by divines. The seventh day was hallowed by divine appointment at the close of the creation; its sanctity was strongly marked, previous to the promulgation of the law, by suspending the supply of manna; it was afterwards embodied in that great epitome of religious and moral duty written upon the tables of stone; it formed a part of the political law of the people who recognised Jehovah as their political head; it was sanctified, when changed by apostolic authority to the first day of the week, in the practice of all the primitive churches; and these incidental circumstances, in the absence of an explicit injunction, are advanced as irresistibly determining in favour of the institute.† The loose and incautious statements of episcopal writers upon this subject, the non-observation of the day of rest by the court in the time of the Stuarts, introduced a laxity of manners among the people, and led them to convert the sacred festival into a civil holiday. Many of the nonconformist divines took up the pen to correct the mischievous errors of Heylin, and counteract the still lingering spirit of the Book of Sports; and their treatises still remain among the most valuable in the library of English theology, in defence of the perpetuity and sanctity of the sabbath. The second essay, on the time for administering the Lord's supper, was written about the year 1710;‡ and arose from some religious scruples which one of the hearers at Bury Street entertained, about receiving the communion at

* "The Lord's Day, or Christian Sabbath. Gen. ii. 3."

† Two appendices are added to this essay. The first contains an extract from Lord King's "Inquiry into the Primitive Churches;" and the second, some additional remarks, strengthening the inferential proof of the Sabbath being of divine obligation. This question has of late been set at rest by many excellent productions; and especially Dr. Wardlaw has most triumphantly refuted the objections of the anti sabbattarians, in his "Discourses on the Sabbath. 1832."

‡ See preface.

noon, according to the custom of many churches. He argues, that where the time of any duty has been expressly instituted, it ought to be punctually obeyed; but that it by no means follows, that every circumstance of time or place, which attended any part of worship in which the apostles or Christ himself engaged, must be observed also whenever we perform it. We are under as much obligation to partake of the Lord's supper only in a "city," "in a large upper room furnished,"* observing the Jewish posture of sitting at table, as to receive it in an evening. The practice of the primitive churches varied upon this point; sometimes the sacrament was celebrated "*horis ante lucanis*," before break of day; Paul at Troas "broke bread" when it was past midnight;† but the proper season for its performance is doubtless that which is most convenient to the parties engaged in it.‡ The third dissertation is the substance of a sermon preached at Wapping, Oct. 20th, 1737, at the opening of Mr. Jennings's meeting-house. The fourth and fifth contrast the economy and advantages of the Jewish and Christian churches. — These essays contain a very valuable and practical exhibition of evangelical truth; they discover the writer's extensive acquaintance with the sacred page and both ancient and modern divinity; and the just remarks and happy illustrations with which the volume abounds, render its perusal pleasing and profitable, and add considerably to the reader's stock of theological knowledge.

We have seen Dr. Watts rejoicing in the spiritual prosper-

* Mark, xiv. 15, 16.

† Acts, xx. 7.

‡ President Chauncey thought the Lord's Supper should be in an evening. In the records of Harvard college, there is the following memorandum:

"At a meeting of the Honourable and Reverend Overseers of the college, Mr. Mather and Mr. Norton were desired by the overseers of the college, to tender unto the Reverend Mr. Charles Chauncey the place of President, with the stipend of one hundred pounds per annum, to be paid out of the country treasury; and withal to signify to him, that it is expected and desired, that he forbear to disseminate or publish any tenets concerning *immersion in baptism, and celebration of the Lord's Supper at evening*, or to expose the received doctrine therein."

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 175.

ity of the American colonies: a striking change was now at hand in the moral and religious state of his own country. The Methodists were beginning to attract public notice by the holy lives and abundant labours of the Wesleys; the populace of the metropolis was flocking to Kennington Common and Moorfields, to be roused from its slumber by the powerful voice of Whitfield; and that glorious ministry was commencing in the "highways and hedges," which, though opposed by the cold advocates of order, and scowled upon by selfish bigots, has proved such a signal blessing to the nation. Various representations have been given of the disposition of the dissenters towards the distinguished leaders of the rising sect. The ardour, the disinterestedness, the desire, and unremitting exertions to win souls displayed by them, commanded the admiration and won the love of such men as Watts, Doddridge, and others; but in many instances their co-operation was forfeited by the want of a conciliating spirit, and the good-will they tendered was lost by causeless and imprudent reflections. When their churches were denounced as companies of banded formalists—when their ministry was proclaimed, as feeding the flock with husks instead of salutary food—it is not surprising if the majority kept aloof or retired disgusted by the exhibition of so much censoriousness. Whitfield, especially in middle age, saw the error into which he had been betrayed by youthful intemperance, and in the spirit of a Christian publicly acknowledged it. But notwithstanding such unhappy circumstances, Dr. Watts, Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Barker, and other eminent ministers, exemplified the charity that "hopeth all things," and witnessed with intense interest and joy the good that was accomplished, however imperfect they might deem the instruments. The latter in a private letter remarks, "I have heard a little of Count Zinzendorf, but not a full and satisfactory account; but this I am sure of, that if Satan's kingdom falls, and that of our Lord rises, if the one lessens and the other extends,

therein do I rejoice, and will rejoice, whoever is the instrument, and whatever the means, and in what place soever Providence opens the road. By what you say of that noble person, I suppose you are well satisfied he is a Christian reformed from popery as well as impiety, and zealous for the truths and laws of Christ. I still think the Methodists sincere; I hope that they do good, and that some may be reformed, instructed, and made serious by their means. I saw Mr. Whitfield preaching on Kennington Common last week to an attentive multitude, and heard much of him at Bath; but supposing him sincere, and in good earnest, I still fancy that he is but a *weak* man—much too positive, says rash things, and is bold and enthusiastic. I am most heartily glad to hear of piety, prayer, reformation, and every thing that looks like faith and holiness, in the north or south, the east or the west, and that any *real* good is done any where to the souls of men; but whether the Methodists are in a right way, whether they are warrantable in all their conduct, whether *poor* people should be urged (through different persons, successively) *to pray from four in the morning till eleven at night*, is not clear to me; and I am less satisfied with the high pretences they make to the Divine influence. I think what Mr. Whitfield says and does comes but little short of an assumption of inspiration or infallibility.” In the sentiments here expressed Dr. Doddridge fully coincided; with the Wesleys, Whitfield, and Zinzendorf he had personal interviews; but the extravagances which were tolerated by their followers at last grieved his candid mind. “I had,” he says in one of his letters, “great expectations from the Methodists and Moravians; I am grieved from my very heart that so many things have occurred among them, which have been quite unjustifiable; and I assure you faithfully, they are such as would have occasioned me to have dropped that intimacy of correspondence which I once had with them. And I suppose they have also produced the same sentiments in the Archbishop of Can-

terbury, who to my certain knowledge received Count Zinzendorf with open arms, and wrote of his being chosen the Moravian bishop, as what was done ‘*plaudente toto cœlesti choro.*’” It is highly probable that Dr. Watts sympathised with his friends in their views of the zealous itinerants; he saw much to hope and much to fear from their conduct; and whilst their inexperience and rashness led him to treat them with cautious reserve, he rejoiced inasmuch as Christ was preached. I know not whether either of the Wesleys came into personal contact with him, but Whitfield sought his friendship, and visited him previous to his second voyage to America. He took occasion to correct his errors, and point out the dangers to which he was exposed; to guard against interpreting mental impression as the voice of God, and mistaking animal excitement for the influence of devotion; advice which the young apostle received with candour, and regretted at a later period that he had not sooner followed.

FROM THE REV. GEORGE THOMSON.*

“St. Ginny’s, Jan. 17, 1736.

“Poet, Divine, Saint, the delight, the guide, the wonder of the virtuous world; permit, Rev. Sir, a stranger unknown, and likely to be for ever unknown, to desire one blessing from you in a private way. ’Tis this, that when you approach the throne of grace, and lift up holy hands, when you get closest to the mercy-seat, and wrestle mightily for the peace of Jerusalem, you would breathe one petition for my soul’s health. In return I promise you a share for life in my unworthy prayers, who honour you as a father and a brother (though differently ordered), and conclude myself

“Your affectionate humble servant,

“GEORGE THOMSON.

* This gentleman was living in 1780, though deprived of sight.

“P. S. If you can forgive my freedom, and find a few minutes’ leisure to ascertain me of your kind design to oblige, to make me happy, direct to George Thomson, Vicar of St. Ginny’s, near Camelford, in Cornwall.”

TO THE REV. SAMUEL SAY.

“Newington, Jan. 28, 1736.

“Dear Sir,

“If you desire me to do any thing for you which you could not do yourself, you know that I am ever ready ; but when you ask me to correct a copy of verses, you ask me to teach Quintilian to correct an oration of one of his Roman pupils, or to instruct Horace to write lyrics. Alas ! my friend, I am grown into years, and though part of the critic lives, yet the poet is almost expired. Old age can find fault where it cannot mend. Yet friendship prevails, and overrules my reasonings, and constrains me to attempt what you desire. I have sent you a short sketch of what may be much improved by your review.

“I am, &c.

“I. WATTS.”

FROM THE REV. BENJAMIN COLMAN, D. D.*

“Boston, Feb. 12, 1736.

“Reverend Sir,

“In one of your last to me you express yourself as greatly pleased with the account I gave you of the great and good disposition found in a tribe of Indians on our south-

*This very eminent divine was educated at Harvard college. He came over to England in 1692, and having been ordained, returned to the charge of one of the churches (called the New Church) in Boston. He corresponded with Dean, afterwards Bishop, Kennet, and received his degree from the university of Edinburgh,

western borders, at Honstatonock, to receive the gospel. I send you by this ship, and to Dr. Harris, Dr. Guyse, Mr. Neal, and others, the sermon preached at Mr. Sargeant's* ordination, to which some account of this work of God is prefixed, and therein two letters to me, to which I refer you. Since which I have a third letter, in which Mr. Sargeant expresses himself thus to me :

“ ‘ Sir, I doubt not but God in his infinite mercy hears the prayers of good men daily put up to him for success in the cause of Christ, in which I have the honour to be engaged. In their favour, next to the blessing of God on my endeavours, I seem to enjoy the pleasures of society in the deepest solitude.

“ ‘ I wish I were worthy the love of so excellent a man as the Rev. Dr. Watts, whom all the world admire and love. And if I may be thought to deserve in any measure the good opinion of the world, it is not a little owing to the doctor's ingenious writings, which have the force to charm minds to the love of piety and virtue, and infuse something of his own spirit into his readers.

“ ‘ I have always endeavoured to lead our Indians by the easiest steps into knowledge. I had no thoughts of my first

in conjunction with Professor Wigglesworth. Upon Whitfield's visit to Georgia, he invited him to Boston, and gave him the use of his pulpit. Dr. Colman wrote “A Narrative of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small-pox in New England, with a Reply to the objections made against it from Principles of Conscience.” This was published by Mr. Neal in London, and attracted the attention of the Prince and Princess of Wales, who invited the editor to an interview. In a Sketch of eminent ministers in New England, by the Rev. John Barnard, Dr. Colman is described as “a most gentlemanly man, of polite aspect and conversation, very extensive erudition, great devotion of spirit and behaviour, a charming and admired preacher, extensively serviceable to the college and country, whose works breathe his exalted, oratorical, devout, and benign spirit: an excellent man in spirit, in faith, in holiness, and charity.” *Collections of the Historical Society, Boston*, x. 169.—Dr. Chauncey, in a letter to Dr. Stiles, says of him, “His character would have been greater, could it have been said that he exceeded as much in strength of reason and firmness of mind, as in many other good qualities.” He died, after a useful and blameless life, in the year 1747, aged 73. His life was published by his son Turell, 8vo. 1749.

* See Correspondence to Chap. XVII.

discourse to them, that it would be ever read by any but myself; but had I tried to mend it, it may be I should have made it worse.

“ ‘God pleases to crown our endeavours with unexpected and surprising success. I have baptised almost forty persons, infants and adults. I hope the adults have a pretty good understanding of the main and fundamental doctrines of the holy religion into which they have been baptised. I always endeavour to possess their minds with a most serious sense of what they are about when they enter themselves the disciples of Christ. Their whole hearts seem to be engaged in the matter; and I have reason to think, that the imperfection of their knowledge is made up by the zeal and integrity of their intentions. Those that have been baptised have behaved themselves very well, though they have several times been tempted to exceed the rules of temperance with the offers of strong drink, which used to be their beloved destruction. They seem to be surprised with the change they find in themselves; and, after their manner, express the difference between their former and present state, by infancy and manhood, dreaming and being awake, darkness and light, and the like metaphors. I pray God that the day-star that seems risen in their hearts, may shine more and more to the perfect day. I have two Indian lads live with me, and have £.3 in money, which I design to spend on them (i. e. by subsisting them), and by their assistance to get the language. Pray for me, and for our new proselytes, and the whole tribe, and may the blessing of the charitable descend on you, &c.

“ ‘ December 26, 1735.

JOHN SARGEANT.’

“ Mr. Sargeant had not been ordained four months when he wrote this letter. I have sent him some of Mr. Holden’s money for his subsisting the Indian lads, ten pounds; and he shall have more if he needs. His work and prayers are a good

return. You see, Sir, how you are loved up in our woods, and what excellent men live there, and what good things are doing there. As it rejoiced Mr. Sargeant there to hear of your joy in them, so it will refresh you, Sir, in the midst of London, to hear from him.

“My packet now comes to Mr. Coram,* at the navy office; he will safely, and without charge, convey it to you. He is one of the trustees for Georgia, and has brought me into some correspondence with the Earl of Egremont, and the Rev. Mr. Smith of Aldgate, and now also with the Rev. Mr. Winder of Liverpool,† who by his letter appears to be a very superior person. Mr. Coram has a vast zeal for our missionaries in the east on Dr. Williams’s‡ foundation. But the prospect is poor there. If it continue so unprofitable, and the door opens above Honstatonock, as seems likely, I tell our governor we must needs remove those missionaries thither.

“And now I have named his Excellency, I will add, that he never has said any thing of your leaving your poem to him out of your Miscellaneous Thoughts. I am sorry you thought there was reason to do it. If I am able to judge, he is an upright and fervent man to do good. He is the father of the Honstatonocks, and tender of Mr. Sargeant as of his eye. His heart is much with God and for him. I will take

* Captain Coram.

† The Rev. Thos. Winder, D.D. author of “A Critical and Chronological History of the Rise, Progress, Declension, and Revival of Knowledge, chiefly Religious: in two periods. 1. The Period of Tradition from Adam to Moses. 2. The Period of Letters from Moses to Christ.” This was published in 1745 in two volumes quarto, under the editorial inspection of his learned friend Dr. Benson, of Poor Jewry Lane. Some memoirs of Dr. Winder’s life are appended to it.

‡ Dr. Williams, among his numerous benefactions, left a legacy for the support of two missionaries to the Indians in America. The incorporated society in London, for propagating the gospel in New England and the parts adjacent, had the management of this fund. Their commissioners in Boston appointed, at the recommendation of Mr. Brainerd, Mr. Elihu Spencer to labour among the Indians of the Six Nations. He was accordingly ordained, and usefully employed among the Oneidas, about one hundred and seventy miles beyond Albany.

leave to communicate to you some lines he has lately wrote to me, that I may restore him in your thoughts if need be.

“ ‘January, 1735—6.

“ ‘Great are my desires to serve my Creator and Redeemer in my public and private life. Dear Sir, I entreat, I charge and require you to wrestle with God, that I may be always faithful and upright before him.’

“ ‘February 7, —.

“ ‘As the recess of the general assembly and the winter season give me some little ease, I cannot employ myself better to my satisfaction, than to inquire into the duty I owe to my God and Saviour. These are admirably set before me in your letters, &c. But, O Sir, in what a glaring light has God set me! How has he encompassed me with innumerable blessings, health, affluence, honour, &c.! And now to be taken from the sheepfolds, &c.! How grateful, vigilant, and prostrate ought I to lie at his feet, on whose shoulders the government is laid, that in the whole of my administration I may advance his glory! wherein I am sure I shall best of all honour the king and serve his people,’ &c. &c.

“ ‘I thought, Sir, there could be no like effectual way to show you the true worth and spirit of our excellent governor, than by such a transcript, which I send you in a confidence of secrecy, that can only excuse, if it may at all justify, what I do. And after all my heart smites me, as David’s did him, when he cut off the skirts and saved his father’s life.

“ ‘The spring is now coming, and the ships from sea appear then, as the birds out of the wood. Then we look out to see and read you again, to receive new bounties and blessings. But good and bad is mixed in this life, and we seldom hear from our living friends, but we hear of some dead. May you still live by the will of God, and love and pray for your affectionate

“ BENJ. COLMAN.

“P. S. We have had a strange fever that seizes the throats of our children, in New Hampshire, this winter, and carries them off suddenly; sweeps houses; so that from week to week we hear of three buried together by one, and three by another; some have buried their all, and some their five or six.* It is new, and no means safe as yet; our eyes are up to God, and have kept a day of prayer through the province to make intercession. ‘Spare thy people, O Lord!’”

FROM MR. ELISHA WILLIAMS.†

“New Haven, May 24, 1736.

“Rev. Sir,

“I have now before me yours of May 13th, 1735, for which as well as the two volumes of sermons sent therewith to the college, my grateful acknowledgments on my own account, as well as in behalf of the college corporation, you

* The Rev. Jabez Fitch, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, published an account of this fatal disorder, as it appeared in that province, for fourteen months, prior to July 25, 1736. He also published two sermons from Jeremiah, xiv. 8, 9, designed to lead the people to a religious improvement of the throat distemper.

† This gentleman was the rector of Yale college, at New Haven, in Connecticut, from the year 1726 to 1739. He resigned the office owing to ill health, but became chaplain to a regiment sent from New England against Cape Breton in the year 1745, when that important place surrendered to the British arms. After this, when an expedition was concerted against Canada, and a regiment of a thousand men was raised by his majesty's order for the purpose, he was appointed by the General Assembly to be the chief colonel, which office he accepted, and was in readiness to have gone upon the service, when orders came from Great Britain for disbanding the troops designed for the expedition. He came to England to solicit the payment of the regiment in January, 1749—50, and did not leave it till August, 1751. During this time Dr. Gibbons had a particular and intimate acquaintance with him, and so had Dr. Doddridge, who in a letter to a friend gives this account concerning him: “I look upon Colonel Williams to be one of the most valuable men upon earth: he has joined an ardent sense of religion, solid learning, consummate prudence, great candour, and sweetness of temper, and a certain nobleness of soul capable of contriving and acting the greatest things without seeming to be conscious of having done them.”

might justly have expected before this time; yet, when I have informed you that my friend at Boston, into whose hands your packet was put to convey it to me, happened to send it by one who left it in the country at some distance from Boston, where, notwithstanding all the care I could possibly take, it lay till this spring, and then was carried back to Boston for conveyance hither, and but two days ago came to my hands, you will not, Sir, interpret it as a neglect of duty that our thanks reach you no sooner.

“Though I have had so little time to think on what you laid before me in yours relating to those philosophical inquiries, yet I durst not omit this first opportunity of transmitting this to Boston, and the rather, expecting it may reach the hands of Mr. Hooker, an ingenious and hopeful young gentleman educated at this college, now sailing for London, who intends to do himself the honour of waiting on yourself, if God shall give him leave, and so I hope this may safely reach you by him. Since the thesis I sent you was not unacceptable, I venture to offer you the last.

“The state of religion in the nation seems very lamentable according to your account of it, and, considering the light and means they have, it is amazing, and a very strong evidence of the dreadful depravation of human nature, and so of some of those truths they so earnestly oppose. As those volumes of sermons you were pleased to send us were doubtless very seasonable where they were preached, wherein several truths were fairly cleared which had been suffering from various quarters, so they are indeed seasonable in this country, and I cannot sufficiently express my thankfulness to God and to you for them on account of the youth who are here educated.

“I am obliged, in thankfulness to God, to own that your sermons have done great service to our youth, as I hope those now sent will, which I purpose shall be read in the college-hall every Sabbath evening, as yours and some others have been, that they may be made the more extensively beneficial.

“I sometime since informed you I hoped your Catechisms for youth would have an impression in this country, and should when accomplished have offered one to your acceptance had there not been the mistake of copying after the first edition instead of your corrected one, which I trust will be mended when it receives a second edition, which I wish for ; and my father (who wrote the preface to it) lately telling me Mr. S. Mather* of Boston had acquainted him he had sent you one of them, I thought it not amiss to inform you how the mistake came. The ministers in the county of Hampshire devolved the care of printing it on one of their number, who told me he had your corrected edition, I having seasonably observed to him the necessity of putting such a one into the printer’s hands, and that if he had not one I would furnish him, and upon his telling me so I took no further care of the matter till it was too late to help his mistake.

“Since the advancement of Christ’s kingdom is always your

* Son of Dr. Cotton Mather, and the author of his life, to the English abridgment of which Dr. Watts wrote a preface. We have interesting memoirs of the Wesley family : a memoir of the Mather family is a *desideratum*, and would be a valuable addition to the library of Christian biography. The great grandfather of the Mr. S. Mather mentioned above, was the Rev. John Cotton, who was pastor, in conjunction with Mr. Wilson, of the first church in Boston. The name of the city until his arrival in 1634, had been among the Indians *Shawmut*, afterwards among the early settlers *Tri-mountain*, from its three hills, but changed to Boston, in honour of the place of the same name in Lincolnshire, where Mr. Cotton had exercised his ministry. Dr. Cotton Mather tells us, that the gathering of the second church in Boston, was “very much against the interest of Mr. Cotton, his worthy grandfather ; but his name was John, and he reckoned his joy fulfilled in this, that in his own *decrease* the interest of Christ would *increase* ; and, therefore, with exemplary self-denial, he set himself to encourage the foundation of this church. And that it pleased the Lord so to order it, that his self denial should turn out to some account in the opportunities which that *very church* had given to his *children* to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in the conduct of it. His son-in-law (Increase Mather) for more than thrice ten years, and his grandson (Cotton Mather) for more than twice seven years, being the minister of the gospel in that *very church*, accommodated with happy opportunities to serve their generation.” *Eccles. Hist. of Massachusetts in Historical Collections*, x. 27. I know not whether Mr. Samuel Mather succeeded his father in the same church, called the North Church, but he was a minister many years in Boston, and became doctor of divinity. His great uncle, the Rev. Nathaniel Mather, was pastor of the Independent church in Paved Alley, Lime Street, London, to whose memory Dr. Watts has inscribed an epitaph.

rejoicing, it will not be disagreeable to you if I should acquaint you that there has been a remarkable revival of religion in several parts of this country, in ten parishes in the county of Hampshire, in the Massachusetts province, where it first began a little more than a year since, and in near twenty parishes of this colony. It has not been equal in them all, though in all the Spirit of God has appeared remarkably poured out on many old professors, but especially on the rising generation. In several towns it was very general, and a serious thorough concern was stirred up in them to make a business of religion, so as to bespeak the special hand of God therein. I will only instance in one town, Hatfield.* There appeared a great concern upon the minds of many in one part of the town at once. Children from ten to twelve years of age of their own accord (and without the knowledge of elder people), assembled to read and pray by themselves, while others who were elder did the like (though in this practice the children were first). The other part of the town observed this, and rather wondered what had happened to them than thought of any such thing themselves, and the looser among them ridiculed it, but in a few days they were awakened themselves, and the concern became so general that it seemed almost the universal cry (among the unconverted) what they should do to be saved; so that they applied to their minister in numbers every day from morning till night with their difficulties for his

* A small town in Hampshire, upon the river Connecticut. The minister here was the father of the writer of this letter, the uncle of President Edwards, and the son-in-law of Mr. Stoddard of Northampton. Dr. Chauncey remarks, in his "Sketch of Eminent Men," "I have read all Mr. Stoddard's writings, but was never able to see in them that strength of genius some have attributed to him. Mr. Williams of Hatfield, his son-in-law, I believe to have been the greater man, and I am ready to think greater than any of his own sons, though they were all men of more than common understanding. Rector Williams and his brother Solomon I give the preference to the other sons." In his "Faithful Narrative," speaking of the revival, Mr. Edwards observes, "It began also to be manifest in the south part of Hatfield, in a place called the Hill, and the whole town, in the second week in April, seemed to be seized, as it were, at once with concern about the things of religion; and the work of God has been great there."

direction and help. The issue has been, that many are happily converted, some children under ten years of age, many of whom surprise us with their piety and understanding in religion. There is a universal reformation of manners, there are frequent meetings for reading and praying kept up in several parts of the towns, the most engaged attention on the ministry, and the conversation of people is much turned from worldly concerns to those of a religious nature, and their religion seems to be a real living principle within them. After this manner has the work been, and is still going on in some places. This mercy has also reached some of the Indians, especially a tribe of them, to whom Mr. Sargeant, lately a tutor at this college, a learned pious man, has gone, and entirely devoted himself to serve the interest of Christ among them, and since last October has baptised fifty infants and adults, of whom he says he has reason to hope they will live worthy the profession they have made; that they seem surprised at the change they feel in themselves, and compare their former state of heathenism to a dream, and their Christianity to their being awake; their heathenism to the darkness of the night, their Christianity to the brightness of the day: these and such like metaphors they use to express the difference between their former and present state. Would to God this blessing might be extended not only through our land and nation but the whole world!

“ We have just received the unwelcome news, that the parliament has rejected the application of the protestant dissenters to have the corporation and test acts repealed. I had hoped by this time that the just notions of liberty had so far prevailed in the nation, as to have delivered as good subjects as any the king has from a part at least of that persecution they had long felt. Are the adversaries of truth and liberty still so strong as to discourage any further attempt?

“ Forgive all the trouble of this tedious letter, and be pleased to accept of our sincere and affectionate regards, and of the

humble duty of our tutors and Mr. Hubbard, and allow me to subscribe myself, Reverend Sir,

“Your most obliged and

“Very humble servant,

“ELISHA WILLIAMS.”

FROM THE HON. JONATHAN BELCHER.

“Boston, Nov. 29, 1736.

“Dear Sir,

“In June last came to my hand your favour of the 28th of February, when I was sorry to find Mr. Belcher disappointed of the pleasure of your conversation in the city by your confinement at Newington, where I hope he soon waited on you. I desire to own it, with the humblest and highest sense of gratitude to my gracious God and Father, that I have continued accounts of my son's sobriety and diligence; and I am the more pleased with what I formerly wrote him on the score of his standing a candidate, since you fully agree with me in those sentiments; yet, as I then hinted, if God spares his life, and opens a fair door, I should be pleased he might find a seat in St. Stephen's chapel at the next election; but that is at a great distance, and it is not worth while to be anxious about it.

“From the arrival of one ship after another, I find Governor Shute gradually decaying; may his last days be his best, and when numbered and finished may he receive a crown of life.

“Governor Holden gives me the account of the miscarriage of the repeal of the test: considering how cold the ministry were in the matter, it is a pity the attempt was made yet; when it will be a convenient season it is hard to say.

“My best respects always wait on the good Lady Abney.

“I thank your kind condolence on the death of my late dear sister Oliver, who did worthily in her generation, and I doubt not but, through the mercy of God in Christ, she is become a member of the ‘general assembly and church of the first-born, and now lives with the spirits of the just men made perfect.’ I am much pleased with your ingenious little book, ‘The Redeemer, Sanctifier,’ &c. and sorry there should be occasion for it in this part of the world. ‘God planted this world with a noble vine, wholly a right seed;’ and justly now complains, ‘How art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine! And how is the gold become dim! How is the most fine gold changed! Yet I will not despond, for the residue of the Spirit is with God, and he can revive his work in the midst of the years.’ This we must always pray for in the name of his well-beloved Son, our exalted Redeemer and powerful Intercessor.

“I thank you very kindly for your good wishes to my government, to myself, and to my family.

“I am now, Sir, with a faint voice and with a trembling hand, to acquaint you of the death of my late dear wife, on the 6th ult. God has removed the desire of my eyes with a stroke; she who had been the faithful divider of all my cares, and the doubler of all my joys. I desire now to remember, that ‘affliction does not spring out of the dust,’ nor ‘does God willingly afflict or grieve the children of men;’ I would, therefore, bow down and adore, and say, ‘I have sinned, what shall I do unto thee, O thou preserver of men?’ And ‘wherefore doth a living man complain? A man for the punishment of his sins?’ Especially since, in this judgment, God gives me great reason to sing of mercy; for she had the full use of her reason till the last moment, and died in great peace and serenity; and while I tell you some of her last expressions, you will charitably hope so. She died on the Wednesday, and on the Monday before, as I was sitting with her on the bed, I said to her, ‘*My dear, you draw nigh to the grave.*’ She

replied, *'I know it, my dear.'* I then said, *'Tis a great work to die.'* She answered, *'So it is, but Christ Jesus died for the chief of sinners, or I should die without hope.'* She then went on; *'He is an almighty Saviour, and saves to the uttermost those that come unto him; therefore, my dear, I am not afraid to die.'* And again, with a loud voice, she said, *'He is a lovely Saviour, and I love him with my whole soul; and could not love him, if he had not loved me first.'* She has trod the dark valley, whether I must soon follow her; and the voice of God to me in this providence is, 'Be you, therefore, ready also.' Let me, then, Sir, ask you to join your prayers to mine, that by the assistance of the Holy Spirit of God I may 'stand with my loins girt, and my light burning, that whenever the Son of Man comes I may enter into the joy of my Lord.' May you and I meet and dwell for ever there, through infinite riches of grace and mercy, in Jesus Christ! Amen. Reverend Sir,

"Your assured friend

"And most obedient servant,

"J. BELCHER.

"P. S. Your packets under my care were all carefully delivered."

FROM THE REV. FREDERIC MICHAEL ZIEGENHAGEN.*

"Kensington, Oct. 29, 1736.

"Rev. Sir,

"Your very kind letter of the 23rd instant, together with three books of the late Rev. Mr. John Jennings's† Dis-

* This gentleman was chaplain to George II. minister of the German chapel at St. James's upwards of fifty-three years, and died, bearing an excellent character, January 24th, 1776.

† Mr. J. Jennings was pastor at Kibworth and Hineley in Leicestershire, the tutor of an academy, and died at the latter place in the year 1722. He was the author of another small treatise on "Preaching Christ," to which Dr. Watts wrote a preface. Appendix II.

courses concerning evangelical and experimental preaching came safe to my hands, Oct. 26. I heartily thank you, dear Sir, as well as the Rev. Mr. David Jennings,* for so agreeable a present, and more especially for the care and pains both of you have been at, either in translating or revising and publishing the late Professor Franck's epistle on the same subject. I shall not fail to acquaint the son of that good man, the present professor Frank, with your particular esteem for and love to the memory of his father, and by the first opportunity also transmit, according to your direction, two copies of the said discourses to Halle. In the mean time I dare assure you this fresh instance of your pious desire to promote the interest of true Christianity will certainly be acknowledged with praise to the Lord, and endear your name to very many who wish well to the cause of Christ in Germany. May the Lord be pleased to awaken by this little book the whole order of men who pretend to be ministers of Christ and the gospel, and nevertheless have been too negligent, if not ashamed to preach Christ or the gospel, that they may recover themselves out of the snare and deceit they most unhappily are fallen into, that for the future they may not preach themselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and especially him crucified, who alone is made of God unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.

“As to your kind invitation to come and dine with you on a Tuesday in Aldermanbury I very thankfully accept of it, but must beg leave to defer it a time longer, till the arrival of three missionaries for the protestant mission in the East Indies at Tranquebar, who are expected from Halle the middle of December next, and will certainly be very glad to have the happiness to get acquainted with good and pious men, and particularly with the author of that excellent book called

* Brother of the preceding, and pastor of the church in Gravel Lane, Wapping, one of Watts's most esteemed friends.

'The Redeemer and Sanctifier,' and I do not question that your goodness will grant them a friendly access and conversation. My most humble service to my Lady Abney and her family. I remain, with much sincerity and esteem, reverend Sir,

"Your affectionate brother

"And humble servant,

"FRED. MICII. ZIEGENHAGEN."

FROM THE REV. BENJAMIN COLMAN, D. D.

"Boston, Dec. 17, 1736.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"Your favours of September last found me confined to my chamber, under the asthmatic oppression of a very great cold and cough, which has been very heavy upon me by night, but by day I have had more ease. I have not been out of my doors these thirty days, but only to preach, and am much enfeebled and wasted; but, I thank God, this last week I am something amended. My tender constitution from my youth feels the advances of age sooner and stronger than many others; yet I have seen others, seemingly stronger, breaking sooner in all their powers: and what am I that I should be spared? The Lord quicken me in my work, and prepare me for my change.

"Your picture for the college, and the books for Mr. Sargeant, came safe to me, and I have given the good captain a receipt for them, in acknowledgment of his care. I have wrote to Mr. President* and Mr. Sargeant, and given them an ac-

*The Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth. He succeeded President Leveret in the charge of Harvard college, in the year 1724. He graduated in 1690, and in connexion with the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft became pastor of the Old Church in Boston. "These are reckoned," says Neal, "the most narrow in their principles, and to approach nearest the Brownists." *Hist. of New England*, ii. 589. Mr. Wadsworth is described as of "good learning, most pious, humble and prudent, an excellent, plain, pathetic preacher." *Rev. John Barnard in Hist. Coll.* x. 169. He died in the following year, and was succeeded by President Holyoke.

count of your kindness, and the words you have written respecting both. But there is such a wilderness between us and Mr. Sargeant, that I fear whether the books will get to him till the spring; and Mr. President has not yet got a safe hand to send for your picture, which will be very welcome to the college, as I am sure your soul in its various forms has been.

“ I sometimes wonder that my packets last were so long in their way to you; but Mr. Coram lets me know from Bristol, that he had been long from home, which accounts in part to me for the reason.

“ Although the difference that has been at Springfield* and Boston, has wounded and weakened the hearts of some of us there and here, yet, thanks be to God, the good fruits of the Spirit there abide; and I send you an extract of a long letter, and another to Dr. Guyse, from the Rev. Mr. Edwards of Northampton, relating to that work, which will gratify both you and him in the general account given; and you may make what use of it you please for the good of others. The whole of his letter to me is eight sheets, in writing; and whether it will be best to print it all I am in doubt, considering the taste of the present day; yet I find Mr. Edwards is not altogether pleased with the liberty we have taken of so general an extract. If it be not printed here in the whole, as a proposal is made by the bookseller, I think to send over to Dr. Guyse and you the manuscript, with Mr. Edwards’s leave, and I think nothing less was his meaning in his labour of writing it; and

* A town upon the river Connecticut, founded by William Pynchon, Esq. called after a place of the same name in Essex, near to which he had a mansion. Springfield was nearly destroyed by the Indians under the famous Sachem Philip. “ I suppose,” says Mr. Edwards, “ we have been the freest of any part of the land from unhappy divisions and quarrels in our ecclesiastical and religious affairs, till the late lamentable Springfield contention.” “ The contention,” he adds, “ relates to the settlement of a minister there, which occasioned too warm debates between some, both pastors and people, that were for it, and others that were against it, on account of their different apprehensions about his principles, and about some steps that were taken to procure his ordination.”

then it will be yours to use as you may judge best for the service of souls.

“I suppose you have my sermon on the Rev. Mr. Stoddard’s* decease, who was an eminent father in our churches; and it will please you to see the piety, labours, and success of his grandson and successor, who is risen up as Elisha in the spirit of Elias, to do greater things, through the special grace of God in him and with him.

“The Rev. Mr. Williams, to whose pious and plain sermons the letter aforesaid is an appendix, is now seventy years old, and has been the father of that country since Mr. Stoddard’s decease; a man eminent for meekness of wisdom, apostolic love and charity, devotion, public and private, admirable in the flow of his prayers, and the humblest saint in the whole province. God has blessed him with four sons; one president of Yale College, two superior in the ministry among us, the youngest one of our court. Our visit last year to Springfield was a great wound to his soul.

“I heard lately from Mr. Sargeant, that his Indians grow uneasy about townships laid out about them, to his great discouragement. Not able to wait on the governor I wrote to him, and he laid my letter before the court; and he satisfies me, in a line, that the court will take effectual care to make the tribe easy. The Dutch traders do all they can to infuse jealousies into the Indians of our design to make a property of them, but as yet in vain.

“The state of our province is greatly embarrassed about the paper currency. The court called us to a day of prayer with

* The Rev. Solomon Stoddard, born at Boston in the year 1643. He graduated at Harvard in 1662, commenced his ministry in his native city, but removed for the benefit of his health to Barbadoes, where he spent two years. He afterwards settled at Northampton, a town on the Connecticut, as the successor of the Rev. Eleazer Mather, the first minister, and was ordained Sep. 11, 1672. After labouring for nearly sixty years he was removed by death, Feb. 11, 1728, and was succeeded by his colleague and grandson, President Edwards. He had extraordinary success in his ministry, and was accustomed to say, that he had enjoyed five harvests, referring to seasons of religious revival.

them in the council chamber; we kept it with much appearance of the presence of God with my brethren in their prayers. I preached from Zech. vii. 8, 9; and the court ordered the printing of it. The governor sent me, for my subject, Hosea, x. 12; so I made it my application. We are at our wit's end, and yet had we honour and honesty, and humility enough, with, indeed, righteousness and compassion to ourselves mutually, our way is plain; to cashier our finery, pride and vanity, and live within ourselves; and one fifty years' good and just management would bring back the silver which the last fifty years' extravagance has sent away to you, to whom we ought to pay our debts, and live on the rest.

"Captain Coram's letter is not yet come to me; I am glad you answered him as you did. The commissioners have seen good (Dr. Sewal* and I dissenting) to dismiss Messrs. Suecomb and Parker from their stations, in March next, without any certainty of another door opening for them. This troubles me; but the governor and all the gentlemen voted it after a long debate; so unprofitable has their present station and labours proved. I doubt whether it will not appear sudden to the honourable society at Edinburgh.†

"As to Mr. Mason and his Indian, who I hear is dead; his visit to London did not at all please the governor and commissioners here, and so we told him by a vote before he

*The Rev. Joseph Sewal, D. D. pastor of the Old South Church in Boston. He was the son of Judge Sewal, one of those who presided at the trials of the New-England witches at Salem in 1692. Nineteen of these unfortunate individuals were executed, among whom was the Rev. George Burroughs, formerly minister of Salem. It is needless to remark, that these were the victims of popular frenzy, and were convicted upon the most flimsy evidence. The affair lay heavily upon the consciences of some of those engaged in it. Judge Sewal, in a full assembly on a fast-day, at the South Meeting in Boston, delivered in a paper to be read before all the people, acknowledging that he had fallen into some errors in the trials at Salem, and begging the prayers of the congregation, that the guilt of such miscarriages might not be imputed to the country, or to him, or to his family. The judge remained standing while this paper was read.

† The society in Scotland for promoting Christian knowledge.

went. I am sorry I did not give you an account of his voyage. When he told the commissioners of it, who had employed him seven years before as school-master to the Mohrags, near New London, I said to him at the board, that the first thought occurring to me upon his motion was, that it might affect the civil liberties of the colony of Connecticut. I hinted this to the Rev. Mr. Adams,* pastor of the church in New London, and he sent my hint to the government there, which immediately alarmed them, brought me their thanks, and their application to the commissioners, with papers and deeds; whereby it plainly appeared to us, that under the pretence of the government injuring the Indians in their land, Mr. Mason was invading them for himself, by an old deed given in times of distress by their ancestor Uncas† to Mr. Mason's grandfather, to secure them at that threatening juncture; which obligation the Indians thought, from their father's account to them, had at the time been cancelled and burnt. However, the government have no doubt instructed their agent on this point; and as Mr. Mason had only asked of me a letter to Mr. Holden, I let him know I should write in his disfavour, and so I did; and Mr. Holden in his last told me he had heard nothing of him. The com-

*The Rev. Eliphalet Adams graduated at Harvard college in 1694, mentioned in Barnard's Sketch as "a great Hebrician."

† Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegans, was hated and envied by the Naragansets, for his attachment to the English, and the distinguished favours shown him in return. In 1638, having entertained some of the Pequods after the war with them, and fearing he had given offence, he came to the governor at Boston, and brought a present, which was at first refused, but afterwards the governor being satisfied that he had no designs against the English, it was accepted; and he promised to submit to such orders as he should receive from the English concerning the Pequods, and also concerning the Naragansets, and his behaviour towards them, and concluded his speech with these words: "*This heart*" (laying his hand upon his breast) "*is not mine but yours. Command me any difficult service, and I will do it: I have no men but they are all yours. I will never believe any Indian against the English any more.*" He was dismissed with a present, went home joyful, carrying a letter of protection for himself and men through the English plantations; and never was engaged in hostilities against any of the colonies, although he survived Philip's war, and died a very old man after the year 1680.

missioners here, I suppose, will not employ him again if he returns; and I see nothing but distraction and confusion to himself and family in his present voyage; and I could not wish him God-speed.

“You are pleased to say, Sir, ‘Alas! that the Hollis’s* are all dead,’ and then name two yet alive, with your prayers ‘that the good spirit of their ancestors might rest upon them.’ I am glad I can now inform you, that your prayer is answered in Mr. Isaac Hollis, on whom I have drawn, in the last ship, by his order, for sixty pounds sterling, for the instruction, clothing, and lodging of twelve Indian boys at Honstatonock, and from year to year he promises the continuance of that support; for which God lengthen out his life, heart, and ability: may it be his blessed will. The merchants here have his name and bills now, so that it can no longer be a secret. Five or six years ago I refused, to his displeasure, a settlement of twenty pounds sterling per annum for a fourth missionary to the east; but I told him I must be equally for him, if he held me wise and faithful, and pointed him to other services, which he regarded not; but now I think all his pious intention answered under Mr. Sargeant, and he has proceeded as you now hear.

“I had your ‘Redeemer and Sanctifier’ before, and have given what you now sent to my colleague, Mr. Cooper;† but there are two things you have printed I have not, but have read, and made an abstract of one, because I owned it not, which is on the Human Will.

* See pp. 205, 206.

† The Rev. William Cooper, ordained co-pastor with Dr. Colman at the age of twenty-three. He was elected to the presidency of Harvard college, but his modesty led him to decline the appointment. Dr. Chauncey says, “he was a good preacher, eminently gifted in prayer, and a man of good understanding, though not endowed with a great deal of learning.” Dr. Colman, who preached his funeral sermon, observes, “He cultivated learning as a religious duty, and his talents, as well as his usefulness, maintained a visible progress, till his graces were ripened in glory. I ought to thank God if I have contributed to form him for his eminent services: thus a torch may be lighted at a farthing candle.” Mr. Cooper died in 1743 in his fiftieth year.

“My respects to Mr. Roffey.* Entreat Dr. Guyse, who has not wrote to me, to accept of what I here write as to himself.

“Our governor has lately buried the wife of his youth with great magnificence; her funeral sermon will be out this week, by Mr. Prince,† and no doubt will come to you; he has behaved on the occasion, in privacy and openly, with a most Christian temper, and been openly insulted for it by some hidden, but I hope impotent malice. He has always immediately been acquainted with all you send to him for others, and takes great pleasure in any office from Dr. Guyse: his nephew here is married, tell him, and set up his trade in Boston, and I hope does well, and two days ago I called to see if he had any letter from his uncle. I am glad to hear that the compassionate address to the Christian World, is Mr. Reynolds’s, an admirable man, and soon ripe for heaven; we reprinted it here, and knew not whence it was.

“The glass of your picture is not broken, and just now Mr. Appleton‡ came in and has taken it with him to Cambridge:

* William Roffey, Esq. of London.

† The Rev. Thos. Prince graduated in the year 1707 at Harvard, and after spending some time in England he became Dr. Sewal’s colleague at the Old South Church in Boston. He is chiefly known as an author by his “Christian History” and “Chronological History of New England.” The first volume of the latter work was published in 1736, commencing with the *Creation*, and containing but ten years of the annals of New England. The public was disgusted, and Mr. Prince suspended his labours. The materials he had collected he left by will to the care of the Old South Church, and they were deposited in an apartment of the meeting-house, where they lay neglected and in confusion from 1759 to 1773. In 1774 they were arranged, but in the following year the British troops took possession of Boston, and converted the elegant building into a military riding school. Many valuable manuscripts were then destroyed. Mr. Prince died in 1758 at the age of 72. “He possessed all the intellectual powers in a degree far beyond what is common. He may be justly characterised as one of our great men; though he would have been much greater, had he not been apt to give too much credit, especially to surprising stories. He could easily be imposed on this way. Another imperfection that was really hurtful to him was, a strange disposition to regard more, in multitudes of instances, the circumstances of things, and sometimes minute and trifling ones, than the things themselves. I could from my own acquaintance with him give many instances of this. But these weaknesses notwithstanding he deserves to be remembered with honour.” *Dr. Chauncy in Hist. Coll.* x. 161.

‡ The Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, D. D. son of Colonel John Appleton of Ipswich.

he thanks you for the respectful mention you make of his sermon. We have a new church building in Boston; many of my hearers go off to it: one Mr. Hooper from Edinburgh, an admirable preacher, is like to be settled there, but he has brought no certificates; he came over to be tutor to a young gentleman.

"This comes by Mr. J. Boylston, eldest son of Dr. Boylston, who tells me he has heretofore waited on you; I pray God to prosper and bless him.

"God has pleased to put me again into mourning: my dear grandson, the only branch of my beloved Tural, is in the grave with his mother. A dark and pleasant tomb, where my midnight thoughts too often are. It has helped to bring me downwards: God give me consolation to see them in heaven. Pray for my only surviving daughter: she has a poetical turn too, I wish only it were as magnetically turned on heaven, as her sister's was; I am in hopes of it, for she is truly virtuous. Forgive a father to a friend if on a sudden he doze a little.

"Your loving Brother,

"BEN. COLMAN."

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

"April 13, 1737.

"Sir,

"I would sooner have thanked you for the favour of your letter, and the book which I received just after, but delayed it till I could get time to finish the inclosed lines which I began soon after Mrs. Rowe's death, but had not leisure to proceed with them till after my Lord's return to London, whither he and my daughter went last week. He was taken

"An upright, faithful, excellent preacher, though much wanting in correctness, and a man of very considerable powers, and has been of great service to the college by his wise endeavours to promote its good. He deserves to be remembered with honour." *Dr. Chauncey in Hist. Coll.* x. 158.

while he was here with a violent pain in his stomach and bowels, which, whether it were gout or cholic, reduced him very low, and alarmed me extremely; but I bless God he is now in perfect health again, and I hear has recovered his good looks entirely. I am myself much better than I was in the winter, bating a shortness of breath, which makes them judge my continuance in the country absolutely necessary. I must now thank you for your excellent discourse on Humility, which I have read with great pleasure, and I hope I shall receive profit from the just manner in which you have treated so useful a subject. I must also repeat my gratitude for your book on the ‘Strength and Weakness of Human Reason.’ I never read any thing more entertaining and instructive. I should be very happy if I could flatter myself that I had goodness enough to make my life as useful as the benevolence and charity of your temper incline you to think it may. I beg the favour of you not to give any copy of the inclosed verses, for I would wish my excursions of this kind to be a secret from every body but you, and a friend or two more, who know that I do not aim at the character of a genius by any attempts of this nature, but am led to them merely to amuse a leisure hour, and speak the sentiments of my heart. I have no company at present but my son, his tutor being gone to London about business; but I do not mention this as a mortification. I am afraid the decline of years, and the languishing state of health I have laboured under for some time, make it rather necessary for me to endeavour to find arguments to reconcile myself to the variety of company to which my station and the occupation I am attached to in a court require me to accommodate myself. I am, Sir, with the sincerest esteem and regard,

“Your most obliged,

“And faithful humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

“Whitehall, April 23, 1737.

“Good Sir,

“I have perused your discourse upon Humility with much satisfaction, and I hope with profit to myself; if not, I am sure it is my own fault. There was no occasion to make the apology (p. 52) for descending to the lowest scenes of life.* It is a fault both in preaching and writing upon practical subjects, when we keep too much to general reasonings, and do not bring down our doctrines to common life, which are best remembered, and take the fastest hold upon the minds and consciences of our hearers and readers.

“I wish you a full enjoyment of health, that you may be able to proceed in your good designs for the benefit of religion, and am with great truth and esteem, Sir,

“Your faithful friend and servant,

“EDM. LONDON.”

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“Hermitage on St. Leonard’s Hill, May 2, 1737.

“Sir,

“I return you my thanks for the epigram† you were so good as to send me, and should think myself very

* The household tyrant, fretting and fuming over a spoiled dinner, or a blundering domestic, comes under the writer’s lash; and he thus apologises for introducing an every-day scene from common life: “I almost reprove myself here, and suspect my friends will reprove me, for introducing such low scenes of life and such trivial occurrences into a grave discourse. I have put the matter into the balance as well as I can, and weighed the case, and the result is this: general and distant declamations seldom strike the conscience with such conviction as particular representations do; and since this iniquity often betrays itself in these trivial instances, it is better perhaps to set them forth in their full and proper light, than that the guilty should never feel a reproof, who, by the very nature of their distemper, are unwilling to see or learn their own folly, unless it is set in a glaring view.” *Note to Humil. Represented. Works. ii. p. 391.*

† See “Remnants of Time,” &c. No. 6.

happy if any thing of mine could deserve to show the joy I should feel in being able to imitate Mrs. Rowe in the smallest instance. I have only two meditations of hers, which she gave me with the strongest injunctions not to let any body see them lest they should be thought too rapturous; but, as I conclude she would not have included you among those from whom she meant they should be concealed, I will have them copied if you desire it.

"I thank God all my family except myself are in perfect health, and I am myself much better than in the winter, only that I have still a shortness of breath, which makes walking up stairs or any ascent very painful to me; but as I have a better appetite I have recovered some of my flesh, and a little of my natural colour. My Lord and Betty are in London, so that my son and his governor are my only companions at present; but we pass our time agreeably enough between reading, walking, and such other amusements as the place in which we are and the season of the year afford us. We have been lately reading *Leonidas*,* in which I think there are many fine thoughts; but I hear the town are much divided in their sentiments about it, since one part of them are for preferring it to Milton, and others for levelling it to the lowest rank of poetry. I confess neither of these appear to me a just representation of it. If you have read it I shall be glad to know your thoughts of it.

*The *Leonidas* by Glover was published in 1737, and though very favourably received, its reputation has since greatly declined. By the party in opposition to the court it was extolled to the skies, and its author regarded as another Milton. Lyttleton, who then headed the opposition, in a periodical paper, entitled "*Common Sense*," eulogised it under the signature of "*Philo-Musæus*," but another writer as severely animadverted upon it in the "*Weekly Miscellany*," under the signature of "*Miso-Musæus*." The poem is characterised by a bold spirit of liberty, which rendered it a favourite with the opposition party; but the style is prosing and familiar, and bears no marks of a vigorous and creative imagination. It was of Glover, who was a citizen of London, that Thomson remarked, "He write an epic, who never saw a mountain!" The *Leonidas*, however, went through three large editions in the years 1737 and 1738; but it is upon his "*Hosier's Ghost*" that Glover's fame must rest.

“I own I find a pleasure in thinking that I perceive dawnings of an honest heart and tolerable reasoning in Lord Beauchamp, and his governor and I flatter ourselves that we see a clearness of judgment and distinctness of ideas in the themes he composes, which are infinitely the favourite part of his studies, and always performed with good-humour, though he is obliged to write them in three languages, English, Latin, and French. He is by no means good at getting things by heart, for which reason Mr. Dalton* is very favourable in his impositions of that kind, which he seldom gives him, and in small quantities. Now I have said so much of my son, I should be unjust to his sister if I did not tell you that I have the happiness to see her a very good-natured, sensible young woman, with a sincere sense of religion and virtue, and the same observance from affection to my Lord and me at almost one-and-twenty years old that she had in her earliest childhood. You see, Sir, I take the privilege of a friend, and flatter myself that you will not be tired with a detail of my family comforts, for the enjoyment of which I hope I am thankful as I ought to be, and most particularly so that my Lord is so entirely recovered as to allow me to hope his children will long have the blessing of the tenderest father, and myself of the best husband I ever saw. You will forgive the length of this letter, and believe me with the truest esteem, Sir,

“Your most obliged

“And faithful humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

* His tutor, afterwards Dr. Dalton. The Biog. Britt. says, that “a bad state of health prevented him from attending his pupil on his travels abroad, and saved him the mortification of being an eye-witness of his death.”

FROM THE SAME.

“Marlborough, July 13, 1737.

“Sir,

“Nothing but my own very bad state of health, and the confinement I have had with my Lord, who is just recovering from a severe fit of the gout, should so long have hindered me from acknowledging the receipt of your letter, and the papers inclosed with it, particularly the letter which you were so good as to design to prefix to Mrs. Rowe’s Meditations. I can with the strictest truth affirm, that I do not know any distinction upon earth, that I could feel a truer pleasure in receiving were I deserving of it; but as I am forced to see how much I fall below the idea which the benevolence of your nature has formed of me, it teaches me to humble myself by that very incident which might administer a laudable pride to a more worthy person. If I am constrained to acknowledge this mortifying truth, you may believe there are many people in the world who look upon me with more impartial eyes than self-love will allow me to do; and others, who perhaps think I enjoy more of this world’s goods than I either merit, or than falls to the common lot, look at me with envious and malignant views, and are glad of every opportunity to debase me or those who they believe entertain a favourable opinion of me. I would hope that I have never done any thing, wilfully I am sure I have not, to raise any such sentiments in the breast of the meanest person upon earth; but yet experience has convinced me that I have not been happy enough to escape them. For these reasons, Sir, I must deny myself the pleasure and the pride I should have in so public a mark of your friendship and candour, and beg, that if you still design me the honour of joining any address to me with those valuable remains of Mrs. Rowe, that you will either retrench the favourable expressions you intended

to insert, or else give me no other title at the top of it than that of a friend of yours and hers, an appellation which, in the sincerity of my soul, I am prouder of than I could be of the most pompous name that human grandeur can lay claim to. My Lord and his children desire me to assure you of their service and best wishes. I inclose you a copy of the letter which Mrs. Rowe left for me,* and am glad of every opportunity to repeat that I am with the greatest esteem, Sir,

“Your most obliged

“And faithful humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

*The following is an exact copy of Mrs. Rowe's letter, transcribed from Lady Hertford's own hand-writing :

“TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“Madam,

“This is the last letter you will ever receive from me, the last assurance I shall give you on earth of a sincere and steadfast friendship ; but when we meet again I hope it will be in the heights of immortal love and ecstasy. Mine perhaps may be the first glad spirit to congratulate your safe arrival on the happy shores. Heaven can witness how sincere my concern for your happiness is. Thither I have sent my ardent wishes that you may be secured from the flattering delusion of the world, and, after your pious example has been long a blessing to mankind, may you calmly resign your breath, and enter the confines of unmolested joy !

“I am now taking my farewell of you here, but it is a short adieu, for I die with full persuasion that we shall meet again. But, O, in what elevation of happiness ! in what enlargement of mind, and perfection of every faculty ! What transporting reflections shall we make on the advantages of which we shall feel ourselves eternally possess !

“To him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood we shall ascribe immortal glory, dominion, and praise for ever. This is all my salvation, and all my hope. That name in whom the Gentiles trust, in whom all the families on earth are blessed, is now my glorious, my unfailing confidence ; in his merits alone I expect to stand justified before infinite purity and justice. How poor were my hopes if I depended on those works, which my own vanity or the partiality of men have called good, and which, if examined by Divine Purity, would prove perhaps but specious sins ! The best actions of my life would be found defective, if brought to the test of that unblemished holiness in whose sight the heavens are not clean. Where were my hopes but for a Redeemer's merits and atonement ! How desperate, how undone my condition ! With the utmost advantage I can boast, I should start back and tremble at the thoughts of appearing before the unblemished Majesty. O Jesus, what harmony dwells in thy name ! Celestial joy and im-

FROM THE HON. JONATHAN BELCHER.

“ Boston, Aug. 1, 1737.

“ My much esteemed Friend,

“ Your religious kind letter of the 3d of March, and 2nd of April, I have read once and again with much pleasure, and they are now open before me for an answer, which I return with the most sensible gratitude, for the great respect and honour you do to the memory of my late dear Mrs. Belcher, as well as for the ingenious, pious hints you suggest for my profitable reflection and meditation. She was, Sir, much my crown and glory, and I have great reason to believe from the course of her life, as well as from her serenity at death, that my irreparable loss is her eternal gain. I may and ought to mourn my own loss, even to the latest period of life; and the voice of God to me in this melancholy providence is, that I be ‘ working out my salvation with fear and trembling,’ and then I shall not mourn for myself, ‘ as one without hope.’ God has done his pleasure, at which I dare not murmur, but would lie prostrate in the dust before him, for my sins have exceeded. How dreadful must the case of that man be, who has not a God to repair to, when such scenes are drawn for his entertainment! Dear Sir, the prayer you have offered for the watchful eye of providence and grace to guard

mortal life are in the sound. Let angels set thee to their golden harps; let the ransomed nations for ever magnify thee!

“ What a dream is mortal life! What shadows are the objects of sense! All the glories of mortality, my much-beloved friend, will be nothing in your view at the awful hour of death, when you must be separated from the whole creation, and enter on the borders of the immaterial world.

“ Something persuades me that this will be my last farewell in this world. Heaven forbid that it should be an everlasting parting! May that Divine Protection, whose care I implore, keep you steadfast in the faith of Christianity, and guide your steps in the strictest paths of virtue! Adieu, my most dear friend, till we meet in the paradise of God.

“ ELIZABETH ROWE.”

me in my separated state of solitude, is the highest instance of your love and friendship; and I doubt not but that (through the powerful intercession of the great Mediator) ‘your prayer will come before God as incense, and the lifting up of your hands as the evening sacrifice.’

“I was glad to find my son had (though late) done his duty, in paying his just regards to his father’s friend at Newington; and I thank you from the bottom of my heart, for your kind concern towards him. I know he lives in an age and place, and in an employment, that continually environ him with a numerous variety of snares and temptations; and that nothing less than the matchless powerful influences of the grace of God are able to keep him; and to the grace of God I desire to commend him, and thereto leave him; nor am I without encouragement so to do, and to give praise to God for ever and ever, while I hear he yet saves him from any open flagrant vices.

“It is my duty, and has been my pleasure (during his distance from me), to be his monitor on his birth-day, by telling him he was born to die; and I take the freedom to inclose you what I now write to him on that head, which you will read, seal, and let it find the way to his chambers, not taking notice to him, at any time, that you have read it; but what I design in it is, that (in your conversation and letters, when you will please so to honour him), you would now and then harp upon the same string, and you will, doctor, forgive this trouble, when you consider the ineradicable $\Sigma\tau\omicron\rho\rho\eta$ implanted by the God of nature in us fathers.

‘Omnis in Ascanio chari stat cura parentis.’

“I pray you to make my most respectful compliments to the excellent Lady Abney, to whom I am highly obliged for her condolence and kind wishes.

“I thank you for your two books; that on Humility I have twice run over, and am much pleased. Methinks a man

that loves this world, or a better, should rejoice to shine in that virtue. What says Solomon? 'Before honour is humility.' And what says St. Peter? 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.' I have not quite got through your 'Strength and Weakness of Human Reason,' but am greatly gratified, so far as I am gone; and when you are pleased to oblige the world with any thing new, I shall be glad to have it as a strength and ornament to my small collection. And I am also to beg your picture, one of which graces our college library.

"The several packets committed to my care, found the way to their owners. I ask your acceptance of our last election sermon, preached by the reverend and pious Mr. Loving; and of a grammar lately put out by one of the sons of our college.

"Mr. Belcher sent me a copy of your letter to him, of the 19th. of Jan. last, from Newington, respecting the epitaph he had prepared for the tomb of his late dear mother. Your frankness and freedom with him is such a test of your sincere regard to his honour, as I cannot enough thank you for, and with such a grateful sense does he represent it to me. I approve your corrections in general, and like your last thought of saving the whole, the first part to be on the top stone of the tomb, the two other parts to be on the two sides. I by no means like the word *barr'd*; for the dust of the saints is not imprisoned, but only rests from its labour. Poets, they say, must be born so, which I am sure I was not; therefore, you must pardon the blunder, if I think the two first lines might run thus:

'Peaceful within this silent shrine's preserv'd,
Awhile that sacred dust which angels guard.'

When with your kind help he has made the matter perfect, I shall be expecting it for inscription.

"Reverend and dear Sir, I wish above all things that 'thou

mayst prosper and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth.’
Thus I am,

“Your friend and servant,

“J. BELCHER.”

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“Marlborough, August 17, 1737.

“Sir,

“The sincere esteem I have for you makes it very difficult for me to oppose any thing you desire,* and it is doubly so in an instance where I might have an opportunity of indulging so justifiable a pride as I should feel in letting the public see this fresh mark of your partiality to me; but as I am apprehensive that the envy such a distinction would raise against me might draw some vexation with it, I hope you will have the goodness to change the dedication into a Letter to a Friend, without giving me any other appellation.

“I have been so ill as to keep my chamber, and almost my bed, since I received the first of your letters, and my Lord has had a return of the gout. Nothing else should have made me so long delay owning the receipt of it, and assuring you that I am with the greatest esteem, Sir,

“Your most obliged humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE SAME.

“October 27, 1737.

“Sir,

“I should sooner have thanked you for Mrs. Rowe’s Meditations, which you were so good as to send me, but that

* That Mrs. Rowe’s “Devout Exercises” might be inscribed to her.

I had a mind to read them carefully over first. You have in your preface taken the kindest and most judicious care to excuse some expressions in them, which I must confess appear to me to stand in need of some apology; but upon the whole I think there are several excellent sentiments in them, which I think cannot fail of doing good, especially to those who, by their acquaintance with her, know how sincerely they came from her heart. Lady Betty returns her thanks for the book you sent her, and says she shall always value it as being written by Mrs. Rowe, and as a mark of your kind regard to herself. I have many acknowledgments to make you for the honour you have done me in your dedication, which by your kindness in suppressing my name gives me an unmixed pleasure, by affording me the satisfaction of receiving such a mark of your partiality without the hazard of raising the public envy.

“My Lord and my son present their services to you, and I am with the sincerest gratitude and esteem, Sir,

“Your most faithful humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE REV. F. M. ZIEGENHAGEN.

“Kensington, Nov. 30, 1737.

“Dear and Rev. Sir,

“Your kind letter of Nov. 25th with the little book* annexed to it, lays me under a new obligation, and I sincerely wish to be able and to have an opportunity to acquit the same. I think I foresaw what you were pleased to object against the encomiums, however well deserved, and no doubt well meant, bestowed upon you and your writings by Mr. Korthold and the Abbot Steinmetz. Perhaps you will be the more inclined

* The treatise on “Humility Represented,” &c.

to excuse the liberty both of them have taken in acquainting the public with your character, when I beg leave to tell you, that probably neither of them was aware that any thing published in the German language would be translated into English, or come to your knowledge; for Mr. Korthold's translation of Mr. Benson's *Vindication of Prayer* has not been sent over as yet, although it came out, for aught I know, a year ago: and as to the abbot's Preface, the translating of it was purely a motion and resolution of my own, in order to show my great esteem and respect I justly owe you. This is really the case, I believe, why these gentlemen did express their sentiments concerning Dr. Watts and his writings so full and freely, and no doubt they would be sorry to hear they had given the least offence to a man they value so much: the preventing of which is the true reason why I trouble you with the forementioned circumstances. I agree entirely with you, that it is more safe to have low thoughts of ourselves and our abilities than great ones. Highmindedness, and more especially spiritual pride, is the nearest image of the fallen angels, and an infallible way to lose all and every grain of grace, the favour of God, and the glory that is promised to the faithful servants of God. But, however low and mean we have reason to think of ourselves, this makes no law to others to think so too; nor can their liberality in speaking to our praise, considered in itself, be blamed: the instance we have of this, *Matt. xi. 7—11*, compared with *John, i. 27*, is clear.

“The present of your Catechisms is really very agreeable to me, and I thank you heartily for it.

“Having received letters this day se'nnight from Ebenezer in the new colony of Georgia, where some of the Saltzburghers,* driven out from their own native country, are settled;

* The protestants in the archbishopric of Saltzburgh being inhumanly expelled by the catholic authorities in the year 1732, many of them found an asylum in the American plantations. The hardships they endured excited the

and finding to my own great grief and sorrow, that their present circumstances are very distressed and deplorable, not having given them, when the letters came away, the land which was promised them, and suffering in every respect great poverty and hardships, I am resolved to acquaint all my friends I have a particular confidence in, with the distress this Christian and truly good people are in at this time. Their pious and indefatigable minister, the Rev. Mr. Boltzius, acquaints the Rev. Mr. Urlspurger, at Augsburg, and myself, that any old rag thrown away in Europe is of service to them: for instance; old shoes, stockings, shirts, or any thing of wearing apparel for men or women, grown people or children.

“Wherefore, dear Sir, if Baron Oxie’s supposition, that you have some hundreds of friends at your disposal, be true, perhaps you might, by the blessing of God, be an happy instrument to get here and there something of old clothes for them to cover their nakedness. Some well-disposed persons in Germany have hitherto sent them through my hands at several times considerable benefactions, and more especially have agreed among themselves to contribute a certain sum of money for the buying of linen cloth; and by the last ship which sailed from hence the 6th of this month for Georgia, there were actually sent them fifteen pieces of linen, for shirts, aprons, caps, &c. I must needs own, if the good providence of God had not raised them such kind benefactors, I am afraid there would have been very few of them yet

sympathy of the English public, and large sums were raised by voluntary subscription, as well as a parliamentary grant of £.10,000, to relieve their sufferings. The march of the exiles, amounting to 20,678, in the depth of winter, will long be remembered in Germany. Many perished for want of food and clothing, having been obliged to leave their goods behind them. The Count of Stolberg Warnerode gave a dinner to about 900 in his palace; the Duke of Brunswick liberally entertained others; the Leipsic clergy met some of the wanderers at the city gates singing Luther’s hymns. “*Account of the Sufferings of the persecuted Protestants in the Archbishopric of Saltzburgh, with their reception in several Imperial Cities.*”

alive. If the journal sent by Mr. Boltzius was not in the German language, I should not fail to communicate it to you, and am pretty sure that the reading of it would as well edify as raise your compassion to them. Your goodness lets me hope you will kindly pardon the length of this letter, and the freedom used in laying before you the misery and calamity of the poor Saltzburghers at Ebenezer. May the Lord give us grace at all times to fulfil the good pleasure of his will! I am, with great sincerity and esteem, Rev. Sir,

“Your affectionate brother,

“And humble servant,

“FRED. NICH. ZIEGENHAGEN.”

FROM THE SAME.

“Kensington, Dec. 9, 1737.

“Rev. and Dear Sir,

“I return you many thanks for your kind letter of December 6, which came not to my hands till just now at six o'clock at night, else I should not have failed to have answered it sooner. The readiness you show in assisting the poor Saltzburghers, yea, your well receiving the mentioning them and their circumstances in my last letter, give me great satisfaction. What you are pleased to mention of an application made to you in behalf of the Saltzburghers, three years ago, by three ministers of the Church of England, viz. in the name of the Society, is all fact, and I myself remember the thing very well; but I never heard the reason why the application had no success, and am almost apt to question whether the gentlemen commissioned with that affair made their report to the ‘Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,’ agreeable to what I find in your letter. N.B. The other

Society, called 'The Incorporated Society for Foreign Parts,' that is to say, for the West Indies, have done nothing for, or have any thing to do with, the Saltzburghers in Georgia.

"But to come to the main point upon which you are so good as to desire my answer. The case stands thus: when the said 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' after having read the accounts of the sufferings of the Saltzburghers, which were sent me from Germany, and by me communicated to them, did agree to have the same published in English, in order to raise a collection for the benefit of the persecuted Saltzburghers in general; they appointed at the same time six trustees for receiving all the charities of that branch, and among the rest I myself was one of them, as you will find in the first account of the sufferings of the Saltzburghers published by the society. The office of a trustee laid me under an obligation to report to the Society what money I received from benefactors here in England, and so I did report it, except the money that was put into my hands for particular uses, and desired to be sent to Germany by myself: for instance; the money for the Saltzburghers £.67 collected by the Rev. Mr. Burroughs, a minister of the Baptist persuasion, who preached two sermons upon that charity, also the money that was or is still sent me from Germany for those Saltzburghers who are gone to Georgia, I never was obliged to make a report of it to the Society, and never did.

"The reason of this difference I suppose you apprehend very easily. I have sent, thank God, every year charitable contributions to Ebenezer, and given directions to the Rev. Mr. Boltzius how it is to be applied. Sometimes the benefactors signify expressly to me for what use they design their charity, either for the relief of the sick, or old people, or for widows and orphans, or for maintaining some poor children, or for instructing some negroes, or for the poorest among them to buy shoes, stockings, shirts, &c.; but sometimes they leave

it to the discretion of Mr. Boltzius to apply the money to the best advantage of the Saltzburghers.

“All this I do in my private capacity without acquainting the Society with particulars either from whence the money comes or for what particular use it is designed. Neither do they desire it, being sensible that the miserable condition the Saltzburghers are in is more fully known to me than to themselves. As to my former office of trustee, I think it is quite at an end, not having here in England in more than two years’ time received the least benefaction for the Saltzburghers, the thing being now dead.

“Wherefore, dear Sir, if the Lord blesses your good intention and intercession in behalf of the Saltzburghers, and sends them by your means some seasonable help, it will be an additional kindness if you will be at the trouble to specify in what manner it is to be applied, and I shall be very punctual in every respect agreeable to your order and direction, and send your charity by the first ship to Mr. Boltzius at Ebenezer;* and I am well assured that the administration of this service not only will supply the want of the saints (and I hope many of them really are such), but will be abundant also by many thanksgivings to God, and by their prayers for you, good Sir, and all their benefactors. May the Lord give us grace to do whatever is pleasing to him! I remain with sincere esteem, Rev. Sir,

“Your most obliged humble servant,

“And brother in the Lord,

“FRED. MICH. ZIEGENHAGEN.”

* £33,000 was raised in London for the relief of the Saltzburghers. Of Ebenezer, their settlement in Georgia, Whitfield thus writes in 1738: “Their lands are improved surprisingly for the time they have been there, and I believe they have far the best crop of any in the colony. They are blest with two such pious ministers as I have not often seen. They have no courts of judicature; but all little differences are immediately and implicitly decided by their ministers, whom they look upon and love as their fathers.”

FROM THE HON. J. BELCHER.

"December 10, 1737.

"Dear Sir,

"The seventh current came to my hand your favour of the 13th of October, for which you have my kindest thanks.

"Mr. Loving's sermon is allowed by those who have the best sense of religion, to be full of excellent advice to rulers and people; and I humbly pray, that by the influences of that God who has honoured him to be an overseer of one of his flocks, we may for the future live and act more to his glory! And I am here again thankful for your prayers to heaven on my behalf.

"The acceptance of my picture is a token of your respect, and so is the present of yours to me, which I hope to receive by one of the spring ships, with Mr. Edwards of Northampton's narrative, printed by yourself and Dr. Guyse at London, of the wonderful things wrought by the Spirit of God on the hearts of our people in the county of Hampshire.

"You will, Sir, oblige one of your constant readers and hearty well-wishers, to let me have any thing new with which you oblige the world.

"It is very kind of pious Lady Abney to allow me a share in her good wishes. She is making haste to a better world, and at her great change will come to the grave in full age, 'as a shock of corn comes in its season.' In the mean time, I wish her length of days with health and comfort.

"That you may be continued a burning and shining light, by which many souls may be guided to the regions of eternal day, and there be witnesses to that crown of life which you shall receive from your Lord and Master, in testimony of your fidelity, is, and shall be, the prayer of,

"Rev. Sir,

"Your obliged friend, and most obedient servant,

"J. BELCHER."

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“St. Leonard’s Hill, June 6, 1738.

“Sir,

“I had the pleasure on Saturday to receive the book,* and the kind letter you were so good as to send me. I dare say I shall go through the book with a great deal of pleasure. I have already read part of it, and find nothing as yet to give me any apprehensions that I shall find it dry or unpleasant. I am sure the subject is of importance, and is rendered most particularly so at this time, when the polite part of the world look on the sabbath as an old-fashioned institution, from which they would gladly be released. I inclose you some verses which, though perhaps not strictly right as to the rules of poetry, I believe you will excuse for the piety of the sentiments. They were sent me by a friend of mine who lives at Gloucester, and she says were written by a young gentleman there.†

* The discourses on the “Holiness of Times, Places, and People.”

† The verses are entitled “Returning to God,” and are as follow :

“All-gracious God, my best retreat,
A wounded soul restore :
Unnumber’d are my sins and great,
Thy tender mercies more :

“Receive a wand’ring, wanton son,
Unworthy of the name,
Who bends before thine awful throne,
O’erwhelm’d with guilt and shame.

“Long-wean’d from heav’n by earthly joys
I’ve fix’d my Canaan here,
Quitting for present empty toys
My bright reversion there.

“Like Noah’s restless dove I’ve flown
Around the delug’d ball,
But, ah ! what rest can there be known,
Where sin has cover’d all ?

“Then let me to my ark return,
Where peace and comfort reign,
With holy flames here let me burn,
Nor wish to cool again.

“I thought it very long since I had heard from you, and should without ceremony have written again, but I have laboured under a very painful disorder in my head and face, which has of late made writing very difficult to me. I thank God it is now a little better, though so far from well as to hinder me of the pleasures of riding and walking, to which the season of the year would naturally invite me, and which are generally more beneficial to my health than any medicine in the dispensary. But I ought not to repine at these little inconveniences which are so far less afflicting than I deserve, while I have the blessing to see my Lord and my children enjoy a perfect state of health; for though I doubt I must never hope to see my Lord able to walk again, he is otherwise in as good health and spirits as ever he was since I knew him. He and my daughter are this day going to London to stay till Thursday or Friday, but my son and I remain here. They all assure you of their best wishes. It is comfortable to find, that there are still enough of such well-disposed minds as to encourage Mrs. Rowe’s Meditations, which certainly breathe as sincere a spirit of piety as can be met with in any writing. I am afraid I have tired you with this long

“With sin and toil, ye misers blind,
Your idol, gold, procure,
Here I shall nobler treasure find,
From moth and rust secure.

“While sensual joy vain fools inflames
With gay delusive show,
Grant me, O God, those blissful streams
That from thy presence flow!

“If worth and beauty claim my heart,
What’s fair and good like thee?
If kindest love my soul can move,
What love’s like thine to me?

“I burn, descending from the skies,
Swift flames dissolve my soul;
My pow’rs in sacred raptures rise,
And soar above the pole.

“Adieu, vain earth, vain thoughts, depart,
Delusive dreams, farewell;
Such trifling guests must leave that heart,
Where God vouchsafes to dwell.”

letter, and indeed the pain of my eyes reminds me, that it is time to conclude it, by assuring you that I am with the greatest esteem, Sir,

“Your most obliged humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE SAME.

“St. Leonard’s Hill, Aug. 8, 1738.

“Sir,

“I would much sooner have thanked you for the favour of your last letter, but have been hindered by my attendance on my Lord in a severe fit of the gout, though, I thank God, it has been only in his limbs, and not affected either his head or stomach.

“I think every body must wish a muse like Mr. Pope’s were more inclined to exert itself on divine and good-natured subjects; but I am afraid satire is his highest talent, for I think his ‘Universal Prayer’ is by no means equal to some other of his works; and I think his tenth stanza* an instance how blind the wisest men may be to the errors of their own hearts; for he certainly did not mean to imprecate such a proportion of vengeance on himself, as he is too apt to load those with whom he dislikes; nor would he wish to have his own failings exposed to the eye of the world with all the invective and ridicule with which he publishes those of his fellow-creatures.

“I have lately met with some riddles which we think pretty enough in their way, and as I remember you once told

* “Teach me to feel another’s woe,
To hide the fault I see;
That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me.”

me you thought them tolerable amusements, I will inclose you one or two of them, and, if they do not displease you, can furnish you with a few more, which we do not think bad ones. My Lord and our young people assure you of their services. I am, Sir, with the sincerest esteem,

“Your most faithful humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

CHAPTER XV.

TRINITARIAN CONTROVERSY.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.—WORKS OF WHISTON AND CLARKE.—THE “CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY:”—OPPOSED BY MR. TOMKINS:—HIS “SOBER APPEAL TO A TURK OR INDIAN.”—THE “ARIAN INVITED TO THE ORTHODOX FAITH.”—ANCIENT AND MODERN ARIANISM.—DISSERTATION ON THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.—THE UNION OF THE DIVINE AND HUMAN NATURES.—THE WORSHIP PAID TO CHRIST.—DIFFERENCE ON THIS POINT BETWEEN THE ANCIENT AND MODERN ARIANS.—SECOND PART OF THE DISSERTATIONS.—ON THE LOGOS.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.—ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM PERSON IN THE CONTROVERSY.—OPINIONS OF HOWE, DR. WALLIS, AND DR. HOPKINS.—RELINQUISHES THE SUBJECT.—THE “USEFUL AND IMPORTANT QUESTIONS” PUBLISHED.—ON THE TITLE “SON OF GOD.”—ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE DISCIPLES AS TO THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.—THE IMPORTANCE OF SCHEMES OF EXPLICATION.—WORK ON THE “GLORY OF CHRIST.”—THE PRE-EXISTENCE OF HIS HUMAN SOUL.—SECOND EDITION OF THE “SOBER APPEAL.”—SUMMARY OF WATTS’S SCHEME.

AMONG the doctrines of holy writ, there are none which have attracted greater attention, and occasioned warmer controversies, than that of the Trinity. Sentiments inimical to it were propagated in the early ages, which, though opposed by civil authority, and persecuted with the sword, obtained the support of a formidable, and sometimes dominant party in the church, and only sank into oblivion when they lost the charm of novelty, or when a general indifference to religion ensued. Anti-trinitarianism revived soon after the reformation, and was industriously disseminated by the Polish Socinians; but, as a spectre from the tomb, it found no favour in the

eyes of the multitude; and during the continuance of the early Stuarts upon the English throne, and the reign of presbyterianism under the Commonwealth, its adoption was punished as one of the highest civil offences. The diffusion of more enlightened views of religious liberty, allowed of propagandism with impunity — an opportunity which the disciples of heterodoxy did not neglect. A discussion arose in the establishment, as to the true mode of explication with reference to the doctrine; and Dr. South and Dr. Sherlock were employed in explaining what both would have confessed in calmer moments to be inexplicable. This drew forth the energies of Howe, whose “Letters” are evidently the production of a master mind, and which served to confound the Unitarian, to rebuke the dogmatist, and to establish upon the basis of scripture this important article of our faith. But the example of these great names was interpreted as sanctioning a pernicious practice — their authority was pleaded by every inquisitive theologian ambitious of discovering the secret of the divine existence — and without a tittle of their learning or self-control, which would at once have checked the attempt, a few restless spirits pushed across the limits of legitimate inquiry, and boldly entered the region of boundless and impertinent speculation. The consequences of such a rash adventure may be easily anticipated. The truth was disfigured by human fancies, until every lineament of its original form was destroyed — the attention being diverted from the realities of religion and occupied with subtle conjectures, induced indifference to its practical influence — and many who left the haven, high with hope and confident in expectation of returning laden with spiritual and intellectual treasure, foundered in the sea, and were lost in the depths of anti-christian error.

The mathematical professor in the university of Cambridge, Whiston, was the first avowed advocate of arianism of any note in this country; and his heresy, after a toleration of some length, lost him his chair. But the establishment cherished in its bosom

a more dexterous champion, Dr. Samuel Clarke, whose semi-arianism was allowed by the convocation after some scruple to pass current. It was the writings of this clever disputant that infused the poison among the dissenters; and thus the establishment, fenced round as its orthodoxy is with the authority of creeds, and protected by the anathemas of councils, was the fountain from whence that error proceeded, which carried the streams of spiritual desolation and death wherever it was embraced. The presbyterians of the western counties, were the first among the nonconformists who departed from the faith—the children of those who caused the Long Parliament to enact a statute, inflicting death upon any denier of the atonement, the deity of the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The conduct of Dr. Watts at this momentous juncture, when the conference at Salter's Hall was commenced, has already been mentioned—the effect which the debates had in unhinging his mind, and directing his attention to the investigation of the point in dispute, has been hinted at—we have now to accompany him in his inquiries, to ascertain the sentiments which he at last embraced.

The result of his first examination of this important subject, he gave to the public in the year 1722, under the title of “The Christian Doctrine of the Trinity.” This is an able and orthodox essay, exhibiting the scripture evidence of the doctrine in a lucid and forcible manner, and plainly demonstrating by an appeal on all points to the law and to the testimony the futility of the anti-trinitarian dogmas. He adopts the analytical mode of investigation; elucidates the evidence of divine truth by a series of twenty-two propositions; and shows the sentiments of the inspired writers to be at the antipodes of Socinian and Arian hypothesis. The creeds of the church are carefully avoided by the author—the writings of the fathers are not quoted—the preponderance of human authority is not considered—his object is not to ascertain what councils have decreed, but what the sacred oracles have

declared. In the eighteenth proposition he refers to the pre-existence of Christ's human soul, as an opinion not to be "rashly rejected"—as calculated to remove some difficulties connected with his appearances previous to his incarnation—as affording an easy solution of some obscure and doubtful texts; but he seems by no means fully satisfied with the notion, and, hence, merely proposes it, without interweaving it with his argument. In an incautious passage respecting addressing the Spirit with divine honours, he remarks, "Since we find so great a silence in scripture of any express precepts or patterns of prayer or praise, directed distinctly to the person of the blessed Spirit, let us not bind it upon our own consciences, nor upon others, as a piece of necessary worship, but rather practise it occasionally as prudence and expedience may require." Dr. Watts is here at variance with himself; for having proved in his eighth proposition the personality and divinity of the Spirit—having cited some instances of divine worship being paid to him in the scriptures*—it is inconsistent to speak of their "great silence" upon the subject, and illogical to allow to prudential considerations greater force than their authoritative sanction. With these exceptions I know of nothing in the treatise likely to offend the most rigid orthodoxy—the practical influence of

* The "instances cited" are taken, 1. From the words in which the ordinance of baptism is prescribed: Matt. xxviii. 19. Dr. Wardlaw and the orthodox divines interpret this form in the same manner, not only as signifying initiation into the faith and profession of the Christian doctrine, and particularly of that scheme of redemption, in which the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are ever represented as fulfilling their respective parts, but involving in it, at the same time, an act of solemn worship to each of the divine Persons mentioned. *Wardl. Dis.* x. 2. The second instance is taken from the apostolic prayer in 2 Cor. xiii. 14, in which the Spirit is joined with the Father and the Son in equal sovereignty and power.

The Rev. John Hurriou, one of Watts's opponents, in his Sermons preached at the Merchant's Lecture at Pinner's Hall in 1729, 1730, 1731, published after his death by Dr. Abraham Taylor, adduces Cant. iv. 16, as another instance! "Awake, O North wind, and come thou, South, and blow upon my garden." Because the Spirit in scripture is often compared to the *wind*, he interprets this, with Ainsworth, Piscator, Durham, and the old divines, as an invocation of him—to awake from the stormy North to blast the corruptions of the church—to come from the sunny

the doctrine in leading us to adore the Father of all good, to trust in the satisfaction of the Son, and implore the hallowing influences of the Spirit, is clearly stated — and the work deserves to rank among the best of the theological performances our old divinity has furnished.

At a period when the trinitarian doctrine was the subject of so much discussion — when a powerful party, both as to number and talent, avowedly opposed it — it was hardly to be expected that Dr. Watts's publication should escape without animadversion. So satisfied was he with the evidence he had adduced from the sacred page, that he had remarked in his book, "I think the plain and express scriptures sufficiently distinguish three personal agents—a Turk or an Indian that reads them without any prepossession, would certainly understand most of them so." This observation meeting the eye of a champion for Arianism, he sent forth an anonymous rejoinder, entitled "A Sober Appeal to a Turk or an Indian, concerning the plain sense of Scripture relating to the Trinity, being an answer to Mr. I. Watts's late book." This was the production of the Rev. Martin Tomkins, formerly mentioned as ejected by the dissenting congregation at Stoke Newington, on account of his Arian sentiments. It displays considerable controversial dexterity; but it neither meets the argument fully or fairly, and its expositions of scripture are in the highest degree forced and unnatural. Admitting the supreme authority of revelation, he enters within the precincts of the sacred pale, and attempts to wrest from Dr. Watts the passages cited in support of the trinitarian doctrine. And if it is al-

South to cherish with gentle gales and balmy breezes the planting of the Lord ! Psalm, cxliii. 10 is also cited, "Thy Spirit is good; lead me into the land of uprightness;" and Leusden's rendering *Spiritus tuus bonus deducat me in terra recta*, "Let thy good Spirit lead me in a right land," which is strangely tortured into a prayer to, as well as for, the Holy Spirit.

Such far-fetched expositions render no service whatever to the doctrine in question. The argument is simple. The right of the Spirit to divine worship is founded upon his divine character, and not upon scripture practice or precept. Any proof of the latter is superfluous if the former is established.

lowable to violate the recognised canons of criticism — to extract from the original text a desired meaning by unauthorised glosses and conjectural emendation — to adopt an alteration without the support of a single manuscript or version — we may admit that the effort did not altogether fail. But the arbitrary freedoms of polemical theology will not be received as evidence at the tribunal of the dispassionate critic. A slight subjection to this ordeal would show the unwarrantable license which the author of the “Sober Appeal” assumes, and the lofty and impregnable position occupied by the work which he endeavours to controvert. An instance occurs in the rendering of Rom. ix. 5: “Of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever;” which Mr. Tomkins, following Enjedin, Emlyn, and others, translates, “Of whom is the Christ, according to the flesh. He who is God over all be blessed for ever.” Regarding the latter clause of the passage as a doxology, and putting a full-point after *σάρκα*, the force of this striking testimony to the supreme divinity of the Messiah is completely neutralised. But when it is considered, that the new reading is entirely conjectural — that it violates the usages of Greek construction — that it renders the limiting clause, “according to the flesh,” an unmeaning and impertinent parenthesis — that it is proposed by an interested party, for no better assignable reason, than that Paul’s amanuensis was a blunderer in punctuation* — it will be deemed an obvious presage of a bad cause, to have recourse to such an expedient. It is not, however, my object to vindicate or refute Dr. Watts’s sentiments, but to explain them; and the work of his opponent may be dismissed with the remark, that its style is courteous, its spirit candid, and though it elicited no direct reply, it appears, from the references to it in subsequent publications, to have met with an attentive perusal.

Dr. Watts next produced “The Arian invited to the Ortho-

* Mr. Belsham’s *Calm Inquiry*, p. 224.

dox Faith ; or, a plain and easy method to lead such as deny the proper Deity of Christ into the belief of that great article," which appeared in the year 1724. This work consists of three dissertations, chiefly occupied with establishing the divinity of our Lord, with occasional notices of the "Sober Appeal." The orthodox faith, the faith of the church from the primitive times, he defines to be, that explication of the trinitarian doctrine which supposes the divine nature to be but one numerical essence — that this essence is the same in the Father, the Word, and the Spirit — that these three are so far distinct as to lay a foundation for the scriptures to speak of them in a personal manner — that they are not so far distinct as when we speak of three men or three angels—and that in the person of Christ there are two distinct natures, God and man united. The Arian scheme, as promulged by its subtle founder, held for its leading tenet, that Christ was a creature—a glorious and exalted creature indeed, but still as much inferior to the true and eternal God as a creature is to the Creator — that he was produced in a peculiar manner anterior to the creation of the world—and that he alone proceeded immediately from God, whilst all other things were produced mediately by him. Modern Arianism, as expounded by its distinguished advocate, Dr. Samuel Clarke, is a refinement of the ancient doctrine—he held that there is one Supreme Being, who is denominated the Father, and two subordinate, derived and dependent beings—he did not, however, conceive the Son to be a creature, but something midway between a created and a self-existent nature. To both these classes Dr. Watts addressed himself in this work, to lead them by "slow and easy steps" into the orthodox doctrine—a noble and elevated object, the entertainment of which marks a benevolent mind, though the expectation of success, by the method he pursued, betrays a temperament far too sanguine.

In the first dissertation he advances a number of queries, founded upon the propositions of the "Christian Doctrine,"

in behalf of the divine nature of Christ. There is little of what is speculative here introduced, with the exception of his favourite notion of the pre-existence of our Lord's human soul, which will hereafter be considered. In the second dissertation he pursues the same interrogative style, and discusses the union of the divine and human natures in the Saviour's person. The truth and certainty of the hypostatic union he argues from scripture; its possibility and consistency with reason he proves from various human analogies; and expresses an approval of the opinion of Nestorius, who acknowledged two persons in our Lord mystically and more intimately united than any analogy within our observation can explain. This is obviously neither the general sense of the church, nor the true sense of scripture, which harmonises with the decree of the Chalcedonian council, asserting one person, but in the unity of persons two natures. The third dissertation is the most elaborate one, and the most valuable; it treats of the worship of Christ being founded on his godhead — a position advanced in the "Christian Doctrine," which its Arian critic was at great pains to overthrow. Dr. Watts proceeds upon these incontrovertible principles: that religious worship is a divine honour — that God has assumed religious worship to himself in his word as his own peculiar prerogative, and with the severest penalties has forbid it to be paid to any inferior being — that religious worship is attributed to our Lord Jesus Christ both in prophecy, in precept, and in example in scripture — and thence it is inferred, that true godhead belongs to him. The author of the "Sober Appeal" does not attempt to controvert these principles, but to exhibit the inference as erroneous: he allows that religious worship is and ought to be paid to Christ, though in his estimation only a creature: he does not, with the modern Socinians, attempt by unscholarly criticism to pervert the passages which inculcate and exemplify the practice; but to avoid the consequences of his admission, he supposes the first commandment to be

repealed under the New Testament, and the worship of the creature, though of an inferior kind, not to be interdicted. Even Arius himself and Socinus did not depart in this respect from the faith and practice of the universal church, but taught their followers to “honour the Son” with acts of adoration, whilst they disclaimed his divinity. On this ground the fathers justly charged the former with restoring idolatry, and supporting the pagan polytheism — a charge advanced by Watts, and most triumphantly established by Waterland. Mr. Tomkins, to escape from such a conclusion, has recourse to the sophistical distinction of inferior and superior worship, embraced by the papists to excuse their adoration of saints and angels; a distinction sanctioned by Dr. Clarke, to reconcile homage to the Saviour with his semi-arian scheme; but a distinction upon which the scripture is silent, and which reason utterly repudiates. Worship was paid to Christ by his immediate followers, and it is ascribed to him in the scenic representations of the Apocalypse; but no variation in quality, no difference of kind, no degrees of high and low, supreme and inferior, ultimate and mediate, are hinted at; and the fact yields irrefragable evidence, that the object of the lowly reverence of earthly and heavenly intelligences, is truly a divine personage.

The second part of this work appeared in the year 1725, containing four “Dissertations relating to the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity.” He here departs from the sentiments expressed in his first publication; he finds that Jewish idioms will allow him to explain the personal representations of the Spirit by the *prosopopœia*; and while he maintains the literal deity of the Word and Spirit, he advocates a figurative personality. The general senses of the term *Logos*, the *Memra* of the Chaldee paraphrasts, and its application to Christ, are the subjects of the first dissertation, or the fourth numbering from the former volume. In this inquiry he displays an extensive range of reading, appealing to the apocry-

phal writers, the Targumists, Philo, and the Fathers, and citing the works of Allix, Owen, and Lightfoot, to ascertain the judgment of the Jewish church. Three interpretations have been put upon the expressions of Philo with reference to the exalted and mysterious being who appears so prominently in his pages—the Arian, which supposes him to speak of an exalted creature, a kind of demi-god, who governs the world under the direction and as the representative of the Deity; the Sabellian, according to which the essential wisdom of God, an emanation of the divine nature, is meant; and the Trinitarian, which introduces a true subsistence in the godhead, as the illustrious person intended. These expositions are not satisfactory to Dr. Watts; and he brings forward the pre-existent human soul of Christ, a glorious super-angelic spirit, having communion with divinity, as best answering to the Logos of the Jew. This opinion is suggested in the “Christology” of Mr. Robert Fleming; it is held by most of those who claim for the human soul of Christ an ante-mundane existence; but it has only a fanciful conjecture for its basis. That Philo and the Hellenists invest the Logos with a real personality, in a manner more obvious and distinct than can be found in the writings of Plato—that his expressions are clearly indicative of a divine person possessing divine attributes and performing divine works—are conclusions verified by competent authorities, though there may be no evidence for interpreting this hypostatical term, as intended to point out a distinct person in the nature of deity. The contrarieties apparent in the doctrine of Philo and the Hellenizing Jews respecting the Logos; the supreme and subordinate characters and titles under which he is represented, are thus illustrated and reconciled at the conclusion of the dissertation:—“If I might venture into a comparison upon this occasion, I would liken the writings of the ancients concerning the Logos, to a mine of rich metal, where two travellers taking up the ore, find some brighter and some baser proper-

ties in the mass. One of them asserts that the metal is all silver, and he gives the most favourable and exalted turn that he can to the coarser phenomena of lead which discover themselves there. The other sinks and beclouds the brighter phenomena of silver, till he has construed the whole mine into lead. Here it is possible that a less knowing traveller may come by, and happen to make such an experiment on the mingled mass, as discovers that there is both silver and lead united in the same ore : by this means the different properties appear to belong to the different metal, and the contenders are reconciled."

The fifth dissertation is devoted to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, to whom he assigns a literal divinity, but a figurative personality. That there are many passages in which the term occurs, when merely an influence, a gift or grace is intended, no judicious trinitarian will deny ; but there are many others which are absurd and unintelligible upon our author's hypothesis, in which the Spirit is mentioned in such a manner that the boldest flights of poetry will not explain, invested in the plainest prose with all the attributes of distinct personality. Wisdom may be personified in the writings of Solomon, and charity in the writings of Paul ; but nothing can be more unhappy than the attempt to resolve the personal acts attributed to the Holy Ghost into a rhetorical figure. As to the doctrine of the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son in the essence of deity, and the notion of spiration, or the manner in which the procession is effected, we may agree with him in regarding them as the refinements of the schoolmen, resting upon no very obvious scriptural authority.—The sense in which the term *person* ought to be used in the controversy is discussed in the sixth dissertation. He defines the distinctive character of a person to be "the application of the personal pronouns, *I, thou, he* : these three pronouns being frequently applied in scripture to the Father and the Son, and the pronoun *he* to the blessed

Spirit ; we, therefore, call them *three* persons." But then he pleads for the term not being understood in exactly the same sense, and including precisely the same ideas, as when we call three men, or three angels, three distinct persons. The orthodox trinitarian will not object to this admission ; for to retain the literal and philosophical sense, must necessarily lead to the absurdities of tritheism. "The word person," Howe observes, "must not be taken to signify the same thing when spoken of God and of ourselves." Dr. Wallis in his Letters makes no scruple to say, that the word, when applied to the distinctions in the divine nature, is metaphorical, analogical, and figurative. To the same effect Dr. Hopkins states, that "it must be carefully observed, that when this word is applied to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, it does not import the same distinction which is expressed by it when applied to men. It means nothing inconsistent with the highest perfection, or with these three being really and perfectly one God. Nor is it pretended, that this word when used in this instance can be so defined as to give any clear and adequate idea of a subject so mysterious and infinitely incomprehensible." But while we may agree with these divines in rejecting the strict philosophical sense of the term, as applied to the trinity in the godhead ; it is obvious that its interpretation in a political and metaphorical sense, falls far short of its precise import. That to which those acts are attributed, and those modes of speech applied, which usually characterise personality, must be something more than, as Dr. Watts supposes, a mere property or power ; and, hence, we conclude, that though the Father, the Word, and the Spirit are not separate existences, yet there is such a positive distinction between them, and at the same time such a real union, as only the common expression, three persons in one God, can adequately express.

Upwards of twenty-one years elapsed before Dr. Watts published again upon this subject. The reason of this long suspension, and the circumstances which led him at length to

break silence, have not been disclosed. Various causes might operate to induce him to abandon his labours; the judicious advice of friends, or a wish to avoid angry controversy, or the coldness with which, notwithstanding his popularity as a writer upon other topics, the public received his works. One of his opponents, Dr. Abraham Taylor, states, that an impression of five hundred of the second part of his Dissertations, had not in the course of three years been sold. Had he written as a party man, there might, and probably would have been, a different result; but he occupied the unenviable post of moderator; he placed himself between the arian and trinitarian champions; and, as he did not succeed in pleasing either, he forfeited the patronage of both. With great justice, referring to his own case, he was accustomed to say, "A moderator is sure to get a box on both ears."

In 1746 the "Useful and Important Questions concerning Jesus the Son of God freely proposed" appeared, but without the name of the author. There is little of what is new in this work; it is founded upon the doctor's former writings; and consists of an amplification and proof of some sentiments which he had before expressed. Its contents may be gathered from the titles of the several questions: 1. "What is the meaning of the name Son of God, as given to Christ in the New Testament, where the belief of it is necessary to salvation?" 2. "Did the disciples of Christ fully believe that he was the true God during his life-time, or not till after his death and resurrection?" 3. "Could the Son of God properly enter into a covenant with his Father, to do and suffer what was necessary to our redemption, without a human soul?" 4. "Is the Godhead of Christ, and the Godhead of the Father, one and the same Godhead?" 5. "Is there an intimate union between the Lord Jesus Christ and God the Father?" 6. "Is Christ the express image of God the Father in the human nature or in the divine?" 7. "Are the worship of God and his Son Jesus Christ consistent with one

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another?" 8. "What is the worship paid to our blessed Saviour, who is the image of God?" An examination of these inquiries would exceed my limits, and involve repetition: a few remarks upon the first and second is all that will be necessary.

The title so frequently occurring in scripture, the Son of God, discussed in the first question, he interprets as pointing out the miraculous conception and mediatorial character of Christ, without any express reference to his divine nature. The former part of this position will at once be granted: the latter is open to many serious objections. It is contrary to the sense of the Jews in our Lord's time, who evidently regarded the designation as distinctive of divinity; and, hence, treated its attribution by him as blasphemy. The title is introduced in several passages with such solemnity and emphasis, as to exclude the idea of its being a mere appellative of the human nature; and in the testimonies of Nathaniel and Peter, it plainly occurs as a distinction peculiarly divine, an antithesis being strongly marked by both between the official character, "the Christ," "the King of Israel," and the personal dignity, "the Son of the living God." Many eminent divines, both among the ancients and the moderns, have, however, agreed with Watts in restraining the term entirely to an official significance, an opinion which has been recently agitated by Dr. A. Clarke, and which Dr. Wardlaw appears to sanction. That the doctrine of the divine Sonship is not fundamental, that the belief of it is not "necessary to salvation," a branch of inquiry which the question embraces, its principal advocates, even the cautious Waterland, allow; but that the conclusions logically deduced from its denial would trench upon doctrines pronounced fundamental by the orthodox of all ages, there is great reason to apprehend.—The fact which the second question is intended to prove—namely, that the apostles had clearer views of the divinity of their Master after his death than during his life, will readily be conceded; but

it is susceptible of a different and more correct solution than that which is given in the inquiry. It was not the result of clearer evidence being imparted, it was not, as it is remarked, because “the beams of his Godhead did not discover themselves in a triumphant and convincing light during the days of his humiliation” — the very opposite of this appears to have been the case — and their slowness of heart to believe, their oft recurring doubts and perplexities, whilst yet disciples, must be attributed to the want of that Spirit of truth which was afterwards communicated, and which effectually dispelled their hesitation, confirmed their faith, and led them into all truth. The object which the writer had in view in the discussion of this point is not very apparent. If it is, as I strongly suspect, to lower the importance of believing in our Lord’s divinity — to prove the harmlessness of loose and unsettled notions with reference to it, “the apostles being,” he observes, “in a state of grace and salvation before there is any sufficient evidence of their faith therein” — to show that the doctrine is not so fundamental as the orthodox maintain — the fact makes equally against the atonement, the intercession, and each branch of the mediatorial economy; so that every thing valuable in Christianity would cease to be important and fundamental with it. Such a conclusion as this no one would more strongly condemn than Dr. Watts; yet it is as fairly drawn from his premises as his own inference, if rightly understood, and must stand or fall with it. But it is easy to perceive that his premises are not tenable; for the assertion is perfectly gratuitous, that the apostles were in a saved state previous to their faith in Christ as a divine person; it is as much as saying, that they were believers and unbelievers at the same time. The experience of the disciples during the ministry of their Lord, partook of mingled light and shade, hope and fear, confidence and doubt; but there were periods of unclouded sunshine, of clear and joyous insight into the native dignity of his character, when noble confessions of his

divine majesty broke from their lips and won his approval. No argument can then be drawn from their case, to soften and extenuate the indulgence of latitudinarian sentiments; there is no parallel between the hesitations of the disciple, however frequent, and the settled unbelief of the Arian — but there is a “great gulf” indeed between a mind in which, in the infancy of Christianity, faith and doubt might contend for the mastery, and one in which, under its full maturity, infidelity is dominant towards its peculiar and leading doctrines.

The next publication that comes under review, is an Essay appended to the “Questions,” on “The true importance of any human schemes to explain the sacred doctrine of the Trinity.” It is argued, that no such scheme is necessary to salvation — that it may yet be of great use to the Christian church — but that all such explications should be proposed with modesty to the world, and never enforced upon the conscience. As to any explication of the doctrine, it is one of the “secret things” which God has reserved unto himself — he has here held back “the face of his throne, and spread his cloud upon it” — and as it savours largely of intellectual pride and vanity to attempt to remove the obscurity in which divine wisdom has seen good to involve it; so every scheme of solution must be attended with uncertainty, and can only be rendered obligatory by the most intolerable dogmatism. But as to the doctrine itself, the simple fact of its revelation proves its importance — ascertain it to be a truth of scripture, and its reception or rejection ceases to be a matter of indifference, and becomes a matter of responsibility. Its opponents have loudly asserted, that, admitting its truth, the dogma is one so purely speculative, as to serve no purpose whatever, in either morals or religion; but such a statement proceeds upon false principles. Revelation is not a needless though liberal overflowing of the divine intelligence — it has not been made for the mere purpose of display — every particle is connected with

a moral end, and to accomplish its object nothing is wanting, nothing is superfluous. Dr. Priestley allows, that the doctrine may be necessary to explain some particular texts: a confession which, however short of what truth might demand, stamps it with the highest character of importance. But the denial of it, pushed to its consequences, would necessarily overthrow the atonement and the whole mediatorial scheme, and thus give a stab to the vitals of Christianity. What measure of speculative error may comport or be incongruous with the existence of real piety, it becomes not human fallibility to decide. Injury has been done to the cause of truth by the intemperate zeal of its advocates, who have made a man an offender for a word, and denounced as an Arian he who did not bow implicitly to the creed of Athanasius, and hesitated to subscribe to what he conscientiously might deem was tritheism. That there have been men of unexceptionable piety, who have entertained latitudinarian opinions upon the Trinity — opinions, as to their tendency, pregnant with the utmost danger — cannot be disputed, and Dr. Watts is himself an instance.* But the danger is, that when speculation, however undesignedly, trespasses upon forbidden ground, and errors of minor importance are imbibed, they are apt to generate others of greater magnitude; and the remote consequences that have followed upon trivial departures from the truth, seem to justify the alarm and jealousy which such deviations generally create. Dr. Watts would have witnessed an illustration of this, had his life been spared a little longer: he would have seen the semi-arians, to whom the kindness of his nature led him to stretch out the hand of charity, pass swiftly down the stream of error, and launch out into the ocean of

* Of Thomas Firmin, unquestionably a Socinian, even Wesley, who published his life, candidly acknowledged, "I was exceedingly struck at reading the following life, having long settled it in my mind, that the entertaining wrong notions concerning the Trinity was inconsistent with real piety. But I cannot argue against matter of fact. I dare not deny that Mr. Firmin was a pious man, although his notions of the Trinity were quite erroneous." *Arminian Mag.*

Socinian heterodoxy. It is but justice, however, to add, that whilst he pleads for kindness and brotherly love towards those who dissented from the orthodox doctrine, whilst he treats as unscriptural and presumptuous their exclusion by any sect from communion, he ever supposes a life of holy obedience and practice, of conformity to the divine will, trust in the atonement, and dependence upon the Spirit's influence, to exist.

In the latter end of the year 1746 Dr. Watts published his last work in the controversy, entitled "The Glory of Christ as God-Man displayed." This is considered in three discourses, upon the visible appearances of Christ as God before his incarnation—the extensive powers of his human nature in its present glorified state—and the ante-mundane existence of his human soul. The whole work is an elaborate endeavour to establish the latter position, the author's favourite sentiment, which he regarded as one of the main pillars of the indwelling scheme, the grand *panacea* for all the difficulties of the trinitarian doctrine. The notion is not new. If it is not expressed, as some imagine, in the Shepherd of Hermas, it was undoubtedly held by Origen, who supposed that "the soul of the Son in its perfection was in God and his fulness, and coming out thence, when he was sent by the Father, took a body of Mary." Among the moderns who have professed and defended it, are Bishops Burnet, Gastrell, and Fowler, Dr. H. More, Dr. T. Goodwin, and Dr. T. Bennet, Mr. Fleming and Mr. Hussey.

It is argued, that actions and services are represented as being performed by Christ, previous to his incarnation, which seem "too low for the dignity of pure Godhead. Does it not seem," says he, "more congruous, that a human soul should animate that human body which eat and drank with Abraham under a tree, and should actuate those human limbs when a man wrestled with Jacob? Is it not beneath the grandeur, decency, and dignity of the supreme Majesty of heaven, to sup-

ply the place of such a human soul for the purposes or actions of animal nature? And that the great and eternal God himself, in an immediate manner, should converse in so human and familiar a way as this angel did with several of the patriarchs?" The reason is not stated, why these offices are "too low" for Deity, and the bare assertion seems like dictating the divine procedure, and defining the bounds of decorum for the high and lofty One. But our author loses sight of his own theory; for if, as he supposes, the human soul of Christ had intimate communion with the divine nature in its pre-existent state, the Godhead was as much a party in these transactions, as though exclusively animating the visible shape that appeared. The argument, if it has any force, might be employed by infidel philosophy with advantage against the doctrine of providence and the scheme of redemption; for, that a sparrow should not fall or a leaf wither without the observance of the Infinite—and especially to be manifest in the flesh—to travel through the short span of mortal life—to be familiar with hunger and thirst, fatigue and tears, pain and death—in short, every fact upon which the display of pardoning love to the sinner is founded, might be dismissed as improbable, if man is to judge what is "too low" or what is fitting for an association with the divine dignity. For the other reasons advanced in favour of this singular notion, I must refer the reader to the work itself, as they are not of sufficient weight to deserve examination here. The opinion has to contend with insuperable difficulties—the scriptures are completely silent with reference to it—and their general tenor is directly opposed to such a conclusion. It remains to be explained, how Christ, with any propriety, can be called the Son of Man, if his human spirit was formed ages before man was created—how he can be the second Adam, if the principal part of his humanity existed before the first—how it can be said, that "he took not on him the nature of angels," if in a glorious arch-angelic nature he had

being before the world began. That there is a real relationship between his humanity and ours, whereby he can sympathise with the infirmities of his people, is a doctrine which we think the scriptures plainly teach — thus he is our “elder brother,” “he was made in all things like unto his brethren,” whereby “he that sanctifies and they that are sanctified” become “all of one” — and as these statements are at variance with Dr. Watts’s hypothesis, it must be discarded as a mere human fancy.

A second edition of the “Sober Appeal to a Turk or an Indian” appeared in the year 1748, with considerable enlargements; but Dr. Watts had now done with controversy, and was about to exchange a state of doubt and uncertainty, for the full and unclouded revelations of truth. It is probable, therefore, that the work of his old antagonist was not allowed to intrude into the chamber of death. His occasional notices of Mr. Tomkins’s performance are here replied to; his later publications are also animadverted on in the notes; and some remarks upon his three first Dissertations are added at the close. A passage in the postscript contains an error of some importance, as it makes him give up his former opinions as to a modal distinction in the essence of Deity: — “Dr. Watts,” it is observed, “in his late treatise,* gives up the more common notion of three modes, relations, or the like, called three persons, in the one individual, self-existing essence; as also the notion of three distinct intelligent beings, however, necessarily united together; and seems persuaded, that there is no other way of accounting for the ascribing of supreme Deity to Christ, but by making the one self-existing essence and the man Christ Jesus one complex person, a notion as should seem lately devised by himself.”† However true the middle section of this sentence may be, the former and the

* “Useful and Important Questions,” &c.

† *Sober Appeal*,” &c. p. 289.

latter parts are certainly incorrect: after a careful examination of the work referred to, I can find no authority for either statement. He expressly speaks of such distinctions existing in the divine nature, as lay a foundation for the revelation of the Deity under three personal characters; and of one of these distinctions, a denomination, or relation, or principle, being made manifest in the flesh. Strictly speaking, then, he did not altogether fall in with the indwelling scheme—he did not, as that scheme supposes, found the divinity of Christ upon the indwelling of the whole Godhead in the humanity—he well knew the consequences charged by the orthodox upon the doctrine of the Patripassians in this respect—and, hence, to avoid them, he struck out into the middle path opened by Sabellius, that one of the mysterious and indefinable distinctions in the divine essence, an emanation, or principle, or virtue, was united to our human nature. I know that a correct theologian will see at once that he does not escape from the difficulty; that he admits a distinction without a difference; that his notion is substantially the same as that which makes the Father to become incarnate, to suffer and die—for he acknowledges no subsistence in the Deity separate from the Father; but Dr. Watts did not see this result so inevitable, as some of those who have opposed his scheme, and justice to his sentiments requires that this should be stated. It is certainly surprising that Mr. Palmer of Hackney, his admirer and able apologist, should fall into the same mistake as Mr. Tomkins, and represent him as maintaining no distinctions in the Deity, a circumstance which may, perhaps, be accounted for by his misinterpreting some obscure phrases, and in some measure by the fact, that the opinion itself coincided with his own theological views.

The whole of Dr. Watts's publications, with reference to the Trinity, have now been noticed; and we may concisely state the scheme which he proposed and advocated. He supposes the term person, in its philosophical sense, to be strictly

applicable to the Father, an intelligent, voluntary agent—that in a figurative sense alone it is applicable to the Son and to the Spirit, who may more appropriately be styled powers or properties—that the Word is a cognoscitive, or an intelligent volitive power, and the Spirit an active or an intelligent effective power—that the Deity, therefore, consists of one philosophical person and two divine properties, analogous to the mind and will in man—that a trinity in the essence of deity exists, but that the distinction is merely modal—that the Godhead of Christ is founded upon his union to some particular power of the divine nature, and not to a distinct person in that nature—and that this union commenced previous to his appearance on earth, his human soul having been pre-existent, and having had communion with divinity before the foundation of the world. Such is the scheme elaborated with no little care, and patience, and erudition, which its author fondly thought would remove all difficulties, overthrow the barrier between the Athanasian and the Arian, heal the contentions of the church, and still the strife of ages. In its general outline it is closely allied to the doctrine taught in the early ages by the Patripassians, who allowed only a nominal distinction to exist in the divine nature, or, as the Sabellians explained it, three denominations in one hypostasis; thus denying the personality of the Word and the Spirit, and holding them to be mere functions, virtues, or emanations. The conclusion to which this notion inevitably leads is, that incarnation, suffering, and death, may as properly be predicated of the Father as the Son; nay, upon the assumption of a nominal distinction only, all the acts of the Son become the acts of the Father; and, hence, he sends himself into the world, he prays to himself, he satisfies himself, he mediates and intercedes with himself—a conclusion fatal to the scheme, but necessarily deduced from it, whether it appears under the auspices of Sabellius or in the pages of Watts. I cannot dismiss this subject without remarking upon the li-

berties taken with the sacred page in these speculations, and the dangerous principles of interpretation adopted. If the ascription of personal acts to the Son in his divine nature, and the use of personal pronouns, in the gravest and most solemn history in the world, may be explained away by the *prosopopœia*, language loses its significancy, and may be pressed into the service of any figment. An objector might readily prove the impersonality of the Father, resorting to the same license. It is acutely remarked by Dr. Abraham Taylor, "It is a very strong and convincing evidence of the Father's real personality, that the scripture represents him as a person, and ascribes personal acts to him; but if any one should take it into his head to deny that the Father is a real person, and should only allow him a figurative personality, I cannot see how he can be confuted upon Mr. Watts's hypothesis; for as the Son and Spirit are not real but figurative persons, according to him, notwithstanding they are represented under personal characters, I know not how the Father's having personal actions ascribed to him, can prove him to be a real person, any more than the other two."

We have now traced Dr. Watts through his various writings, "sounding on a dim and perilous way," to the close of the year 1746. This was but a short time prior to his death; so that the sentiments which have been recapitulated, were those which his maturity of intellect sanctioned, and which he carried to his grave. It has indeed been asserted, that at the close of life his opinions underwent a change; that his last thoughts were completely Unitarian; and his full conversion has been introduced with no little parade in Socinian works and periodicals. That the writers considered this as an undoubted fact I do not question; that the zeal of party rendered them not over-scrupulous as to its evidence may be assumed: but that rumour, with her hundred tongues, has in this instance calumniated the memory of the great and good, sufficiently appears from the preceding review. The fact is,

that his sentiments remained fixed after first publishing, in 1725, his views of the indwelling scheme; that for the last twenty-three years of his life, they experienced no alteration; and that the preceding pages exhibit to its full amount his departure from the orthodox faith. To pronounce him, therefore, an *Unitarian*, in the sense in which the term is commonly understood, is unwarrantable and unjust. Dr. Lardner, with whom this allegation originated, might regard it as a legitimate inference from his views; but it is not a fair and equitable principle, to determine the sentiments of an individual by what party prejudice is pleased to infer. With equal propriety might every Athanasian be proclaimed a polytheist; and those who approve the modal definition of the word person in the Trinity, be held up as Unitarians likewise. But would not such men as Dr. Wallis, Baxter, Dr. South, the authors of the Oxford decree, which pronounced the system of the latter to be the orthodox doctrine of the church of England, Tillotson, Doddridge, and the late Dr. Williams, who all favoured the idea of a modal personality, have rejected the title with indignation?*

The writings of Dr. Watts upon the trinitarian controversy illustrate his mental activity, his boundless desire after truth, his resolution to grapple with the most tremendous difficulties in its attainment, while his expectation of seeing this "glory of the Lord" with "open face" in the present state, evidences a singular defect of judgment. He seems to have interpreted the Saviour's promise of the Spirit, to "guide into all truth," in the most absolute and unqualified sense, as referring not only to all saving knowledge, but to every topic of theological and philosophical inquiry. But it is obviously only his office here, to make us "wise unto salvation," and to reveal no more of the ways of God than what is necessary for that purpose. Hence, the disclosures of holy writ, full and ample as they are upon all those subjects which involve our personal

* Appendix I.

interests, seldom touch upon mere extraneous themes ; and to teach us that humility and modesty becoming our condition, they condescend not to reconcile the views they exhibit with our conceptions. We are to receive each announcement upon the faith that it is God's testimony, without requiring that divine truth should be brought down to our own alphabet. Thus the nature of the Deity, infinitely transcending the combined comprehension of the human intellect, is made known to us "as it is," one God in trinity and trinity in unity — but the secret is not explained — all is mystery and incomprehensibleness — and every attempt to render the mystery conceivable by the human mind must in the nature of things be abortive. It is the duty of man to discern the limitations put upon his mental capacity, and reverently to keep within his prescribed circle — to ascertain, in this respect, the "bounds of his habitation" — and not to strive vainly to surmount the barrier "fixed by a perpetual decree," within which the tide of legitimate inquiry is to be confined. This is the rock upon which Dr. Watts splits : he endeavours to reconcile what to human wit is irreconcilable — to explain what is inexplicable — to make the existence of the Supreme Intelligence in its mode plain and palpable to a finite intellect — and not to receive the plain doctrine of scripture, that there is in the divine nature a strict unity and a three-fold personality, without ascertaining the why, the how, and the wherefore. In vain he speaks of consulting the oracles of God in the spirit of prayer, humility, and submission, to remove the difficulties which he meets with — to make the crooked straight to man's hoodwinked mind, and the rough places plain to his intellectual vision : this is not their object : they reveal for the exercise of faith — to solve for the gratification of curiosity would be to defeat in part their professed design. An opportunity by searching "to find out God," is scarcely consistent with humility to expect, or the dignity of Divinity to grant. That he entered upon the inquiry with the purest motives, and was

led to it with the most benevolent aim, every one must grant—he devoted himself to his task with a sanctity of feeling and a holy determination of purpose which we respect and admire, however much we may regret the subject upon which his energies were exhausted. It was not a love of subtle disputation, but a pure and disinterested wish to do good, to heal the distractions of the church, by discovering the regions of unclouded truth, that led him to venture beyond his depth, and boldly enter the wide ocean of infinite being.

CHAPTER XVI.

1739—1745.

WATTS IN DECLINING LIFE.

AT TUNBRIDGE:—ILLNESS AND RECOVERY.—THE “WORLD TO COME.”—REMARKS UPON IT.—ESSAY ON “CIVIL POWER.”—ITS SINGULAR SCHEME.—“SELF-LOVE AND VIRTUE.”—“RUIN AND RECOVERY.”—CONTROVERSY ON THE DOCTRINE:—DR. TAYLOR, DR. RIDGLEY, MR. HEBDEN, MR. J. WESLEY, AND PRESIDENT EDWARDS.—EXTENT OF THE ADAMIC CURSE.—SINGULAR OPINION CONCERNING INFANTS.—SPREAD OF ANTINOMIANISM:—CURIOUS NOTICES OF IT—MR. JOSEPH WILLIAMS:—HIS LETTER.—“QUESTIONS FOR STUDENTS.”—DECLINING HEALTH.—“IMPROVEMENT OF THE MIND:”—OPINIONS OF DR. JOHNSON AND ROBERT HALL:—SECOND PART.—MR. NEAL’S LETTER.—“HARMONY OF ALL RELIGIONS.”—DODDRIDGE’S “RISE AND PROGRESS OF RELIGION:”—WATTS RECOMMENDS IT IN HOLLAND.—OPINIONS ON BLAIR’S “GRAVE.”—CORRESPONDENCE.

IN resuming the narrative of Watts’s life, we find little besides the productions of his pen to notice. He kept no diary of the events that chequered his lengthened pilgrimage; he neglected from principle to journalise his thoughts and feelings, aspirations and fears; he wished, as he often remarked, to live in his works, not in the pages of a biographer. The modesty which dictated this procedure is to be admired and regretted; for some memorial from his own pen, of his engagements, connexions, and experience, would not only have tended to private edification, but would have thrown some valuable light upon the history of our churches. At this period the serious apprehensions of those around him were excited by his evidently fast decaying frame. In some of the Countess

of Hertford's letters she seems to have been anticipating the termination of his career; and, indeed, forty years of ceaseless mental labour might have exhausted the energies of a far more robust constitution than he possessed. The greater part of the year 1739 was spent in extreme debility and suffering. His disorder was paralytic. In August he was advised to try the waters and air of Tunbridge, but was wholly incapable of any public exertion. Mr. Barker, writing to Dr. Doddridge, Sept. 14, observes, "I spent the last month at Tunbridge Wells, where I had the pleasure of Dr. Watts's company during some part of the time; but he would not preach, and indeed has not done so since his return, and is not any better for the air or water of that place." His recovery was a subject of public prayer with many of the metropolitan and country churches; and towards the close of the year his health and spirits were in a great degree restored. "I read," says Doddridge, in November, to his friend Dr. Samuel Clark, "Dr. Watts on the future state with a great deal of pleasure, in my last journey from Northampton to Berkshire, in July; and I am glad to hear that the excellent author is on the recovering hand. The hint you gave me in your letter, was the means of my engaging the repeated prayers of our brethren for him in our day of fasting and prayer." The prayers of the dissenting churches were indeed peculiarly due to him who had so largely assisted them in their praises.

The work on the future state here referred to, is the well-known "World to Come," a series of invaluable discourses on the scripture doctrine of reward and punishment. Carefully abstaining from the vanity of human speculation — avoiding the inquiries that marked his "Death and Heaven," which, however innocent, are still not directly authorised by revelation — he attempts to unfold the discoveries which the gospel brings to light, and to place in the most impressive manner before the reader the solemn sanctions they give to the practice of virtue and religion. In this and similar com-

positions, we may trace the spiritual and heavenly temper of the writer, and the daily preparation in which he lived for his own rapidly approaching change. He made himself familiar with the future — with the servant of Elijah he was ever intently looking towards heaven — and his mind expanded in satisfaction and swelled into triumph in the prospect of its imposing realities. But the hope he expresses never savours of presumption, or his confidence of pride. He remembers the exhibitions of nature's infirmity and human sinfulness which the past presents; and as the "unprofitable servant" he casts himself upon the merits of his Saviour for acceptance. Some of the discourses in this work were composed upon occasions of bereavement, and addressed to the Abney family. The sixth, on the vain refuge of sinners, was sketched out on the rocks near Tunbridge Wells in the year 1729. All the topics introduced are of the utmost moment, and are discussed in a manner calculated to alarm the careless, arouse the supine, and cheer the sorrow-stricken believer.

The "World to Come" first appeared in two volumes octavo, but the second was not published until the year 1745: the introductory treatise, on the separate state of souls after death, printed anonymously at an earlier period, was appended to the first volume. The sermon on the "end of time" has been often printed separately as a tract; it has been translated into most European languages; and a large edition in modern Greek, from the Scio college press, is now circulating in the Levant. Of all the prose works of Dr. Watts, none have perhaps been more useful than this; it has led many to serious concern by its impressive and affecting appeals; and the last moments of the timid Christian have been cheered by its delightful exhibitions of "the recompense of the reward." Justly may it be said of the author, that it was good for him that he was afflicted; the heat of the furnace might be keenly felt, but the influence of the fire refined and purified; with Baxter he sought consolation amidst present trouble in medi-

tating upon the Saints' everlasting Rest ; and ever honoured by the church ought both their names to be, who have opened, what under the divine blessing their writings have often proved to be, "a well of water springing up to everlasting life."

Ill, depressed, and suffering from extreme physical debility, as Dr. Watts was at the commencement of the year 1739, we find him entering upon one of the most debatable topics, and publishing in March his "Essay on Civil Power in things sacred." In this cautious production the doctrine of toleration is discussed with great moderation and candour ; and the leading principles of religious liberty are very satisfactorily explained and defended. The writer endeavours to confine civil government to its legitimate domain, viz. civil affairs — to assert the claims which its enactments have in this respect upon the obedience of the subject — to prove magisterial interference in religious matters, to be an unjust and unauthorised usurpation — and to show that Christianity achieved its proudest triumphs when unallied with human power, and free from the beggarly elements of this world, it went forth with nothing but that moral energy with which it was invested by its divine Founder. Its early diffusion was not effected by the aid and interposition of civil authority — it met with its most deadly opposition — the natural prejudices of the Jew, philosophic pride and imperial power, were brought to bear upon it — and yet it made its way, and went forth from conquering to conquer. History is full of instructive lessons of the evils resulting from connecting the church with the throne, and employing the secular arm to enforce the adoption of its creeds and dogmas. Civil government, indeed, in his first section, he recognises as an ordinance of God, necessary to preserve the just liberties and peace of mankind from invasion and injury ; and to pay prompt and implicit obedience to its legislation he upholds as the duty of every individual. But to render unto Cæsar the things that are God's — to place the conscience under the control of human authority — he distinctly disclaims

as one of the inventions of men. The subjection to "higher powers," which the scriptures inculcate — the obedience to magistrates, which the apostles enjoin — is in secular and not in religious matters, for this very obvious reason, that the magistracy was pagan when such precepts were first given. "The province of the magistrate," says Sir Henry Vane, "is the world and man's body, not his conscience or the concerns of eternity." The professed design, however, of Dr. Watts in his essay is, to inquire whether there might not be an established religion consistent with the just liberties of mankind, and practicable under every form of civil government; an object which, as expounded in the treatise, may be regarded as a harmless, but not very feasible speculation. He thinks that officers might be appointed by the state, to explain the laws and the great duties of morality; that such officers labouring for the national weal, should be paid out of the national exchequer; that to secure the attendance of the people upon these teachers of natural religion, a fine might be levied upon absentees; for "I fear," he remarks, "it will hardly be esteemed a sufficient penalty, that persons by neglect will continue ignorant of the laws moral and civil;" and that the magistrate, at the conclusion of such services, might appoint the "celebrations of his own peculiar religion to follow, providing the people have notice of it, and as many as please are permitted to depart without penalty or reproach."

The scheme laboriously drawn out, of which this is an outline, however fair and goodly it might appear to its projector, is liable to several fatal objections — its utter insusceptibility of establishment, and the scanty prospect of an experiment yielding any benefit commensurate with the evils which it would inflict. Plausible in theory it would soon be found mischievous in practice, at variance with the first principles of civil and religious freedom. Besides, all the advantages which could possibly be supposed to flow from such an institute, might be obtained in another and wholly unexceptionable

way — a national system of education, which would embrace elementary knowledge in morals as well as the common branches of learning ; securing the respect of the people by its proffered benefits, and not compelling their adoption by the penalties of the statute book. Strictly speaking, the establishment which Dr. Watts sketches, cannot be styled religious — it is purely civil — connected with no forms of worship or exposition of doctrine, but enouncing those duties, a breach of which is cognizable by the laws of the realm. Notwithstanding the visionary end aimed at in the essay, the reader will find in it many valuable hints ; a firm and unflinching advocacy of the right of private judgment ; and an exhibition of those enlightened views of toleration, which won for the Independents the applause of Hume, and which have adorned the history as they marked the rise of the denomination. Along with this treatise Dr. Colman of Boston acknowledges the reception of another, entitled “ Self-love and Virtue reconciled only by Religion,” which probably, therefore, appeared about the same time. A purely speculative question is discussed in this pamphlet, whether the rules of virtue and our obligations to practise them, are eternal and immutable in themselves, or dependent upon the will and appointment of God. The latter part of this proposition is maintained ; for though reason may discover some of the boundaries between good and evil, yet the divine authority, and the revelation of reward and punishment, are necessary to induce the practice of the one and the avoidance of the other. A mystical divinity has, indeed, preached up the figment, that virtue should be embraced without any regard to these impressive sanctions, simply because of its inherent excellency ; and a deistical philosophy has stigmatised such motives as selfish and mercenary, beneath the dignity of a wise man, who, as the ancient Stoics reported, is happy even in Phalaris’s bull : but experience amply proves, that the abstract propriety of moral duties, their eternal fitness, are con-

siderations which go little way towards recommending them to the observance of a fallen and deteriorated nature.

During the period devoted to this chapter the work on the "Ruin and Recovery of Mankind" made its appearance, and probably in May, 1740. The doctrine of the primitive innocence of man, his fall, and the subsequent depravity of his posterity, is the subject of this volume. On the importance of maintaining the degeneracy of human nature, as a theological and practical question, a strong opinion is expressed, rightly regarding it as one of the essentials of religion, and the foundation upon which the temple of Christian truth is built. The Deistical and Socinian representation of man, as born into the world pure and upright, dimmed by no cloud of sin and shame, is not only an injurious but a fatal error; it may be flattering to his pride, but its reception is ruinous to his interests; for until a belief obtains, that he has gone astray, a fugitive from God, there will be neither solicitude nor exertion to return. Upon this hypothesis, the whole scheme of revelation becomes superfluous, and is reduced to a needless display of means, an exhibition of useless instrumentality; for if our common nature is not corrupt, provision for its purification is not necessary — if it is not "dead in trespasses and in sins," the agent whose office is to quicken and revive is not requisite. But in opposition to this dream of proud philosophy, the testimonies of divine truth, of human experience, of daily observation, and of impartial history, are brought forward, furnishing irresistible evidence, that the seeds of sin are sown with the stamina of our being, and that depraved propensities are coeval with the commencing term of mortal life. The attention of theologians was called to this subject by the dangerous speculations of the latitudinarian divines, in whose writings the doctrine was scouted as a relic of the dark ages, as one of the demon-haunting terrors invented by ancient priestcraft, unworthy of any serious notice from persons of intellect and refinement. Dr. Ridgley, in 1725, pub-

lished "The Doctrine of Original Sin considered, the substance of two sermons at Pinner's Hall;" and in 1731 he recurred to the subject in his valuable *Body of Divinity*, broaching, however, some singular sentiments. Mr. Hebden, of Suffolk, also contributed some able pieces; but the work of Dr. John Taylor, very improperly styled "The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin proposed to free and candid Examination," soon afterwards drew forth the most considerable writers on the orthodox side. Taylor, it is well known, was a convert to the theology of the Racovian Catechism; from his elegant chapel in Norwich* the plain and homely truths of the gospel had been dismissed; and no antiquated and illiberal insinuations against the native dignity of humanity offended the ears of the fashionable audience he addressed. He pronounces the common opinion "one of the greatest absurdities in all the system of corrupt religion;" he animadverts upon several parts of Dr. Watts's treatise in a Supplement; and attributes the gloomy colours in which he portrayed mankind, to his retirement from the world engendering a melancholy and nervous temperament. To measure his strength with such an antagonist, learned and ingenious as he was, was not upon such a question a very arduous task; but inclination and age alike forbade it; and the labours of his friends rendered it the less necessary. In a second edition of the "Ruin and Recovery" he notices most of the objections advanced by Dr. Taylor, repeats and strengthens his own positions, and warns his opponent (in the case of whose pupils it was exemplified) of the danger of running into deism. Dr.

* The splendour of Dr. Taylor's meeting house attracted the notice of Wesley, who has commemorated his visit by a description of it: "Wednesday, Dec. 23, 1757. I was shown Dr. Taylor's new meeting-house, perhaps the most elegant one in Europe. It is eight square, built of the finest brick, with sixteen sash windows below, as many above, and eight sky-lights in the dome, which indeed are purely ornamental. The inside is finished in the highest taste, and is as clean as any nobleman's saloon. The communion table is fine mahogany; the very latches of the pew doors are polished brass. How can it be thought that the old, coarse gospel should find admission here!" *Journals*, vol. iii. 315.

David Jennings replied to the Norwich divine, and Mr. John Wesley also in one of the best and most laboured of his controversial performances; but President Edwards, in 1758, completely demolished his theories in his posthumous work, "The great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin defended."

It was the intention of Dr. Watts in his work, not so much to establish the inherent depravation of our nature to be a truth of scripture, as to grapple with its difficulties; to consider the awful questions which connect themselves with the introduction of moral evil, its permission under a benevolent and holy administration, and its transmission to all the descendants of the primal pair. Upon these topics much important matter is collected, and many apparent contrarieties are reconciled, though the judgments of God must remain unsearchable to human littleness and infirmity. In defining the moral state consequent upon the fall, he cautiously avoids the injudicious language of some divines, who have employed terms which the advocates of original innocence have seized upon, to found a charge of making God the author of sin. It is more consonant with the scripture statements, to represent the depravity of man as a positive evil, resulting from his privation of holy principles—"a depravation," as it has been expressed, "arising from a deprivation"—rather than an effect proceeding from any direct infusion of corrupt dispositions.* In considering the transmission of an evil nature from parents to children, he supposes the soul to be of immediate creation, and not *ex traduce*; and enters into an elaborate inquiry, how, formed as it must be innocent because formed by God, it becomes corrupt. There is less difficulty connected with the theory of traduction, though many have been scared from adopting it by the frightful cry of materialism. But such a consequence cannot fairly be deduced from it; for the notion of the generation of the soul,

* Quest. iii.

does not imply its production out of nothing, but simply, as in the case of the body, a disposal of its substance.* The extent of the Adamic curse is discussed at length, a subject about which theologians have widely differed. Pelagius who has been followed by the modern Socinians, held that Adam was created mortal, and that the only penalty inflicted upon him, was his banishment from the garden of terrestrial delight. The opinion of such Arminians as Whitby is, that man's offence subjected him and his descendants to mortality; and at the same time operated unfavourably upon their moral character, yet not so much so, as to produce a depravation of nature. Most Calvinistic writers agree, that the consequences of the fall include temporal, spiritual, and eternal death; the doctrine of the Augsburg confession, and of most of the reformed churches. Bishop Law maintains, that the curse meant an entire destruction, rather than a perpetual punishment; an annihilation of the soul, and a resolution of the body into its original dust; an opinion which Bishop Bull and Mr. Hallet seem also to have entertained. Dr. Watts proposes his sentiments hypothetically, but appears to favour the idea, that the death threatened extended to the utter extinction of being, and was arrested in consequence of the covenant of mercy that was graciously proposed. But the use of the word "death" in scripture is against this hypothesis; for the passages where it occurs, referring to the soul, plainly imply a state of conscious punitive infliction.† — The case of those who die in infancy is the subject of a long dissertation, which will be regarded as the most defective part of Dr. Watts's volume. He argues, that the divine conduct, with reference to children, in the instances of it upon record, seems to identify them with their parents: thus the family shares in the curse or blessing pronounced upon its head — the children of Adam are doomed to natural death along with him — the

* Quest. vi. 7.

† Quest. ix. 11.

seed of Abraham participate in the patriarch's blessing — the young buds suffer excision from the "good olive tree" with the larger branches : hence, he concludes, that those dying in infancy are not exempt from the original curse, the provision from which the parents do not accept. But he interprets this curse as signifying a deprivation of all existence, to save himself from a harsh conclusion ; and thus supposes, that whilst the infants of believers who die are saved by virtue of the covenant of grace, those of the wicked fall into a state of annihilation. A similar but hardly so intelligible a notion is advanced in the scheme of Dr. Ridgley, who supposes the infants of unbelievers to sink into a state of stupor, and to exist in everlasting insensibility. Both these eminent men have remained almost singular in their opinions, at variance as they are with the sensibilities of our nature, and resulting from very imperfect and mistaken views of what are commonly called the doctrines of Calvinism. It is far more consonant with the statements of the New Testament, the conduct of our Lord, who took little children "in his arms and blessed them," and the infinite value of the atonement, to suppose that they all "enter into life" through "Him that died." The declaration, that "of such is the kingdom of heaven," opens by implication this encouraging view ; words which were spoken respecting those who evidently belonged to strangers to Christ and his disciples ; and which, whether interpreted of the kingdom of grace or glory, intimate that the "free gift" is bestowed upon them "to justification of life." There may be, as some imagine, a difficulty in placing all infants who die upon the same level, in admitting no distinction in favour of the "seed of the righteous," to whom such extensive promises are made ; but even the supposition, that some distinction will be made, or that the offspring of unbelievers enter upon a new state of trial, is more congruous with our notions of the divine wisdom and goodness, than the

theory which consigns them to annihilation.* The views of Dr. Watts, as developed in this work, respecting the provision made for human recovery, it may not be uninteresting to notice. He thinks the doctrine of the particular election of persons to eternal life, supported by "plain, and express, and unanswerable texts;" and necessary to vindicate the divine Being from the charge of proposing at such a vast expense a method of salvation, yet leaving it utterly uncertain whether any saving effect in any single instance is to be produced by it. But he does not confine the extent of the atonement within this limit; he departs from the common Calvinistic scheme of his day upon this point, and seems inclined to halt midway under the standard of Baxter. Form the dignity of the person and character of Christ, from the unlimited calls and offers of the gospel, and from considerations relative to the divine equity, he argues strongly, that God is "the Saviour of all men," though "especially of them that believe"—that a conditional salvation has been thus provided for all—that this is offered to them in the gospel—and that all legal difficulties have been removed out of the way of their pardon as sinners. "I cannot see," he remarks, "any reason why the strictest Calvinist should be angry, that the all-sufficient merit of Christ should overflow so far in its influence, as to provide conditional salvation for all mankind, since the elect of God have that certain and absolute salvation which they contend for secured to them by the same merit; nor indeed can I conceive why the Remonstrant should be uneasy to have pardon and salvation absolutely provided for the elect, since all the rest of mankind, especially such as hear the gospel, have the same conditional salvation which they contend for sincerely proposed to their acceptance."†

Few of the works of Dr. Watts had the good fortune to escape animadversion; wedded servilely to no party creed, he seldom wrote without giving offence either to the sceptical

* Quest. xvi.

† Quest. xiii.

or the reputed orthodox. He refused, at the instigation of the latter class, to plunge into the depths of the supra-lapsarian scheme, which Dr. Gill was now expounding to delighted multitudes; and they frequently turned their artillery against him, because he would not become more Calvinistic than Calvin. Mr. Brine wrote against him in a pamphlet entitled, "The certain Efficacy of the Death of Christ asserted, in answer to a book entitled 'The Ruin and Recovery of Mankind, by Isaac Watts, D.D.'" The author of this critique was a disciple of the high doctrinal school, in early life one of Gill's favourite pupils, and afterwards his intimate friend: in his apprehension, therefore, the divines of Dr. Watts's class were radically unsound; the iraddresses to sinners were so many attempts to break in upon the unity of the divine plan, their dialect was Arminian, their doctrine was rebellion against God's decrees.

The poison of Antinomianism was now spreading in the dissenting congregations; and though the error was chiefly confined to opinion, yet it soon engendered in many instances a fearful laxity of morals. The views which actuated the Presbyterians in going over to Arianism, were too subtle and refined to be embraced or understood by the many; but the Antinomian heresy was a bait exactly suited to the popular appetite, and it was eagerly swallowed by the multitude. In the preface to his second volume of Sermons, as far back as the year 1723, we find Watts admonishing a certain class, who he apprehended would knit their brows, and throw the book aside as a piece of "dull morality;" and he embraced the opportunity of reminding such persons of the intimate connexion which exists between the faith they so loudly magnified, and the works they were apt to despise. During the following twenty years the obnoxious tenet appears to have obtained in several places a firm footing; the peace of the churches was fatally disturbed; and the minister who refused to introduce into his pulpit the cant phraseology of the

party, was anathematised as an Arminian. Dr. Watts, in common with many others, made a stand against the spreading heresy: the necessity of repentance as the duty of the sinner, and the pursuit of holiness as incumbent upon the believer, were prominently preached; and the favourite dogmas of the supra-lapsarians, which they would have fain believed were integral branches of Calvinism, were indignantly disclaimed as parasitical plants. The correspondence of Dr. Doddridge presents us with some curious notices relative to this subject: writing from London he observes, "I had several *orthodox spies* to hear me this morning, and they observed with great amazement, that I urged my hearers to endeavour to get an interest in Christ. This it seems is Arminianism." Dr. Jennings queries in the following manner about his suitableness for Nottingham, to which place he had been invited:—"Whether Dr. Doddridge or an angel was to preach moderate Calvinism, those who are disposed to send to Taunton for a minister would not despise him? This I have observed in London amongst persons of pretty much the same taste (as I imagine) with a party at Nottingham: since even Dr. Watts has openly opposed the modern fashionable scheme, he is spoken of with great contempt, and his genius is said to be quite sunk." The Rev. Hugh Farmer writes of Mr. Coward:—"He begins to think Dr. Watts a Baxterian, and is almost come to an open rupture with him." These notices bring to remembrance the orthodox lady, whose zealous exclamation Dr. Calamy records: "What Mr. Sprint! old Mr. Sprint! Alas, he is a Baxterian! he is a middle-way man! he is an occasional conformist! he is neither fish nor flesh!" Where a fondness for the dangerous doctrine obtained, that the moral law is not obligatory upon the Christian, that the glory of the present dispensation consists in his being unshackled by the precepts of its founder, practical religion gradually disappeared, and was succeeded

by pride, censoriousness, and conduct inimical to the power and purity of the gospel.

Mr. Williams of Kidderminster, trembling for the ark of God, wrote a pamphlet upon the divisions that occurred in the churches, traced the spirit of dissension to its origin, and endeavoured by a pious and pointed remonstrance to arrest the tide of discord, and still the tumult it occasioned. This was placed in the hands of Dr. Watts for revision, and published in 1740, entitled "The Principal Causes of some late divisions in Dissenting Churches traced to their origin, in a Letter from a Dissenter in the Country." From men of corrupt minds, disposed to convert the liberty of the gospel into an act of indemnity for depraved indulgence, it is cheering to turn to contemplate such a character as that of Joseph Williams—a man who eminently "walked with God," benefitting the church by his ardent devotion, and commanding the respect of the world by his stern integrity. Mourning over the fall of some of his brethren, and the declension of others, he hailed with holy joy the introduction of the Methodists into his native town; and justly does Wesley say of him in his journal, "I know not of what denomination he is, nor is it material, for he has the mind which was in Christ." The "Questions proper for Students in Divinity," were drawn up by Dr. Watts about this time, and printed at the request of Dr. Doddridge for the use of his pupils. His connexion with the academy of his friend as one of its earliest promoters, and as a trustee with Mr. Coward's benefaction for the education of ministerial candidates, produced this catalogue of useful and solemn inquiries. They are addressed to the conscience, to discover whether the springs of action are legitimate or improper; whether the motives are evangelical or impure; and whether the desire to enter so responsible an office, originates in a thirst for distinction, a fondness for publicity, a wish to display, or proceeds from a sincere love to Christ and an ardent love for souls. The

questions also take cognizance of the student's improvement in spiritual attainment and theological knowledge, the economical expenditure of time, the outward deportment becoming a station so sacred and so exposed to public view, and the daily growth of the mind in the virtues of the Christian, the acquirements of the scholar, and the diligence becoming a messenger of mercy, "the legate of the skies." Every study in our academies should be furnished with a copy of these interrogatives; they should lie upon the desk of every minister, to be proposed in the hour of silence and solitude, when duty summons the awakened spirit to the tribunal of an invisible judge, and the trial of self with all its feelings, motives, and designs is commenced.

It is observed by Mr. Roffey in a letter to Doddridge, dated June 15, 1740, "Dear Dr. Watts is but indifferent, and I am afraid that his usefulness will be less and less. So burning and shining a light in the sanctuary, though not extinguished, yet grown dim, calls for deep humiliation." But though "in age and feebleness extreme," the production of the following year showed that his mental vigour was unimpaired; and that he who had been so long the light and honour of the dissenting churches, had neither exhausted the resources of his intellect, nor were its gifts diminished in their value. The "Improvement of the Mind" was published in 1741, a work to which the youth of England are under lasting obligations, and which ranks among the most useful in its literature. The germ of this work is in the treatise on Logic, at the close of which he hints the necessity of another volume applying the rules and practically developing the maxims he there advanced. Such a composition he appears to have contemplated for some time; it gradually progressed as health and opportunity allowed; "now and then," he remarks, "it spread itself into branches and leaves like a plant in April, and sometimes it lay by without growth like a vegetable in the winter." He seems, after all his labour, to have regarded this treatise as an

incomplete performance, as falling short of his original design, and he would probably have kept it still longer from the press but for the admonitions of advanced age and increased infirmity. In his own modest and beautiful language he observes, "I shall be sufficiently satisfied with the good-humour and lenity of my readers, if they will please to regard these papers as parcels of imperfect sketches, which were designed by a sudden pencil, and in a thousand leisure moments, to be one day collected into landscapes of some little prospects in the regions of learning and in the world of common life, pointing out the fairest and most fruitful spots, as well as the rocks and wildernesses and faithless morasses of the country." To guide into the paths of wisdom human and divine, was the office which Dr. Watts most loved, and for which he was fully qualified: his labours in this respect have not been unappreciated; he received the thanks of those in his own day whose approbation the virtuous desire, and the extensive use which has been made of his work is at once its best eulogy and his just reward. A book so well known it is unnecessary to analyse, and after the decision of two of the greatest men of their age in its favour, Dr. Johnson and the late Robert Hall, it would be presumption to criticise. The former remarks, "Few books have been perused by me with greater pleasure than his 'Improvement of the Mind,' of which the radical principles may indeed be found in Locke's 'Conduct of the Understanding,' but they are so expanded and ramified by Watts, as to confer upon him the merit of a work in the highest degree useful and pleasing. Whoever has the care of instructing others, may be charged with deficiency in his duty if this book is not recommended." Mr. Hall, with the modesty so characteristic of him, gives his testimony as follows: — "I very highly approve of Dr. Watts's works in general, and particularly that on the 'Improvement of the Mind.' The book needs no recommendation; it may be considered as an English classic, which it would be nearly as absurd for any living

author to recommend, as the papers of Addison or the poetry of Milton. It has already received the most distinguished applause from Johnson in the most popular of all his works. This applause is fresh in the memory of every man of reading. What consummate vanity would it betray in me, to add my recommendation to a work which has received the imprimatur of that great dictator in the republic of letters !”

The second part of the “Improvement of the Mind” is obviously inferior to the first, which may be owing to its being a posthumous publication, only partially corrected and revised by its author. The manuscripts which he designed for the press, but did not live to publish, he committed in his will to the care of Dr. Jennings and Dr. Doddridge, who found among them this supplemental treatise, accompanied with the following notice : — “Though this book, or the second volume of the ‘Improvement of the Mind,’ is not so far finished as I could wish, yet I leave it among the number of books corrected for the press ; for it is very easy for any person of genius and science to finish it, and publish it in a form sufficiently useful to the world.” The editors nominated made but few additions or alterations in the work, which appeared in 1751, the last literary engagement of the lamented Doddridge, executed but three months before he departed to a more southern climate, to return no more to his native shores. In his correspondence there is an interesting letter from Nathaniel Neal, Esq., with reference to it.

In the following year he produced the “Harmony of all Religions which God ever prescribed to men, and all his Dispensations towards them.” This is a judicious and useful treatise, the production plainly of “a man of one book,” one who has attentively studied not only the letter of scripture but its spirit, the connexion of its several parts, and the harmony of the whole. It is designed to show, that God’s dealings with the human family have been substantially the same under every dispensation ; that he has ever regarded them as

fallen creatures ; and proposed the same restorative scheme, though having in different ages a different form of presentation. He shows, that in the earliest times “the shadow” of the “good things to come” was revealed — that the great doctrine of pardon by faith in the atonement was the lesson taught the fathers by the sacrificial knife and patriarchal altar — that the necessity of regenerating grace, self-denial, a sober and mortified life, was preached unto them by Abrahamic circumcision and Jewish washings — and that as Moses, Elias, and Christ met in friendly converse upon the mount of transfiguration, debating the high mysteries of the faith ; so do the great principles of their several economies associate and harmonise, inculcating in emblem, figure, or plain announcement, the same fundamental doctrine, that “no man cometh unto the Father” but by Him who has made “one sacrifice for sins.” He notices at some length the cardinal truth of the gospel, the doctrine of justification by faith, what Luther styled the great evidence of a standing or falling church, “*articulus stantis et cadentis Ecclesiæ*.” The antinomian perversion of this article, one of the leading errors of the time, is carefully discriminated and guarded against : “Let it be always remembered,” says he, “as under all former dispensations, so under the Christian, that this faith can never justify us if it be a dead faith, that is, such a faith as produceth no good works, that is, where there is time and opportunity for them.” It is granted, that our obedience at the best is too defective to become a righteousness sufficient to justify ; “yet reason itself constantly assures us, that God is too wise and holy a being, to pardon and accept or justify any creature who continues in constant and wilful disobedience. This would be a mere prostitution of his grace to the service of sin and the encouragement of farther disobedience. This would be to make God the patron of iniquity and Christ the minister of sin.” By the publication of these sentiments Dr. Watts gave offence to the hyper-calvinists, who replied by

representing his "genius as sunk," and his judgment grown dim by infirmity; but uninfluenced in his purpose by evil report, he unsparingly condemned both from the pulpit and the press a notion dishonourable to the divine character, and subversive of the purity of the gospel.* The ordinary Christian will find much to edify in this theological tract; it exhibits the succession and coherence of the divine dealings; the first faint intimation, the gradual opening, and the full disclosure of the redeeming plan; and the lofty transactions of the final day, when every man shall be judged according to the economy under which he lived.

Early in the year 1742 Dr. Watts was corresponding with the Rev. Robert Blair, D.D. of Athelstaneford, in East Lothian, the author of the highly popular poem entitled the "Grave." An acquaintance had subsisted for some time between them, marked by mutual instances of literary civilities. When Blair was pressed by his friends in Scotland to publish his poem, he wrote to Stoke Newington for an opinion respecting its merits, forwarding the manuscript for perusal. "Yesterday," says he, "Feb. 24, I had a letter from the Doctor, signifying his approbation of the piece in a manner most obliging. A great deal less from him would have done me no small honour. But at the same time he mentions it to me, that he had offered it to two booksellers of his acquaintance,

* Mr. Ivimey relates the following alteration of a verse in one of Watts's psalms which he heard in one of the temples of high Calvinism:

"He raised me from the deeps of sin,
The gates of gaping hell,
And fix'd my standing more secure
Than 'twas before I fell."

This representation not suiting the notions of the learned clerk, he palmed the following savoury morsel upon either David or his versifier:

"And fix'd my standing *most* secure
In Christ before I fell."

The important personage who perpetrated this amendment of the text, most likely did not explain the consistency between his most secure foundation and the subsequent catastrophe!

who, he tells me, care not to run the risk of publishing it. They scarcely thinking, considering how critical an age we live in, that a person living three hundred miles from London, could write so as to be acceptable to the fashionable and polite." The poem, notwithstanding, was placed in the hands of Doddridge, and was soon afterwards published; and public opinion has since amply justified the favourable sentiments expressed by both. It is much to be regretted that Blair's letters to Dr. Watts have not been preserved, as they would have thrown light upon the character of that amiable and interesting man, of whom but little is known.

One of the greatest services rendered to the religious public by Dr. Watts, was suggesting the idea and forming the scheme of that highly popular and useful practical treatise, "The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul." The design of this work was one of his benevolent projects; its plan was drawn out by him; and but for his growing infirmities he would have executed it. But compelled to abandon his purpose, he relinquished the task to Doddridge, who, after some hesitation, yielded to his importunity, and completed the performance in a manner so acceptable and beneficial to the world. The latter observes in a letter to Dr. Clark of St. Alban's, Dec. 15, 1743, "I am hard at work on my book of the 'Rise and Progress of Religion,' which Dr. Watts is impatient to see, and I am eager to finish, lest he should slip away to heaven before it is done." A few days previous he had heard from Mr. Neal the following statement relative to his venerable friend: "Dr. Watts has been brought very low with a cholicky disorder, which seized him last week, but I hear he is now something better again." The deep anxiety which Watts felt for the success of this production, appears from his letters: it had long been one of his favourite theological speculations: the composition of a work detailing the production and growth of spiritual feeling in the heart and its outward manifestations, he looked upon as likely to be of the

greatest practical utility. In one of his letters to Doddridge, Sept. 13, 1744, he remarks, "I long to have your 'Rise and Progress of Religion' appear in the world. I wish my health had been so far established, that I could have read over every line with the attention it merits; but I am not ashamed by what I have read, to recommend it as the best treatise on practical religion which is to be found in our language, and I pray God that it may be extensively beneficial." Again says he, "Since you were pleased to read me some chapters of the 'Rise and Progress,' I am the more zealous for its speedy conclusion and publication, and beg you would not suffer any other matters to divert your attention, since I question whether you can do any thing more necessary." December 14th he writes as follows: "I thank you that your heart is so much set upon the book I recommended you to undertake: I long for it, as I hope it will be a means of great usefulness, and shall be glad to see the first appearances of it; and hope that by that time I shall be able to read a little more." When his wishes were accomplished by one so admirably qualified for the undertaking he had suggested, he wrote to several foreign correspondents, to promote the circulation of the work. His own character had long been known, and his reputation as an author established, among the divines in Holland and the Low Countries; most of his devotional and practical pieces had been translated; and M. Tinon, a bookseller in Amsterdam, applied to him for a voucher, as to the ability and orthodoxy of Doddridge. This of course was transmitted through the Rev. David Longueville, minister of the English church in that city; and with the sanction of his name, not only the *Rise and Progress*, but most of the productions of the same pen, soon afterwards appeared in the Dutch and French languages.

It appears from many of Dr. Watts's letters written about this period, not inserted in this volume, that for several months at a time he was confined to his room by weakness

and suffering. It was only very occasionally that he could engage in any public exercises on the sabbath; his appearance in the pulpit, however grateful to his congregation, was but rarely enjoyed. The following are extracts from his letters in the Doddridge correspondence: "Dec. 24, 1741. Your last supposes that Mr. Neal and I have been at the fund; alas, Sir, we have neither of us been there these many months, and, therefore, I have transmitted to Mr. Jennings that part of your letter which relates to it. I thank God I was in the pulpit last Lord's-day, but for only thirty-two minutes, which almost overset me; so that my capacities of that kind still run exceedingly low: may they be increased through your prayers if God please to hear and answer them." "Feb. 24, 1743. That day on which I sent my last letter to you, I was seized with something of a paralytic disorder, which though it soon went off, has left various nervous disorders behind it, so that I was confined to my chamber till this day." "March 31, 1743. In answer to your very kind and long letter which gave me great pleasure, I am forced to write but a few lines, because my disorder of the want of sleep continues with me, and still confines me to my chamber, and keeps me under great weakness. Alas, Sir, though I should take much pleasure in one half hour's conversation with you on the subjects we should delight to talk of, yet my health is so low, that I can by no means desire it, not being capable of receiving the advantages of it by reason of much weakness." "Dec. 14, 1743. Your letter so full of sincere affection and the warmest expression of love, was received this morning. I thank God I am so far recovered from that severe and dangerous illness, which seized me a fortnight ago, that I can sit in my chamber and dictate this letter. If God raise me up to any usefulness I am cheerfully ready; if not, I cheerfully resign every thing that is mortal at his order."

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“ Sir,

“ Jan. 17, 1739.

“ I am truly sorry you complain of any decay ; but I am sure if you have any it must be bodily, and has no other effect than that which both Mr. Waller* and yourself have so happily described, as ‘letting in light upon the soul.’

“ I never read any thing in my life that pleased me better than your meditations on Revelations 10th, and I hope I shall not only delight in reading the words, but lay the substance of it to my heart, to which end allow me to beg your prayers as an assistance.

“ My dear Lord’s state of suffering (for he is again confined to his bed by the gout), gives me little opportunity and less inclination to lose much time in the gay amusements which are apt to divert other people from the thoughts of their dissolution ; but I am not sure that a life of care and anxiety has not as bad an effect by fixing the mind too attentively on the present gloom, which obscures every cheerful ray which would otherwise enliven one’s spirits.

“ I wish I had any thing to send more worth your reading than the following verses ; but I have so little leisure that I can scarce get time to write letters to the few friends I correspond with. These lines were written one morning in October as I was sitting in a bow-window in my chamber at St. Leonard’s Hill, which looks on a little grove in the garden, and beyond has an extensive view of the forest.

“ How lately was yon russet grove
The seat of harmony and love !

* “ The soul’s dark cottage batter’d and decay’d ;
Lies in new light through chinks that time has made :
Stronger by weakness, wiser men become,
As they draw near to their eternal home :
Leaving the old, both worlds at once they view
That stand upon the threshold of the new.”

WALLER.

Dr. Watts’s Hor. Lyr. “ A Sight of Heaven in Sickness.”

How beauteous all the sylvan scene !
 The flowers how gay, the trees how green !
 But now it no such charms can boast :
 Its music gone, its verdure lost ;
 The changing leaves fall fast away,
 And all its pride is in decay ;
 Where blossoms deckt the pointed thorn
 Now hangs the wintry drop forlorn ;
 No longer from the fragrant bush
 Odours exhale, nor roses blush ;
 Along the late enamel'd mead
 No golden cowslip lifts its head ;
 Scarce can the grass its spires sustain,
 Chill'd by the frost, or drench'd with rain.
 Alas—just thus with life it fares :
 Our youth like smiling spring appears, }
 Allied to joy, unbroke with cares ; }
 But swiftly fly those cheerful hours,
 Like falling leaves, or fading flowers ;
 We quickly hasten to decline,
 And ev'ry sprightly joy resign.
 Then be our heart prepar'd to leave
 Those joys, nor at their absence grieve ;
 Sublimar pleasures let us prove,
 And fix our thoughts on those above ;
 By the bright eye of sacred truth,
 Review the dangers of our youth ;
 Think how by turns wild passions rag'd,
 By calm reflection now assuag'd ;
 And bless the gentle ev'ning hour,
 When reason best exerts its pow'r,
 And drives those tyrants from our breast,
 Whose empire they too long possess :
 Devotion comes with grace divine,
 Around them heavenly glories shine
 While ev'ry gloom their rays dispel,
 And banish the deceits of hell.
 Ambition now no more aspires,
 Contentment mod'rates our desires ;
 From envy free we can behold,
 Another's honours, or his gold ;
 Nor jealousy our rest alarms,
 No longer slaves to mortal charms ;

With Prudence Patience comes along,
 Who smiles beneath oppressive wrong :
 If then such peaceful heav'nly guests
 Age introduces to our breasts,
 Can we his soft approaches fear,
 Or heave a sigh, or drop a tear,
 Because our outward forms decay,
 And time our vigour steals away ?
 Should we regret our short-liv'd bloom,
 Which, could it last us to the tomb,
 Must quickly there to dust consume ?
 If thus life's progress we survey,
 View what it gives, what takes away,
 We shall with thankful hearts declare,
 It leaves us all that's worth our care.

“I am importuned by a very valuable old woman, who is declining apace, to beg your prayers. She took me from my nurse, and if I have any good in me I owe it to her. She was trusted by my mother with the care both of my sister and myself, and has lived with me ever since. But now, though past seventy, she cannot meet death without terror ; and yet I believe I may venture to answer, that she has always lived under the strictest sense of religion ; but lowness of spirit joined to many bodily infirmities, will shed darkness on the most cheerful minds, and hers never was of that cast. I fear she has very few months (if weeks) to come on earth, and a notice that you will grant her request would make her I believe pass them with more comfort.

“I am forced to take another page to assure you of my Lord's compliments, and those of my young people : the two latter are very well. I have no other view in sending the above verses, but to prove that my confidence in your friendship has received no alteration from the length of time which has passed since I had an opportunity of assuring you in person with how true a regard I am, Sir,

“Your most faithful humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“Windsor Forest, May 19, 1739.

“Sir,

“I would sooner have expressed my concern for your illness had I been free from complaint myself. I have been afflicted for some weeks with a pain in my jaws and face, which is yet very little better, and really disheartens me from doing any thing. My Lord and Betty are in town, as is my son’s governor on account of a violent rheumatism, so that he, and I, and a young gentleman three or four years older than himself, live here in perfect solitude. Our amusement within doors is at present Rapin’s History of England in English, which they abridge as they go along; I work or draw while they read aloud, and we do not seem tired of our way of life.

“Your good prayers for poor Rothery have met with unexpected success. She is so much recovered that I begin to think she will get entirely well, and if she does I think nothing of that kind has since I can remember looked more like a miraculous operation of the healing power of the Almighty.

“I hope the same divine mercy will long preserve you a blessing to the age, and that you will find your strength return with the warm weather.

“My son assures you of his kindest wishes and services, and I am sure the other branches of my family would do the same if they were here.

“I hoped every week (of late) for the publication of the sermons you were so good as to say you intended me. I find Mr. Grove’s are going to be published by subscription. I have sent to town to desire that my name may be added to the list.

“I have just had the oddest pamphlet sent me which I ever

saw in my life, called ‘Amusemens Philosophiques sur le Language des Betes.’ It was burnt by the hands of the common executioner at Paris, and the priest who wrote it banished till he made a formal retraction of it; and yet I think it very plain by the style, that the man was either in jest or crazed. It is by no means wanting of wit, but extremely far from a system of probability. I will now only recommend myself to your prayers, and subscribe myself, Sir,

“Your most obliged and faithful Servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE SAME.

“Marlborough, June 7, 1739.

“Sir,

“You will have great reason to think me very ungrateful for your kind present to my son, and very indifferent in regard to your health, till I have told you what has so long hindered my returning you thanks for the one, and assuring you of my concern for the other. I have been since I received yours afflicted with a pain in my head, which was almost ready to deprive me of my eye-sight. It lasted four or five days, and as soon as it was over, we prepared to remove hither, where we have only been three days. These have been the impediments which have kept me silent at a time when I had the strongest inclination to inquire after you, and assure you of my sincerest wishes and prayers for your perfect recovery.

“I have the pleasure of finding my garden extremely improved in the two years I have been absent from it. Some little alterations I had ordered are completed. The trees which I left small ones, are grown to form an agreeable shade, and I have reason to bless God for the pleasantness of

the place which is allotted me to pass many of my retired hours in. May I make use of them to fit me for my last, and that I may do so allow me to beg the continuation of your prayers.

“My poor old woman has got hither contrary to her own and all our expectations. She has the deepest gratitude for your goodness to her, and begs you will accept her thanks. She is still very weak, and I fancy will hardly get over the autumn. My Lord and Betty desire to assure you of their compliments. I am, Sir, with the truest esteem,

“Your most faithful humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE SAME.

“June 10, 1739.

“Sir,

“Though I troubled you with a letter so lately, I cannot dispense with my impatience to thank you for the valuable present you have made me of one of the best books I ever saw.* I received it only on Friday night, but, as the goodness of Providence has allowed me many hours of leisure and retirement, I have had time enough to read so much of it as gives me the highest veneration for its author. I hope God will grant me grace not only to read it, but to endeavour after the piety it dictates, which is delivered in such a manner as both to convince the reason, and touch the heart. I have forgot whether in any of my later letters I ever named to you a little book newly translated from the Italian by the same Mrs. Carter who has a copy of verses printed in the beginning of Mrs. Rowe’s Works occasioned by her death. The

* “Discourses on the World to Come.”

book she has now translated is Sir Isaac Newton's *Doctrine of Light and Colours* made easy for the Ladies. My daughter and I have both read it with great pleasure, and flatter ourselves that we at least understand some parts of it. She joins with her father and brother in their assurances of esteem and good wishes toward you, and I hope you are convinced that on both those subjects you may equally depend upon the sincerity of, Sir,

“Your most obliged

“and faithfully affectionate servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE SAME.

“Marlborough, July 30, 1739.

“Sir,

“I would much sooner have written to you to thank you for the favour of your last letter had I enjoyed more leisure; but I have had a friend with me this last month who has engrossed a good many of those hours which I used to employ in writing to my correspondents. She is a very pious and religious, as well as agreeable woman, and has seen enough of the world in her younger years to teach her to value its enjoyments, and fear its vexations no more than they deserve, by which happy knowledge she has brought her mind and spirits to the most perfect state of calmness I ever saw, and her conversation seems to impart the blessing to all who partake of her discourse. By this you will judge that I have passed my time very much to my satisfaction while she was with me; and, though I have not written to you, you have shared my time with her, for almost all the hours I passed alone I have employed in reading your works,

which for ever represent to my imagination the idea of a ladder or flight of steps, since every volume seems to rise a step nearer the language of heaven, and there is a visible progression toward that better country through every page ; so that though all breathe piety and just reason, the last seems to crown the whole, till you shall again publish something to enlighten a dark and obstinate age, for I must believe that the manner in which you treat divine subjects is more likely to reform and work upon the affections of your readers than that of any other writer now living. I hope God will in mercy to many thousands, myself in particular, prolong your life many years. I own this does not seem a kind wish to you ; but I think you will be content to bear the infirmities of flesh some years longer, to be an instrument in the hands of God toward the salvation of your weak and distressed brethren. The joys of heaven cannot fade, but will be as glorious millions of ages to come as they are now ; and what a moment will the longest life appear when it comes to be compared with eternity ? My Lord desires to assure you of his regards and best wishes. I am, Sir, with the truest veneration,

“ Your most faithful humble servant,

“ F. HERTFORD.”

TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

“ Tunbridge Wells, Aug. 15, 1735.

“ My Lord,

“ The very kind and condescending reception you were pleased to give to the last book which I published, demands my first acknowledgment ; and it persuades me that your Lordship much approves of our plain and warm manner of preaching, and our endeavours to make the great doctrines

of the gospel to reach the hearts and consciences of those that hear us.

“And I am called again to be thankful to your Lordship for the honour you did me in ordering your late Pastoral Letter into my hands. Your Lordship has so seasonably and so happily cautioned your flock against that lukewarmness, which in times of peace is ready to overspread all the professors of Christianity, as, I hope, under the concurring influences of divine grace, will have a blessed effect upon the people under your care. I hope, also, the clergy under your inspection will not think themselves neglected in your Lordship’s discourse, and will not only apply themselves with all holy zeal and fervency to warn their hearers of this danger, but set themselves to root it out from the tribe of Levi as well as the rest of the tribes of our Israel, and that every one among the priesthood may be burning and shining lights, and powerful examples among the people.

“Your Lordship’s distinction of the extraordinary and the ordinary influences of the Holy Spirit is so very necessary, that I think the New Testament cannot be understood without it; and I wish Mr. Whitfield would not have risen above any pretences to the ordinary influences, unless he could have given some better evidences of it. He has acknowledged to me in conversation, that it is such an impression upon his own mind that he knows to be divine, though he cannot give me any convincing proof of it. I said many things to warn him of the danger of delusion, and to guard him against the irregularities and imprudences which youth and zeal might lead him into, and told him plainly, that though I believed him very sincere and desirous to do good to souls, yet I was not convinced of any extraordinary call he had to some parts of his conduct; and he seemed to take this free discourse in a very candid and modest manner.

“I own with your Lordship, that so large and general a charge as he lays upon the clergy of the established church,

it is impossible for him to know certainly whether it is true or not; and, therefore, these censures are by no means justifiable. But if your Lordship will permit me to say, that your Lordship's excellent citation of some pages of your Charge to those of your diocese is no sufficient refutation of the censure. That very Charge was put into my hands at least twelve years ago in Essex, and it was the first thing that wrought in my heart a reverence and veneration for your Lordship. I think no man could give better advice; and I persuade myself, all the best of the dissenters, and I think far the greatest part of them, must have approved it with honour. But I cannot but suppose your Lordship is so well acquainted with the lower clergy of England, as to know that not a great many of them preach according to those admirable directions. If they did I easily imagine there would be no dissenters in many parishes in England where now they abound. It is not the differences of ordination and ceremony, no, nor the imposition of them without warrant, that are so well understood as to create a large separation on those accounts merely. But it is the want of such preaching as your Lordship recommends, that makes many persons of serious religion uneasy, that they find not such edification for their souls under the parochial clergy in many towns and villages. Nor do I think your Lordship and the rest of your brethren the bishops, can do any thing so effectual to lessen the separation, and to make all the Whitfields less regarded and less dangerous to the church, as to induce the ministers under your care to preach and converse among their people with that evangelical spirit, that zeal for the honour of God and success of the gospel, and with that compassion for the souls of men, that your Lordship so much approves and advises in your pious and excellent Charge.

“Forgive me, my Lord, I entreat you to forgive me, if my zeal for such preaching as your Lordship prescribes, has carried me out so far as to forget myself and the person to whom

I write, as to say any thing unbecoming the lower station of, my Lord,

“Your Lordship’s most obliged,

“and faithful humble servant,

“ISAAC WATTS.”

FROM THE REV. BENJAMIN COLMAN, D.D.

“Boston, Aug. 20, 1739.

“Rev. and dear Sir,

“I have your new and great favour of June 6th, with your packets for Harvard and Yale colleges, which I have forwarded. My last to you was a packet by Capt. Marrier, which he promised to see delivered at your friend’s house near the Exchange; in it was half an ounce of gold, in rings, to pay for your kind advance of Mrs. Rowe’s first volume and her pictures to me, with which you greatly obliged me. Please to reserve enough of the said money to pay for the whole subscription to Dr. Doddridge’s volumes, if you have not done it before; and as I have left it to you to buy me what pleases you best, with what is left of my money, so I readily suppose you will send me the ‘Discourses of Preaching Christ,’ which the prints tell me you ‘desire always to have at your right hand.’* ”

“Mr. President Williams has been followed this year with a dreadful headache, which has greatly endangered the loss of his sight, but through the favour of God he is much restored, yet often thinks he must leave New Haven, and live farther from the sea air, to which he imputes the pains of his head, finding them return with the bleak sea winds. He is a most valuable man, and his sickness or retirement would be a great loss to us.

* From Dr. Watts’s Preface.

“Our dear Mr. Mather* has also suffered much this year and last by sickness; with great constancy he went through much incision on his face, and is now recovering from a slow burning fever, very distressing. I preached for him last week, and found the ‘World to Come’ on his table, but his eyes not able then to look into it.

“How much do I rejoice, my dear brother, in your recovery, so far as to write again at large to your friends, and to send us new fruits of your labour. We are a great expense to you from year to year, and I am ready to blush at the great charge you are put to by your correspondence here with so many of us; but you gladly spend, and are spent, for the benefit of many, at home and abroad. The Lord render you a full reward in the comfort of your soul, for its travail for us in the way to your crown.

“How pleasant is it to see you finishing your course with the present subject, ‘The World to Come!’ ‘The End of Time!’ ‘The Watchful Christian!’ &c. and how pleasant also is it to receive your promise, by the will of God, of more on the same head: a harvest to you, I trust, living and dying. You do well to wear and work out, and to come to your grave as a shock of corn in its season. And I thank God, who strengthens your hands, and encourages your heart, by the very great acceptance he gives to your works, which I read with pleasure, in the account of the *multiplied editions* of them. This last year, at my motion, two of our booksellers reprinted your Songs for Children, an edition of two or three thousand, I think; and your Hymns are just now out of the press, and your Treatise of Prayer in it. I know not whether you reckon our editions here any thing, but we do.

“There is a motion lately come to us at Boston, from the presbytery from Pennsylvania and New York, for a new college to be built in those parts, the churches there multiplying, and

* Dr. Cotton Mather, of the Old North Church.

the people finding it so far from home to send their children to Yale, which is next to them : but the rumours of war will be like to retard this great affair ; for as we here have promised them our assistance, so they propose to send over one of their number to London or Edinburgh.

“ The ‘ Essay on Civil Power in Things Sacred ’ I take to be your own, by the preface and two first sections. I think what is said, sect. 3, to be absolutely necessary to the being of a Christian state, and that the laws of a land should enjoin strictly and peremptorily the worship and swearing by the one only Lord God ; and that they that deny him, and would swear by any idol god, should not be acknowledged as subjects of the state. I cannot think there may be heathens, serving several gods, and yet useful members of a state ; they must be dreadful snares and pests to the places where they dwell, and fatal to them, as God warned his Israel of old. I fear also the appointment and support of preachers of natural religion, and the laws of the land, with a command to people to attend them, and on the Lord’s day in particular, would soon turn out the requisite sanctification of it in private and public : if one day rather, the first of each term, from county to county, were the times assigned for people’s information, methinks it would better serve the end proposed ; yet not so fully I acknowledge : neither is this information so necessary as preaching the word of life to their souls. The honour of the Lord’s day, and means of grace, forbid the intrusion of other authorised, civil, and moral public teachers. Our government have lately recommended to ministers, to read a very pious proclamation for the better observation of the Lord’s day, which I gladly did ; but some of our churches here would not come into it : the brethren in one of them spoke openly against it, and prevented it, with the liking, I fear, of the pastor, when he, however, proposed it. There would presently be an end of religion, if the sacredness of the sabbath be not kept up and maintained.

“Sect. 6, &c. seem to leave things too loose, and give room to unsettle what God has settled. The rights of government itself, and so the liberties of the people, must be judged of by the word of God, and submitted to it. There is no light in us but by this law; we do well to take heed to it as a light that shines in a dark place; the rights of conscience are best judged of by it; the magistrate is to govern, and the subject to obey by scripture light, which is for conscience’ sake toward God. We are as much the people of God by our profession of the gospel, rulers and ruled, as the Jews were. We are a holy nation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people, believers are so truly, the professor declares it of himself. The Romish apostacy is only a defection from, and rebellion against this royal and perfect law of liberty, ‘the glorious liberty of the sons of God,’ bound up by the divine will, just as all heaven and angels are.

“I thank you, Sir, for the other essay, ‘Self-love and Virtue reconciled only by Religion,’ which the catalogue gives leave to ascribe to you. The argument in the whole of it appears to me strong and right, and of great importance.

“I return to your ‘End of Time,’ &c. I think you never wrote, nor did I ever read discourses more adapted to young and old, high and low. In such a flame one would wish to expire: I am ready to say on it, ‘It is finished!’ Yet may you live to add more.’

“Our ships of war are fitting out for the Spanish coast. War will break our correspondence by the caption of letters and packets: it may be my last to you may not have arrived, with the gold in it; I pray you to advise me, that I may not lie in debt.

“My weak heart misgives me when I think of our own divisions, and the united powers of Spain and France. If our God and Saviour were not so dreadfully neglected and defied, more were with us than with them. I fear a swarm of privateers upon our merchandise, and the transport of popery across

the Channel, or round about, in the person of —— :* but God has not forsaken us in times past, though we always him.

“ I sent you the vote of our court in form of a brief. We have had our collections in part, and find we shall have monies. Our congregation contributed eighty pounds. Connecticut gave some hundreds. A great many five and six pounds will make a sum. We are proposing the surplus for the foundation of a fund, for the support of the gospel in poor places in all times to come. Please to inform Mr. Holden, that I hope we shall not *again lie in debt to him*.

“ I entreat you, Sir, to inform me by the first opportunity, of the foundation of your London fund, and how it is supported and endowed, by whom, and to whom, and what account is rendered of it to the contributors. We would form ourselves by you. I depend on Drs. Harris, Guyse, and you, to give me the information and direction that may be necessary. I have promised our churches to ask it of you.

“ We were obliged to drop our motion by an adjournment, *sine die*, about using a new version of the psalms, finding our peace endangered. Mr. Cooper has not effected this version in above twenty psalms, I think.

“ The heat of summer has revived me ; the cool of autumn I now feel, Sept. 22. I missed one ship after I had wrote the other pages, which has brought me to this date.

“ Mercy and peace be with you. Salute my dear friends. Their and your prayers I ask. We have a long coast on the sea ; abundance of great and small craft with merchandise and provisions, and a vast border of new feeble towns along our inland woods ; a natural fortification for the Indians, east and west, all Frenchified and Popish : may the Lord God of our fathers be a wall of fire round about us.

“ We can never fortify ourselves without breaking in upon the king's instructions and prohibition to our government

* The Pretender.

about emission of bills ; we must fortify immediately, or we betray the king's province into the hands of his enemies. I have dared, for once, to say to the governor, ' As God dispensed with his first and perpetual law, in cases of necessity and mercy, verily our good king will, with his instructions and order, on so apparent, instant, and urgent a necessity.' The government has, from year to year, told the court of our wretched condition ; but neither would they petition the king to remit, as to his instruction, for a limited sum of thirty thousand pounds per annum, nor could the government dare to raise more than just to defray the annual charges of the government ; nor could he alone bear the charge of obtaining the king's leave, not a letter being able to get to Whitehall without too many guineas for a private purse. But I must break off, and subscribe, dear Sir,

“ Your brother and servant,

“ BENJ. COLMAN.”

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

“ Fulham, Aug. 21, 1739.

“ Good Sir,

“ I received the favour of your letter, and am glad to find that you think the cautions which I have given against lukewarmness may, by the blessing of God, be of some service to religion. There is, without doubt, great need to awaken people out of that unhappy state ; and the labouring to do it is what may truly be called the chief part of the ministerial office. But though we may hope that there are few who wholly neglect the work, we must never expect that it will be done by all with equal zeal and life. When you speak of the way of preaching among the dissenters, you will not expect it from me to believe, that all the preachers do it

with the same force and energy that Dr. Watts has done, and still does, and I pray God he may long continue to do.

“After I had given directions to my clergy, and put them into the hands of every particular incumbent, I think I could say no less, than that I hoped they were not unmindful of them, unless I knew the contrary.

“It is a great misfortune to the church of England, that in market towns, where there is the greatest need of able ministers, there is usually the meanest provisions for them; which gives great advantage to the preachers of other denominations, and may, in some places, be the occasion of particular people choosing to resort to them, rather than to the church. This may sometimes happen either through the want of vigour and earnestness in the delivery, or through an unhappiness of voice, and sometimes by not preaching so frequently upon points purely Christian as the person could wish; cases to be much lamented when they do happen, but not to be prevented or wholly remedied by the utmost care and endeavour that a bishop can use, unless he had the appointment of them.

“It had been happy for Mr. Whitfield, if he had taken the wise advice and cautions you gave him. But, from the time that men imagine themselves to be singled out by God for extraordinary purposes, and in consequence of that to be guided by extraordinary impulses and operations, all human advice is lost upon them. However, as God knows how to bring good out of evil, I will hope that these extravagances of theirs may be the occasion of some good in the event, if they do not get too much head. I am, with great affection and esteem,

“Sir, your very faithful servant,

“EDM. LONDON.”

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“Marlborough, Sept. 10, 1739.

“Sir,

“I am extremely glad to find that you have still a reserve of writings which the world may at some time or other hope to see; for without the least flattery (a vice I would always avoid, and more particularly on so important an occasion), it is my opinion that God has in a very extraordinary manner blessed your endeavours to the advancement of piety. I cannot help mentioning one instance of it to you, which has fallen within my own knowledge, of a person who, after having drunk extremely hard, and made a very ill husband for upwards of twenty years, has within this year and a half entirely changed his course of life, and is now as sober a man, and as good a husband, as is possible, and he himself says, that his reformation has been entirely owing to reading your three volumes of Sermons, which were printed some years since.

“I must beg you to direct your next letter to me at St. Leonard’s Hill; for we remove thither (if it please God) the day after to-morrow for about two months. My Lord and my son assure you of their sincere regards, as I am sure Betty would do were she with me, but she is still in Yorkshire. I will not add any more at present than to desire the continuance of your prayers, and assure you that I am with a real veneration and friendship, Sir,

“Your most affectionate

“and faithful humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

“Downing Street, Westminster, Oct. 16, 1739.

“Reverend Sir,

“I have received your favour of the 10th of this month, and have great pleasure in observing, that my small benevolence to Mr. Leland* will be doubled to the good man by your leave to find its way to him through the hands of so valuable a friend.

“On that account also it is, that I take the liberty to ask the further favour of knowing from you, if the good man’s papers have escaped the flames, and that we may yet hope to see the reply which we have heard he was preparing to a second volume not long since published by the shameless enemy of the person and doctrine of our blessed Saviour.

“May the good God of heaven and earth support and assist us all in our just endeavours to repel with vigour the virulent and impious assaults on the whole fabric of our common faith; and to detect with temper the fallacious and unmanly arts employed by the modern adversaries of our holy religion with a degree of boldness and inveteracy not to be equalled by those of any age that I have read of since the days of Julian the Apostate.

“Give me leave to return to you in kind all your good wishes to me, together with the true esteem and sincere respect of,

“Reverend Sir, your faithful

“and obliged humble servant,

“LAU. EBOR.”

* The Rev. John Leland, D. D. a dissenting minister at Dublin, and the eminent author of the “View of Deistical Writers,” and the “Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation.”

FROM THE HON. J. BELCHER.

"Boston, Oct. 20, 1739.

"Rev. Sir,

"In August last came to hand your kind letter of the 6th of June, which grieved me with the account you gave me of a paralytic disorder which had lately visited you. Our times are in God's hands. The sands run low in your glass and mine. Oh! that I could realise it as I ought, then I should stand with my loins girt and my light burning, and ready to depart at whatever hour the Lord shall come. I offer up my sincere praises to the God of all grace and mercy, who still saves and has so much restored you. May your life and health be precious in his sight, and your usefulness in your Master's service be extended even to old age!

"Not long after I wrote you of the affairs of my government, the clouds returned after the rain, and things are not so placid and easy as I could wish. I desire to be patient and submissive to the dispensations of God's wise and holy providence. It is easy with him to say, 'And at evening time it shall be light.' I thank you for the present of your last book, which Dr. Sewal borrowed before I could get through it: the others were delivered as you desired. Please to make my best regards acceptable to the worthy Lady Abney, and believe me, Sir, with entire esteem,

"Your friend and most obedient servant,

"J. BELCHER."

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

“ London, Nov. 28th, 1739.

“ Sir,

“ I am very much ashamed when I consider how long I have been indebted to you for the favour of a letter; but since that time I have had my heart full of care and my hands full of business. When I received yours my Lord was laid up with a severe fit of the gout, which did not permit me to leave Windsor forest (whither we are to return no more) till the thirteenth of this month. When I first came to town I had the disagreeable news of my daughter's being ill in Yorkshire; but, I thank God, she is now well again, and I expect her in town next week. Besides all this, I have been busy in getting some things ready to go down into Buckinghamshire, to a house which my Lord has bought there of my Lord Bathurst, and where we are to go to-morrow morning to pass there three or four days. It is the place which Mr. Pope, in one of his letters to Mr. Digby, calls my Lord B.'s *extraragant bergerie*. The little paddock in which it stands perfectly answers that title. The house is old, but very convenient, and large enough; and what makes it very agreeable to me, though within ten miles, it looks as if it were an hundred from London. ‘The Life of God in the Soul of Man’ is a book which I have had and admired above these twelve years. Nothing can breathe a truer spirit of piety. My Lord and son desire to assure you of their services and best wishes, and I am, with a very sincere regard, Sir,

“ Your most faithful

“and obliged humble servant,

“ F. HERTFORD.”

FROM THE REV. BENJAMIN COLMAN, D. D.

“Boston, January 16, 1740.

“Rev. and dear Sir,

“A week is past since your letter and packet of Sept. 17, and another of Oct. 12, arrived together by Captain Forbes. I thank you for the books bought, and the account given of them. I find it exact and judicious. I could not bear to read Thomson through now I have him : I thank you for not buying the second volume : he studies obscurity, and labours in intricacy, while Somerville’s chain is smooth as an eagle’s soaring. All of Young’s pleases, edifies, and surprises. Mr. Law on Perfection is not equal, I think, to his Serious Call, which I had seen before. I present you now with our Boston edition of your Hymns, and Guide to Prayer, done well for us. My ‘Withered Hand,’ that little sermon is like to be of some use here, and is in the press again, together with a little book of four sermons on the ‘Incomprehensibleness of God.’

“Mr. Whitfield arrived some months past at Philadelphia, where, and through the Jerseys and at New York, he preached daily to incredible multitudes with great eloquence and zeal, as a good judge there writes me.

“He has pleased to send me a letter, and ask a correspondence with me. He was shown at New York a letter of mine, which named him with respect, but wherein I happened to say, ‘he is but a young divine :’ his sermon of Justification led me to say so. ‘You said right, Sir,’ says he to me ; ‘I am but a novice in the things of God ; I can only say I desire to know the whole will of God, that I may communicate it to others. Christ is so good a Master that I would have all men drawn after him. He is pleased to let me experience daily the teachings of his blessed Spirit, and to show me the riches,

freeness, and eternal duration of his love. Pray that I may be able to see all things clearly.'

"America is like to do him much honour, as you will see by the prints from New York and Philadelphia here inclosed. And it is a most happy prospect to me, in favour of many a poor soul through the colonies of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, that he is gone preaching the gospel through them and praying, in his way to Georgia. He proposes to see Boston in his return to Europe about June next, by God's will; and our town and country stand ready to receive him as an angel of God. Indeed, ministers and people, all but his own church, speak of him with great esteem and love: he seems spirited from on high in an extraordinary manner, assisted and prospered.

"Mr. Holden sent me over his Journals and Answer to the Bishop of London. I read there of his calling in to see you as he passed through Newington; but neither you nor Dr. Guyse have said a word to me of him, nor do I find how the dissenting ministers stand affected to him; it may be prudent in them to be silent: but, in what of mercy or judgment, God may mean this rise of the Methodists to the glory of the church, or the nation in general, time must show. I shall be glad of your thoughts of this matter.

"As to the account I sent you of the story from Mrs. Rowe's own mouth, I leave it to Mr. Rowe to make what use of it he pleases, and am far, I assure you, from affecting to have it inserted at large in my words, or as from me. The more I consider her beauteous life and works, the more I admire the grace of God which preserved, animated, and honoured her so. But it is a pleasure to me that you have named me to the Honourable Lady Hertford on the occasion, whom I love in the truth for her love to Mrs. Rowe, and her most endearing returns of high affection. Such beauteous souls are formed and shown for the love and esteem of all the ends of the earth. Mrs. Rowe's hiding that secret from Lady Hert-

ford, seems almost a prohibition from her of telling it to the world; or, if the world now hears of it, the silence of her after-years about it may give it a double force and edge upon the ingenious and pious part of mankind.

“Mr. Sargeant goes on with great pleasure in his work; and Providence has sent up a worthy gentleman with his family to him, whose discreet and very amiable daughter he has married.

“I am sorry to hear of your continued low state of health, and that you think it proceeds from a shock of the paralytic kind; but the Lord, whose you are, when on earth healed the sick even of the palsy! may he receive, support, refresh the soul, and prolong the life and service of my beloved friend. Let not my correspondence with you be a burthen and oppression. I hope God will yet give you health to add to your last songs on death “the world to come.”

“I have had some revival the summer past, and the winter has not hitherto broken it; indeed, it has begun in a manner but this week, and earth and sky are alike dazzling bright, a serenity which you (our revered mother isle) are altogether a stranger to; it braces up also our nerves, and makes the old, whom it does not kill, think themselves hale again for a season.

“I have wrote to the ministers of Connecticut of the packet for them, which you have committed to Mr. Cox’s care, that they may write to his indolent shopkeeper here, whom I call so as I find him, on his going off to London, and now on his return; for by him I sent for some books, and at the end of two months after his arrival here heard nothing of his bringing any, though his money lay ready; and now two months more are gone, and not a word from him, so I suppose he bought none, or has sold them to another. I have sent my friends the rules of the Salisbury library.

“I thank you, Sir, for your free and kind advice to Mr. Hillhouse, by his messenger Mr. Mason, and have informed

the gentlemen of Connecticut of it, to whom (with us) it is very agreeable.

“And as to your question, why we give rings at funerals, and have plate in our houses, when we have no silver and gold currency among us as a medium of trade. I must first own, that Boston has always been too expensive in funerals, and also in vessels of plate in the house. A-la-mode and lutestring scarfs were our mourning twenty years ago, we reformed to rings which were about half the expense.* Our people expect a great deal of labour from their ministers when their families are sick, and have it; and the richer in return give us a ring. The gold the mean while is only matter of trade and merchandise in the goldsmith’s shop among us, like other goods; and as to the silver, it is bought up by the merchants to make returns to you, to pay debts or buy more goods from you; and if one or two hundred thousand pounds in silver or gold were brought in among us to-morrow, we owe it to you, and ought to remit it presently, or to make gain of it, or purchase what we need from you, we send it to you. It is true, Sir, as you say, a public self-denial in these instances would soon mend the matter with us, that is, in half a century it would do it, for so long the want of it has been bringing us into these circumstances, and as long there have not been wanting public and private warnings of the wrong and injurious step. But, beside the private spirit of traffic, wherein every one is apt to look to himself first, we have abundance of strangers from you and other places, who look only to themselves and employers, and what will make the easiest and best returns; and buy up the silver and gold,

* President Edwards, in a note to Brainerd’s Journal, observes, “when Mr. Brainerd was at Boston, sick, nigh unto death, it was with reluctance he thought of dying in a place where funerals are often attended with *pomp and show*, which (especially on occasion of his own) he was very averse to any appearance of. However it pleased God to order the event so as to gratify his desire, which he has expressed, of getting back to Northampton, with a view particularly to a more silent and private burial. *Works*, vol. iii. 307.

and wanting often to return presently themselves, will give sixpence in an ounce more for one, and so in proportion for the other; and our merchants are hereby forced to do the same, or give up the staple metal into their hands. How to extricate ourselves is difficult, and to preach self-denial to the merchant is, alas! too much in vain.

“ War is proclaimed, and our Americans are much spirited for it; but our poor province is left defenceless and naked by sea and land, the instruction from the king to our governor tying up his hands, and our representatives tying up, therefore, theirs. If France goes into the war, down will come the Indians, we may fear, on our wide-extended borders: there is not a fort in any good repair or furniture, nor a soldier or officer to be paid; and the same on our coasts. God can protect us, but surely he expects we use the means of common prudence; but we have not self-denial enough to stoop one to another in an exigence, or to the king for self-preservation. We need the more of the pity and prayers of our friends; but how can we pray in faith, save in the pity that is infinite to pardon, and heal us, and save us? When nearest at the throne of grace, bear us on your heart, and him in particular who is, under the strictest bands of friendship and gratitude,

“ Sir, your affectionate brother and servant,

“ BENJ. COLMAN.

“ P. S. If we hear not from one another as we expect, we must look that vessels and letters will sometimes fall into the hands of enemies.”

FROM THE REV. P. DODDRIDGE, D.D.

“ Maidwell, April 23, 1740.

“ Rev. and dear Sir,

“ Mr. Gill* returns to you and the other gentlemen concerned with you in Mr. Coward's trust, his humble services and thanks for the permission you have given him to settle for awhile with Mr. Flower,† who, if our information be right, is a very serious and hopeful young gentleman, who sincerely aims at the support of religion in his heart and family by the proposal he has made to our young friend. I have acquainted our friends at Buckingham with the result, and renewed the assurance of my sincere desire to serve them on any future occasion, though I confess I am much at a loss for the means to do it at present.

“ I shall recommend Mr. French‡ to Messrs. Jennings and Bradbury, and hope their interest concurring with yours at the board, will procure him an exhibition. His exemplary piety is what I chiefly regard. Unsanctified genius and learning have almost undone us. I bless God many serious young men are now intending for the ministry; and I am, at my own charges, bringing up some at school with a view to it. I hope to be able to recommend some to the fund and to Mr. Coward's list, in whose characters you will have great satisfaction; and I shall beg leave to lodge in your hand, about Michaelmas next, a memorial of several such; for though I know they are more than you can immediately admit, it may be useful in directing you hereafter. I know, Sir, you will pardon my freedom in doing it. I claim nothing at all but only to be credited in the account I give, in which I

* Mr. Jeremiah Gill's name occurs in the list of Dr. Doddridge's students, under the year 1737.

† Mr. Freeman Flower, of Gainsborough.

‡ Mr. John French is mentioned in the academical list for 1740.

will be careful, and I hope you will not doubt my integrity. If you, Sir, and the other gentlemen of the board, or of Mr. Coward's trust, find other more deserving and necessitous persons, I shall rejoice to see their cases preferred even to those I have most warmly recommended.

“As for Mr. C. B.'s ‘Distortion of Mind,’ as you, dear Sir, with your usual felicity of language, express it, I apprehend it first arose from ungoverned love. Necessity was a fine excuse for that. Love produced indolence, neglect of study, and the succeeding genealogy, I fear, was chat, disputation, indevotion, pride, and error. I write this with grief of heart. God shows me by such instances, how little success my best endeavours can produce; for, it is certain, I have always had a peculiar tenderness for this unhappy lad, and yet, after all, see him in a great measure spoiled and ruined under my most affectionate care. Yet I am not altogether without hopes as to his recovery. I entirely agree with you, Sir, that argument in such cases too eagerly pursued, often irritates the spirits, and makes young imaginations more quick and vigorous in defending their errors. I hope I have done my duty; for I have stated what appears to me the truth with the utmost evidence I could give, and have referred him to the best writers I know in defence of it. I have, especially in devotional lectures, and in our daily expositions of scriptures, most affectionately, and often with many tears, represented the importance of adhering to the simplicity of the gospel with steadiness and zeal, and of maintaining that holy and watchful course of walking with God, which was the glory of our pious forefathers, and is, I am sure, the greatest safety of their descendants. To all this I have added, as soon as I heard of his defection, personal admonition, earnest prayer to God for him, and sometimes with him and a friend or two more, in which, so far as I could do it without insinuating any suspicions of him, I have recommended him to God even with paternal affection. If after all this he turns out, with all his excellent

and popular talents, an Arian, a Socinian, or a Pelagian, I hope I may say, 'I have delivered my own soul;' and I hope neither you, dear Sir, nor your worthy associates, nor God, to whom I am to give up a much more awful account, will on this head condemn me as having betrayed my trust. Yet I am not utterly hopeless as to him. He expressed a very pious turn of mind in his last prayer which I heard, and I have seen some recovered who have fallen lower than he. I wish that when he returns he may strengthen his brethren, and so much the rather, as he has been too successful in his endeavours to corrupt some of them. I have wrote the larger on this head, both to engage your prayers, and that it may remain as a kind of apology for me in other cases of this kind, which to be sure will occur where freedom of inquiry is allowed.* I bless God that, on the other hand, I have the pleasure to see one of the greatest enemies to the gospel that ever came under my care, surprisingly transformed by divine grace into a steady patron and bright ornament of it. A happy turn of which, if I have the honour of your company in July, I will, if God permit, more particularly inform you of.

"Our humble services attend good Lady Abney, Miss, and Dr. Watts.

"It will be a sad disappointment to me to miss you this vacation; on which account I likewise beg you would please to inform me some time before you set out, and indeed, if possible, before the 19th of May, how your journey is projected, that I may order my affairs so as to have more than a transient sight of you: this is with me a very serious affair. My services, such as they are, will be at your command one Lord's-

*The above interesting notice relates to the Rev. Charles Bulkley, grandson of Matthew Henry. He came into the academy in the year 1736, and in 1740 settled for a short time at Welford in Northamptonshire. Removing to London he joined the General Baptists, and was baptised by immersion, imbibing at the same time the heterodoxy which distinguished that body. He died in his 78th year, April 15, 1797. A sketch of his life and character was published by Mr. John Evans.

day morning, if you please to accept of them. I know nobody who has more right to command them.

“I must conclude this letter with an extract from one which, by last post, I received from my worthy friend and quondam pupil, Mr. Simon Reader,* of Wareham:—‘I entreat your interest to obtain the assistance of the Independent fund for Mr. Jacob Chapman of Bere Regis, near Wareham: they cannot maintain a minister without this assistance, and have been accustomed to receive it till Candlemas, 1738-9, when, upon Mr. Coade’s removal, Mr. Chapman came thither. Application has been made in Mr. Chapman’s favour, particularly to Dr. Guyse; but it seems the doctor has received some prejudice against him, for he has intimated that a confession of his faith would be expected previous to any assistance, which is thought to be an unusual severity. I am (continues Mr. Reader) intimately acquainted with Mr. Chapman, and am satisfied that he is a very serious gentleman, and, which I think deserves peculiar regard, God has crowned his ministry with success, particularly with respect to two persons in my congregation, whom I have reason to believe savingly converted by means of his occasional discourses: one of them has been very useful in advancing religion among the young people here. This is, I think, of greater importance than an exact conformity to any set of notions how just soever. And there is little foundation for the prejudices that have been entertained against Mr. Chapman; for he is by no means in those unhappy sentiments which have prevailed in some parts of the West. I have with great pleasure heard him preach on subjects which are the peculiar glory of the gospel; and I am very well assured, that, with regard to his sentiments, he is better qualified to receive the assistance of the funds than some to whom it is given. Upon these accounts, Sir, I hope you will use your endeavours to obtain it for him, and I hope it will be granted;

* Minister and Tutor at Wareham.

if not, he must be obliged to remove; and in such case, as the circumstances of the congregation now are, there is very great danger of its ruin.'

"Thus far my friend Reader. I have nothing farther to add on this subject, being entirely a stranger to the gentleman in question. How far it may be proper to insist on the confession required, I pretend not to judge. I hope all wise and Christian methods will be taken to prevent the growth of error, without laying a snare for the consciences of men, or depriving the church of the services it so much needs, merely on account of a different idea affixed to some human phrases. I leave you and my worthy fathers and brethren to act as God shall direct you, and conclude with telling you, that Newport and Welford are just now agreed in giving Mr. Webb, a very plain spiritual preacher, whom I am now sending, on an unanimous invitation, to both their places. I suppose he will prefer the latter, and what will then be done for Newport I know not. I fear these repeated disappointments will shock the interest there. However, to prevent its ruin I have ventured, in a very critical conjuncture of affairs, to buy the place, and hope to be able when I see you to give you such an account of the reason of doing it, as shall not only engage your approbation, but also your assistance in making up the deficiency of what they can do towards paying for it. Excuse the length of my letter: I have taken some scraps of time in a visit to Mrs. Scawen,* from whose house I write to dispatch it, and add her very affectionate services (as she is, indeed, an excellent woman) with those of Col. Gardiner (whose indisposition prevented his meeting me here according to appointment), and of, reverend and dear Sir, your greatly obliged and most respectful brother and servant,

"P. DODDRIDGE.

* Only daughter of Lady Russell.

“P. S. We rejoice abundantly in your health, and earnestly pray it may long continue.

“Hearing that Dr. Watts, your brother (to whom my humble service), had thoughts of quitting business, and retiring from London to a greater distance, I have sent to tempt him into Northamptonshire. ‘ If you have not yet read Count Zinzendorf’s sermons, I beg you would do it, and give me your thoughts upon them: there are many Christian notions in them, and a multitude of expressions which astonish rather than edify me. I hope it may in part be owing to the unskillfulness of the translator: my great veneration for the author makes this very grievous to me.

“ Could you, dear Sir, tell me how and where I might procure charity for a worthy family in great distress? I beg if you have access to any such, you would direct me where to lodge a memorial in their favour: it will secure many prayers in favour of all concerned in obtaining it.

“The report of Carter is too true. He has resided in town a year, seldom coming near me. He is a pupil of Messrs. Emlyn, Taylor, Foster, &c. and has been their professor here for some time. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* How sad a loss of one of the best furnished lads I ever bred! But love and melancholy did the business, and gave him up bound into the Philistines’ hands. I am thankful, however, that, though he be something blinded, he has not yet attempted to pull down any temple. He is really a valuable, upright, devout man, prays incomparably, writes finely, has a charming voice, an admirable method, and wants nothing but orthodoxy and wisdom.”

FROM THE HON. JONATHAN BELCHER.

“Boston, May 20, 1741.

“Rev. and dear Sir,

“I am ashamed to look over the date of your kind letter of the 4th of May last, which came to my hands the 1st of November following, yet I can rely on your goodness for pardon in owning it so late; while you consider how much I am engrossed in the care of two of the king’s provinces, sometimes I fear too much to the neglect of the great business of the King of kings; and yet I would humbly hope I have an eye to his glory in the whole of my administration. ‘Man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upwards;’ and even this determination of the great Governor of the world is designed in mercy to mankind. What says the wise preacher, ‘In the day of adversity consider,’ and his pious father, ‘Before I was afflicted I went astray.’ If the fruit of our troubles be ‘that our ways please the Lord, he will make even our enemies to be at peace with us.’ May the holy and eternal Spirit of God take the full possession of my heart, that this may become my case, through the riches of mercy in Jesus Christ. He that said to the foaming billows, ‘Peace be still,’ and it was so, can disconcert all faction and opposition, can scatter every cloud, and bid the shades of night fly before the springing day and rising sun. A governor must endeavour to mail himself with patience, *Sævis esse tranquillum in undis*. I desire to be ‘in subjection to the Father of Spirits,’ and to have faith in him, and this constant conclusion in myself, that all the carvings of his providence towards me, are best for me.

“I again greatly rejoice in the favour of God, in so well restoring you after such a threatening stroke; but I rejoice still more in your humble and pious submission, while you can say ‘you are waiting his will to be employed here, or to

be called away hence at what hour he pleases.' Oh, Sir, how thankful must the Christian be that has thus got upon the last round of the ladder! My greatest gratitude flies into your bosom, in return for all your prayers and good wishes to me and to my family; as to myself I am just at the heels of sixty; my few remaining moments are crowded into a narrow compass; 'my days are swifter than a post or weaver's shuttle; they will soon be extinct, and the grave be ready for me.' Oh! then may I, by the sovereign powerful grace of God, double my diligence, that I may be ready when my Lord shall call. I entreat and (as the duty of your function requires), I charge you when you kneel before the throne of God and the Lamb (in secret) not to forget me; for an alluring world, and a tempting devil are never weary of their attacks. I am greatly obliged to the excellent Lady Abney, to whom you will present my humble respects. Happy she who has turned her widowed state into an everlasting match with the glorious bridegroom of the church of God. By the last ship, I covered to my son a letter for you, from our dear friend Dr. Colman, wherein I doubt not he has given you an account of the outpourings of the Spirit of God in a wonderful measure, of late, in this and the neighbouring provinces: to his name alone be the glory. I am, Sir, with the most perfect esteem and friendship,

"Yours, &c.,

"J. BELCHER.

"P. S. When you favour the world with any new publication, let me partake."

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

“ Fulham, June 6, 1741.

“ Good Sir,

“ I am much obliged to you for your kind remembrance of me, and particularly for the late present of your book.* It found me engaged in a particular business that has been upon my hands some time, so that I have not yet been at leisure to peruse it. But I have seen enough to satisfy me of the serviceableness of it towards replenishing the mind with useful knowledge and true wisdom, and how well the rules laid down for that end are calculated for the general improvement of all, whether learned or unlearned, who will attend to them and be conducted by them. But while you are teaching others how to employ their thoughts wisely and usefully, you must be so just to yourself, as not to stretch your own beyond your strength, but to take the warning which age and infirmities give us, to slacken and moderate our pace. Under this restraint I heartily wish you a successful progress in your further designs for the service of religion, and remain with great truth and esteem, Sir,

“ Your faithful friend and servant,

“ EDM. LONDON.”

FROM THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.†

“ Cuddesden, near Oxford, June 19, 1741.

“ Sir,

“ I am extremely obliged to you for the agreeable present of your book,‡ which is peculiarly well adapted for the

* The “Improvement of the Mind.”

† Dr. Secker.

‡ The “Improvement of the Mind.”

direction and improvement of students in the university, where your Logic is by no means the only piece of yours that is read with high esteem.

“ You have been a diligent promoter of useful and especially religious knowledge, of Christian faith and Christian morals. On these accounts I have always respected you, from the time that I had so many years ago the advantage of your conversation, and always rejoiced in the just honour that has been universally paid you ; and as this opportunity of expressing my regard gives me much pleasure, so, if the favour of letting me see you next winter will not be inconvenient to you, it will be a great satisfaction to,

“ Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

“ THO. OXFORD.”

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON,

“ Fulham, July 12, 1742.

“ Good Sir,

“ I desire you to accept my hearty thanks for your kind and valuable present,* which was part of my employment yesterday, and this day I am setting out on my visitation of Essex and Hertfordshire. It is written with great clearness and strength, and whoever peruses and attends to it will find much light from it in reading several of the epistles of St. Paul. I am glad to find that you have no difficulty in making him the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews (which I took some pains to clear in my third pastoral letter), and that you carry on the gradual opening of the gospel dispensation by him and the other apostles to the times after our Saviour's ascension.

“ The method you take of reducing the matter to be treated

* “Harmony of all Religions.”

of into chapters and paragraphs of no great length, keeps every thing clear and distinct, and I wish it were observed by all other writers.

“As I take it for granted you have by you other discourses unpublished, I hope God will give you health and strength to revise them if needful, and then to publish them for the service of religion, which is the sincere wish of, Sir,

“Your very faithful friend and servant,

“EDM. LONDON.”

FROM THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

“Cuddesden, Sept. 14, 1743.

“Sir,

“I heartily thank you for your obliging letter, and, had I known that you had printed a sermon on the subject* I should not have failed to enrich my own from it. I hope the things I have said in favour of our charity-schools are true. I hope the Christians of this nation in general are grown *much milder* towards each other; and I am sure we have great need to gain in this virtue what we lose in others, and become a more united body as we become a smaller, which I apprehend we do. But ‘Fear not, little flock.’ May God direct and bless us all in our poor endeavours to serve him! May he give you every needful support under your long sickness, and restore you speedily to your former usefulness, if it be his holy will! I am with great esteem, Sir,

“Your affectionate and faithful humble servant,

“THO. OXFORD.”

* “Essay towards the Encouragement of Charity-schools.”

FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.*

“Dublin, Dec. 15, 1743.

“Rev. Sir,

“I am brought into the circumstances of an insolvent debtor, who is afraid to see the face of his creditor; and yet it is not through idleness or disregard that I remain so long in my friend's debt for his kind letter of the last summer, but I am really oppressed with letter-writing and business of various kinds, some of my own, but more of other persons, some private, but more public, both ecclesiastical and secular, which are incident to my station.

“However, I have at last found a spare hour for thanking you for the present of your book, which ought more properly to be done by my wife, who presently laid hands upon it, and took it into her own library. She is much taken with the vein of piety which breathes in your works, and buys them up.

“I am truly concerned for your *insomnie*, which I suppose proceeds from weak nerves. If you could ride an easy pad, increasing your journey every day from one to four or five miles, as your strength would permit, I should hope for some good effect, as the lassitude occasioned by that exercise would incline you more naturally to rest than the use of drugs.

“I bless God I enjoy good health, which enables me to go through much business; but I have for many years been going down the hill, and, if the doctrine of gravitation takes place in the life of man, the motion must accelerate as I come nearer the bottom. Your case is the same, though more aggravated by distempers. God grant we may be useful while we live, and may run clear, and with unclouded minds, till we come to the very dregs!

“I send you my visitation charge to my clergy of Tuam.

* Dr. Josiah Hort. See p. 129.

The former part is a copy of my charge to the clergy of Kilmore and Ardagh, which being of general use I saw no occasion to change. The latter part is new, and I submit it to your judgment. I am, dear Sir,

“ Your old friend, and affectionate servant,

“ JOSIAH TUAM.”

CHAPTER XVII.

1745—1748.

THE REBELLION.

PATRIOTISM OF WATTS.—FAVOURABLE CONDITION OF THE DISSENTERS.—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.—CONDUCT OF DODDRIDGE.—CIRCULAR OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE THREE DENOMINATIONS.—STATEMENT OF DR. SOUTHEY REFUTED.—THE “WORLD TO COME,” SECOND VOLUME.—SINGULAR OPINION OF MR. BOURN.—DR. T. BURNET.—SECKER.—“ORTHODOXY AND CHARITY.”—SENTIMENTS WITH REFERENCE TO DEATH.—DOMESTIC CALAMITY.—DR. DODDRIDGE.—MR. BARKER.—REPORTED DERANGEMENT:—CONTRADICTED BY DR. GIBBONS:—A NERVOUS DISORDER:—CONDUCT OF DR. RICHARD WATTS:—REFERENCES TO THE RUMOUR.—ESSAY ON THE “FREEDOM OF THE WILL.”—“EVANGELICAL DISCOURSES.”—“RATIONAL FOUNDATION OF A CHRISTIAN CHURCH.”—VISITED BY THE SPEAKER, MR. ONSLOW.—CORRESPONDENCE.

THE attachment of Dr. Watts to the righteous cause of freedom has been repeatedly mentioned in this volume; many of his devotional and moral poems were composed to celebrate the triumph of its principles; in the hour of national emergency, therefore, his exertions with those of his brethren were not wanting to support the reigning dynasty. The writers of the establishment who have noticed his life, have done honour to his loyalty whilst they have condemned his nonconformity. Grateful for the liberties which his country and especially his fellow dissenters enjoyed, he piously records the events by which they were secured as among “the mighty acts of the Lord.” The seventy-fifth Psalm is an instance of his patriotic devotion. His congre-

gation was frequently excited to gratitude by being reminded of the oppressions the fathers endured, and the privileges the children enjoyed. Compared with his own ancestors he lived at a period peculiarly auspicious; the storms which raged during his infancy were stilled before he could be fully sensible of their violence; he had the report of the sorrows his family had endured without their painful experience. Frequently during the long course of his ministry hostility was both threatened and feared; clerical bigotry vented its spleen against him in intemperate pamphlets; but the designs which the spirit of party conceived, and which the insolence of power was to execute, were, by the kind interposition of providence, blasted in their budding. It was justly observed by Sir Conyers Joceyn, conversing with Dr. Gibbons about Mr. Baxter and Dr. Watts, "The latter went to heaven upon a bed of down in comparison of the former." For nearly half a century the churches of the nonconformists had enjoyed peace within their borders; the exactions which the magistracy and clergy would have imposed were, with few exceptions, discountenanced by the court; and in every instance the attempt to invade the territory of dissent was steadily opposed by the Hanover family. The events of the memorable Forty-five made the policy of this conduct apparent. When the government threw around an eye of jealousy and alarm — when an enemy had penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, and some decisive success was alone wanting to call forth a host of Jacobites from their hiding-places — no apprehension was felt respecting the sentiments and conduct of the dissenters. The sufferings of their fathers had associated in their minds the name of Stuart with a persecuting church and an intolerant throne; and as the reigning monarch had conciliated their affections by protecting their liberties, they at once devoted their energies to stem the tide of invasion. The biographer of Doddridge remarks, "When a regiment was raising in Northamptonshire, to be under the

command of the Earl of Halifax, he wrote many letters to his friends in that county and neighbourhood to further the design. He went among his own people to encourage them to enlist, and had the pleasure to find many of them engaging cheerfully in the cause. He drew up and printed at his own expense a friendly letter to the private soldiers of a regiment of foot, which was one of those engaged in the glorious battle of Culloden.* Dr. Watts was too feeble to imitate the example of his friend, but his heart was with him, and the circumstances of the nation formed a subject of his correspondence with the Bishop of London. The committee of the three denominations in London addressed a circular letter to the members of their persuasion throughout the kingdom, calling upon them for a proof of their attachment to the government at a juncture so critical.† So utterly untrue is the representation of an historian of the present day, that political disaffection has ever been the fruit of religious non-conformity, and that the principles of dissent necessarily tend to place its advocates on the side of faction. “The principle of nonconformity,” says he, “in religion is very generally connected with political discontent; the old leaven is still in the

* Orton's *Life of Doddridge*, p. 208.

† A copy of this letter appeared in the public journals of the period:

“Sir,

“The Committee of the Protestant Dissenters, in and about London, having taken into their consideration the present dangerous situation of affairs in these kingdoms, by reason of the unnatural rebellion raised against his majesty King George, in favour of a popish pretender, supported by France, the avowed enemy of this country, have unanimously come to the following resolution, that is to say, that it be recommended to the body of dissenters to express their utmost zeal and readiness to join with any number of his majesty's subjects, to support his person and government, in the present time of danger, in any legal way that shall be thought most effectual. I am, therefore, directed by the said committee to communicate to you the above resolution, and they earnestly desire, that you would use the utmost influence with all your friends, to induce them to act in the most zealous manner agreeable thereto. By order of the committee.

“Sept. 28, 1745.

“BENJAMIN AVERY, Chairman,”

mass, and whenever there is thunder in the atmosphere it begins to work. In the time of the American war they were wholly with the Americans; and during the French Revolution their wishes were not with the government, nor their voice with the voice of the country.”* These are the only instances which Dr. Southey advances to support his extraordinary statement: of the former it is enough to say, that posterity will record the fact to the honour of the dissenters, that they were the followers of Chatham; the latter may be safely contradicted, if it is meant to imply an approval of the atrocities with which the event was accompanied. The conduct of the party here maligned during the Forty-five, the Irish rebellion, and the threatened French invasion, might be appealed to, to prove that no such systematic effusion of traitorous feeling as is supposed has marked their history; and the conduct of the party who claim the historian for their champion, with reference to the Catholic Relief Bill and the Reform Act, might be adduced in evidence, that “*their* wishes were not with the government, nor *their* voice with the voice of the country.”

Early in this year of national turmoil the second volume of the “World to Come” appeared, containing six discourses. The necessary preparation for the future — the freedom of the heavenly state from all pain — the foretastes of it with which believers are favoured — the joy of the resurrection morn to them — and the state and punishment of the wicked, are the subjects which the writer discusses. The persuasives to a holy life drawn from its present and future advantages, and the dissuasives from an opposite course gathered from the character and consequences of sin, are urged upon the reader’s attention in a highly impassioned manner, displaying a style unenfeebled, and an imagination as strong as in its youthful vigour. He discusses the doctrine of future punishment, all the “sad variety of hell,” *pœna damni* and *pœna sensus*,

* Southey’s Colloquies on the “Progress and Prospects of Society,” vol. ii. 44.

in an uncompromising but affectionate spirit, asserting in all their force and peculiarity the awful statements of scripture, yet widely removed from that harsh and vengeful tone with which the subject is sometimes treated. The duration of the future penalties of sin had long been a point of controversy, and in fact it occasioned one of the theological wars of the last century. A middle scheme, between the commonly received opinion and that of the final restorationists, was maintained by Mr. Bourn in his letter to Dr. Chandler — that the wicked, after undergoing a condemnation proportioned to their guilt, shall be punished by an utter extinction of being — a notion which has been advocated by other writers, but which certainly cannot claim the slightest authority in scripture. Many of those who held these milder views, as they were called, of the question, yet acknowledged the public proclamation of them dangerous to the cause of virtue, and, as a matter of policy, refrained from it — a consideration which tells powerfully against the soundness of their opinions. Hence, Dr. T. Burnet, who held the temporary duration of future punishment, in his Latin treatise “On the state of the dead and those who rise again,” advises the use of the common doctrine and the common language to ministers, and curiously enough in a note observes, “Whosoever shall translate these sentiments into our mother tongue, I shall think it was done with an evil design and to bad purpose.” This caution would not have been given, nor the sentiment to which it refers have been imbibed, had the scriptures been recognised as the sole interpreter of the divine conduct; but there is no security against error, when the judgment upon such a topic is influenced in its decisions by what the weakness of human passion will suggest. Those who submit their understandings to the word of God, conscious of their littleness of grasp and dimness of vision, will receive with joy the revelation of eternal life to the faithful, and with reverent awe the annunciation of everlasting destruction to the impenitent.

There is, however, a mode of representation employed, with respect to this doctrine, which is highly objectionable, and unhappily not uncommon in the pulpit, and the only tendency of which is to harden the heart and confirm the mind in its infidelity to it. It is when the character of judge is assumed by the preacher, who forgets that he is himself a criminal; when a severe and exulting tone is given to the denunciation; and when a fact, which ought to wring the heart with unutterable tenderness and compassion towards the sinful souls of men, is enounced with voice and look and gesture only befitting an ebullition of the malign passions. The intonation of the ancient Sybil is not necessary to show the fidelity of the Christian minister; the "whole counsel of God" is to be declared, but the declaration should be made with that pathos and solemnity becoming a divine testimony, and a subject in which eternal interests are involved. Dr. Watts was entirely free from the defect here pointed out; and to him Bishop Secker awards the praise of having written in a strong and awful, yet compassionate and good-natured manner.

Another work appeared about the same period, "Orthodoxy and Charity united; in several reconciling Essays on the law and gospel, faith and works." This is an attempt to unite those who hold the important doctrines of the gospel, but differ upon minor points; to illustrate the evil consequences of altercation respecting minute and trivial peculiarities of faith or discipline; and to gather within the bounds of Christian love all true believers in the Saviour, without limiting the flow of kindly feeling to a perfect conformity with our views. It is addressed to the "moderate men among those who are called Calvinists, and those that are named New-Methodists:" as for "the high-fliers" of both parties he discards them as incorrigible offenders. He anticipates in his preface a Socinian objection to his book, that no attempt is made to plead the cause of those who deny the atonement, and to procure for them a share of fraternal regard; but a

proper answer to this is given, that the doctrine is not one of the lesser things of the Christian system, but a fundamental principle, the denial of which is subversive of its whole genius and design. The substance of the gospel treated of in the first essay, is defined to embrace the great truths of the fall and depravity of our nature—the propitiatory work of Christ—divine influence—the necessity of repentance and faith—and the constant practice of a holy life. Those who agree here are united in the essential articles of religion, and assuredly ought not to be at variance in spirit. But questions as to the logical relations of different parts of divine truth—whether the gospel is an absolute promise or a conditional covenant—whether the law ought to be proclaimed, or free grace alone exhibited, have kept their respective advocates at a distance, and separated as with walls of triple brass the several parties to which they have belonged. The Calvinist has raised the frightful cry of legality against the Arminian, and the latter has retorted with the charge of licentiousness upon the former. His own opinion, as to which is the “more excellent way,” the writer does not attempt to conceal, but he is not betrayed into either dogmatism or invective; he admits the possibility, that his conclusion though honest may be erroneous; and, hence, he pleads for the extension of the hand of fellowship to those who hold the Head, but on other points conscientiously differ from our views. The spirit inculcated in this treatise he remarkably exemplified in practice; no religious disputant was ever more free from sectarian virulence; “it was not only in his book,” says Dr. Johnson, “but in his mind also, that orthodoxy and charity were united.”

Dr. Watts was now, as he affectingly expresses it in one of his letters, on “the borders of life.” To prepare himself as well as others for such a situation had been the great end of his existence: its arrival was, therefore, a welcome event. The views with which he contemplated his approaching dissolu-

tion may be gathered from his writings at this period: there is, if I mistake not, much of his own conduct and experience embodied in his "World to Come." An ardent admirer of nature, he sought improvement from her various changes, and reaped spiritual advantage from her beautiful though silent phenomena. "Do I observe," says he, "the declining day, and the setting sun, sinking into darkness? So declines the day of life, the hours of labour, and the season of grace: O may I finish my appointed work with honour ere the light is fled! May I improve the shining hours of grace ere the shadows of the evening overtake me, and my time of working is no more! Do I see the moon gliding along through midnight, and fulfilling her stages in the dusky sky? This planet also is measuring out my life, and bringing the number of my months to their end. May I be prepared to take leave of the sun and moon, and bid adieu to these visible heavens, and all the twinkling glories of them! These are all but the measurers of my time, and hasten me on towards eternity."

He dwells with peculiar pleasure upon the thought of death as a short and peaceful sleep, and the grave as a place of repose. Such imagery teaches us that subjection to mortality will be but temporary. Slumber may steal over the frame of man in the eventide, and it may seal up his senses in forgetfulness; but the morning brings with it the dissolution of the spell, and the restoration of the frame to activity and consciousness! "Why, O my fearful soul," he observes, "shouldst thou be afraid of dying? Why shouldst thou be frightened at the dark shadows of the grave, when thou art weary with the toils and crosses of the day? Hast thou not often desired *the shadow of the evening*, and longed for the bed of natural sleep, where thy fatigues and thy sorrows may be forgotten for a season? And is not the grave itself a sweet sleeping-place for the saints, wherein they lie down and forget their distresses, and feel none of the miseries of human life, and

especially since it is softened and sanctified by the Son of God lying down there? Why shouldst thou be afraid to lay thy head in the dust? It is but entering into God's hiding-place, into his chambers of rest and repose."

The domestic happiness which he had so long enjoyed, rarely disturbed except by the recurrence of personal affliction, experienced interruption from another quarter—the misconduct of some of his relatives—in the year 1746. This circumstance, whatever might be its specific nature, was very painfully felt: it destroyed for a season his equanimity: unused to such a trial, and in a state of great debility, his mind seems to have sunk for a time under the shock, and with difficulty to have recovered its balance. By the kind prudence of Lady Abney many of the particulars of this unhappy affair were concealed from him. In August, while under the pressure of this calamity, Dr. Doddridge visited Stoke Newington, and gives the following painful description of his aged friend:—"His nephew, once so great a favourite, has done something to vex him, and his poor weak spirits cannot bear it; so that he is quite amazed, and even stupified with it to such a degree as hardly to take notice of any thing about him; insomuch that, though he knew my chief reason of coming from Bath was to see him, he hardly took any notice of me; and instead of those tears and embraces with which he has often dismissed me, parted with me, though probably for the last time, as coldly as he did with young Mr. Lavington, who happened to be here, and who is entirely a stranger to him. This really astonished me and grieved me exceedingly." But the cloud that lowered in threatening blackness over his mind had been removed when in the February of the following year Mr. Barker wrote to Doddridge as follows:—"The behaviour of Dr. Richard Watts and the wretch Brackstone towards Dr. Isaac Watts, is a most marvellous, infamous, enormous wickedness. Lady Abney, with inimitable steadiness and prudence, keeps her

friend in peaceful ignorance, and his enemies at a becoming distance; so that in the midst of this cruel persecution of that righteous man, he lives comfortably; and when a friend asks him how he does, answers, 'Waiting God's leave to die.'” That he sometimes felt impatience under his heavy afflictions, is but saying that he was human: it was, however, in his case more infirmity than error, induced by purely physical causes. “Sometimes,” says he, “I have been ready to say within myself, ‘Why is my life prolonged in sorrow? Why are my days lengthened out to see further wretchedness? Methinks the grave should be ready for me and the house appointed for all the living. What can I do further for God or for men here on earth, since my nature pines away with painful sickness, my nerves are unstrung, my spirits dissipated, and my best powers of acting are enfeebled and almost lost? Peace, peace, O thou complaining spirit. Dost thou know the counsels of the Almighty, and the secret designs of thy God and thy Saviour? He has many deep and unknown purposes in continuing his children amidst heavy sorrows, which they can never penetrate or learn in this world. Silence and submission become thee at all times.’”

Much misapprehension has existed with reference to the state of Dr. Watts's mind in his latter days. Stories of his strange nervous affections, his wild and extraordinary fancies, amounting to intellectual derangement, have been circulated both in print and by common rumour. To give a narrative of these reveries with one of his biographers would be a worthless task, especially as the whole account is directly contradicted by Dr. Gibbons. “How it came to pass,” says he, “I know not, but that it has so happened is certain, that reports have been raised, propagated, and currently believed, concerning the Doctor, that he has imagined such things concerning himself, as would prove, if they were true, that he sometimes lost possession of himself, or suffered a momentary

eclipse of his intellectual faculties. But I take upon me, and feel myself happy to aver, that these reports were utterly and absolutely false and groundless; and I do this from my own knowledge and observation of him for several years, and some of them the years of his decay, when he was at the weakest; from the express declaration of Mr. Joseph Parker, his amanuensis for above twenty years, and who was in a manner ever with him; and above all from that of Mrs. Elizabeth Abney, the surviving daughter of Sir Thomas and Lady Abney, who lived in the same family with him all the time of the Doctor's residence there, a period of no less than thirty-six years. Can any evidence be more decisive?"

The evidence of these persons must be preferred to that of certain vague statements which have continually changed their colouring as they have floated on their course; statements originally propagated by an unknown party, founded upon no data, and confirmed by no responsible authority. As the fabrications of the idle or the designing, the relations in question, therefore, deserve no notice. It is at the same time highly probable, that as Dr. Watts was subject to a nervous disorder, this, aggravated by the decays of nature, might occasionally induce that morbid state of mind, which usually manifests itself either in an unnatural elevation or a corresponding depression. This supposition is strongly confirmed by Dr. Doddridge's affecting description of him beneath the stroke of calamity—the picture of one suffering under an extreme degree of hypochondriacism. Cases of this kind are by no means uncommon, and may co-exist with a perfect sanity of the intellectual powers. The derangement of the mental economy by which they are characterised, is the effect of a diseased nervous system; and when the physical causes are counteracted or cease to operate, the mind preserves its equilibrium, its tone of health and vigour.

The temporary derangement attributed to him, and stated so frequently as an undoubted truth, was then nothing more

than a high degree of nervous irritability, in connexion with great bodily weakness and frequent disease. That it occasioned alarm and anxiety in the minds of his friends, it is only natural to conceive; but the report of his complaint, like all other reports, became gradually magnified the further it removed from its source. The retirement in which his last days were spent — seldom seen in public, and rarely visited but by those who were intimate with him — might be construed to sanction the most unfavourable conclusion. But that which gave most currency to the rumour, was the injudicious and weak conduct of some of his former admirers, who eagerly caught at the plea of mental distemper, to apologise for the supposed heterodoxy of his sentiments upon the trinity, and to excuse the high esteem they had once expressed for the idol they now abandoned. To account still further for the credit which this story has obtained it may be remarked, that a dark suspicion rests upon the memory of his brother, Dr. Richard Watts, and his nephew, “the wretch” Brackstone, that for interested purposes they assisted to strengthen and circulate it, and to confirm it by their own fabrications. These efforts were happily frustrated, and the vagaries they attempted to palm upon this holy and devoted man, before the respectable testimony of Lady Abney, the family, and Dr. Gibbons, fall to the ground. It must have been painful for him to discover, that an impression had been made upon the public disadvantageous to his mental character — that the soundness of his intellect was in any quarter suspected — and yet that he had some intimation that this was the case, may be gathered from the following passages. In the preface to his “*Ruin and Recovery*,” he remarks, “It is by no means true, *which some have imagined*, that a retirement from the world, and dwelling much among my own solitary thoughts and old authors, have led me into these *melancholy and dismal apprehensions of mankind*.” Again, in the preface to the “*Useful and Important Questions*,” it is observed, “He takes

the freedom to say, these papers are the product of that part of life, when *his powers of mind and body were in full vigour.*" But in the publications of his decline he nobly refuted the calumnious representations of his enemies : among these may be found some of his most learned, abstruse, and imaginative performances ; furnishing incontestible evidence that his mind was not impaired, for though occasionally affected and borne down by the infirmities of its companion, yet it quickly regained its former elevation, and triumphed with untired wing over the difficulties of its progress. His nervous paroxysms were severe and distressing, but short in their duration and infrequent in their occurrence ; they were momentary obscurations of the brightness of his genius, like clouds that swiftly flit across the luminary of day, without injuring the face of the orb or stealing a beam from his effulgence.

Though in his seventy-second year the aged invalid again took up his pen, anxious to improve every moment for the benefit of others. But his remaining productions offer little that calls for elucidation or remark. In 1746 he published an "Essay on the Freedom of Will in God and in Creatures," in which he argues in behalf of a liberty of indifference, adopting the Arminian view of the subject. This piece, which was published anonymously, is chiefly remarkable for having called forth the powers of President Edwards, and producing his noble work in refutation of it. His American friend and correspondent evidently suspected him to be the author of the essay, and the authority of his name procured it that share of his attention which its intrinsic merits would probably have failed to attract. The volume of "Evangelical Discourses" appeared in the commencement of 1747, when "under very declining circumstances of life," with an "Essay on the Powers and Contests of Flesh and Spirit" appended to it. This is dedicated to the church in Bury Street, and may be regarded as their pastor's farewell benediction. Among his affectionate advices on an occasion so solemn he says,

“Continue to be of one mind : live in peace : be careful to practise all the duties of holiness and righteousness : keep close to God by humble fervent prayer and dependence ; seek his face for direction, and a blessing in all your affairs.” He acknowledges with gratitude the great harmony which had subsisted for more than forty-three years between him and his worthy colleague, Mr. Price, and with the utmost confidence resigns his charge entirely to his care. “There,” he remarks, speaking of “that blessed book” from which he had so often discoursed to them, “all my hopes of eternal life are fixed, and in this hope I trust all of you will be found walking steadfastly in the same faith, by the same rule, till you are at length made happy partakers of the same salvation.” His last work is “The Rational Foundation of a Christian Church,” dated from “Stoke Newington, March 25, 1747.” This is designed to state and enforce the nature, duties, and advantages of church membership, the obligations of believers to unite in particular societies, and the terms of communion : it contains also three discourses on the pattern for a dissenting preacher, the office of deacons, and invitations to Christian fellowship. There is much valuable and important matter in this last treatise, which deserves to rank among the best of his practical pieces : it proves in an able and judicious manner the necessity and benefits of social religion ; and states in a candid spirit those principles of church government and ecclesiastical discipline which the scriptures appear to support either by direct or inferential evidence.

Thus one year and eight months before his decease Dr. Watts terminated the toils of authorship. His time was now spent in devotional exercises, occasional correspondence, arranging his papers, and receiving the visits of a few of his most intimate friends. The Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, who was on terms of courteous intercourse with the leading dissenting ministers, sought an interview with him in his decline. Dr. Gibbons

relates this circumstance, honourable to both parties, as follows: "Not long before his death, taking with him Dr. Jabez Earle and Dr. Joseph Stennett in his coach, he made a visit to Dr. Watts at Stoke Newington, for the purpose of gratifying himself with the sight of so great and good a man, whom he held in the highest esteem, and, I might truly say, above the common rank of mortals. The Speaker declared to me, that when he saw him he thought he saw a man of God; and in the last visit but one I made Mr. Onslow, for I had the honour of an intimacy with him, he mentioned the affair afresh, and devoutly cried out, 'My soul where his now is!'"

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

"Whitehall, March 2, 1745.

"Good Sir,

"I send this with my sincere thanks for the valuable present* which I have lately received from you. I have already perused part of it, and find much satisfaction in observing the true spirit of piety and zealous concern for souls which appear in every page. God knows the present degeneracy and lukewarmness among Christians stand in great need of such awakenings as to their future state; and as it is the duty of us all, in our several stations, to use our best endeavours for that end, so I heartily wish and pray, that you in particular, who have it so greatly at heart, may be blessed with health and strength to pursue and perfect all your designs in that way.

"I am, Sir,

"Your very faithful friend and servant,

"EDM. LONDON."

* The "World to Come," Second Part.

FROM THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

“St. James’s, Westminster, March 20, 1745.

“Sir,

“I heartily thank God that he hath restored you to a better state of health, and should not have permitted your letter, which brought me that good news, to continue unanswered so long, if more than ordinary business had not sometimes put it out of my power, and sometimes out of my thoughts, to make you my acknowledgments for it. The civilities for which you thank me are no more than a very imperfect return of justice for the great services you have done to religion; and you have made a valuable addition to them in the book you have now been pleased to send me,* particularly by what you have written in so strong and awful, yet so compassionate and good-natured a manner, in defence of the scripture doctrine concerning the duration of future punishments.

“I pray God to continue you long in a capacity of being still farther useful, and am with great regard, Sir,

“Your obliged humble servant,

“THO. OXFORD.”

FROM THE REV. JOHN SERGEANT.†

“Stockbridge, Nov. 8, 1745.

“Rev. Sir,

“By the favour of the Rev. Dr. Colman of Boston I was some months ago informed, that by your kind and charitable interposition a collection of money was put into his

* The “World to Come,” Second Part.

† Mr. Sergeant was long employed as a missionary among the Indians, under the patronage of the Society in Scotland for promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Corporation of Harvard College. At Stockbridge, the seat of his labours, his minis-

hands, to forward the design of a more effectual method of educating the Indian children, which instance of your beneficence, though late, I now acknowledge with great pleasure and thankfulness. From the too little success of the ordinary means of instruction and cultivation, the necessity of some such method appears more and more every day. The most promising hopes we have are frequently blasted, and national ill habits still prevail against all the opposition we can make, and the rising generation too easily learn to tread in the wrong steps of those who go before them. All their seeming repentance and resolutions of amendment are weak and ineffectual, and rarely sufficient to withstand the force of national custom and too general example. Where idleness is a national habit, vice in every shape, it is to be feared, will always prevail with fatal success. The grace of God can indeed overcome all opposition, and without his blessing the best means will prove ineffectual; but yet the means are to be used, and it is a divine observation, ‘Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it;’ and in universal experience it is found, that open and scandalous wickedness will be predominant where national customs are not corrected by early discipline. The truth is,

try was particularly useful. One of the young Indians he had instructed, named John Wauwaumpequunnaunt, acted for some time as Brainerd’s interpreter. In the journal of that indefatigable man Mr. Sergeant is frequently mentioned. They studied the Indian tongue together, Kaunaameek, where Brainerd was stationed, being only twenty miles from Stockbridge. Upon his removal to the Forks of the Delaware, his Indians left their settlement to be under Mr. Sergeant’s care. “Spent some time,” says he in his journal, “in visiting friends, and discoursing with my people (who were now moved down from their own place to Mr. Sergeant’s), and found them very glad to see me returned. Was exercised in my mind with a sense of my own unworthiness.

“Lord’s Day, April 29th. Preached for Mr. Sergeant both parts of the day, from Rev. xiv. 4. *These are they which were not defiled, &c.* Enjoyed some freedom in preaching, though not much spirituality. In the evening my heart was in some measure lifted up in thankfulness to God for any assistance.” There is a letter from President Edwards to the Honourable Thomas Hubbard of Boston, relative to the Indian school at Stockbridge, printed in the Collections of the Mass. Historical Society, x. 142—151.

we seem to labour almost in vain, unless we can have the entire framing of their young ones in a well-ordered school, where industry and a regular manner of life may, by exercise as well as instruction, be made habitual. Nor is it easy for those who converse only with the politer part of mankind to form any just notion of the degeneracy of those who are brought up in the wild woods, and seem to learn their manners from the beasts they hunt in the forests.

“As the design I have proposed is disinterested in its intention, I hope it appears so to the world, and that in due time that gracious Providence which provides for all will give it effect. Your kind notice of it and encouragement to it is a good omen of success. Your former beneficence has not I hope been without some good effect. Your Catechisms are taught among us, and have learned to speak Indian.

“I long to see this proposed method of education put into execution. Till that is done we have but a dull prospect of success in all we can do for so wild and wandering a people. It would, I believe, meet with some encouragement in these parts if the wars were happily ended. In the present situation of affairs it is not thought advisable to expend any money, if we had enough to lay a foundation. If matters may so be prepared now that we may be ready to enter upon the execution of this design, as soon as it may be thought convenient and safe to do it, it will be a great satisfaction to me. Indeed we seem to gain ground so slowly in the present method, that my resolution sometimes almost fails me, for the expense and pains of their conversion seem almost labour lost, so ineffectual their repentance and resolutions have hitherto appeared. Of some few indeed, I thank God, I hope better things. Towards them all it is my heart’s desire and prayer to God, that they may be saved, and my constant grief that there are no more of whom I can hope well; and if the method proposed for their better education (if ever it be put into execution) does not prove more effectual, we must I think con-

clude this people to be under some strange and awful curse of heaven; but till we have tried all that is in the power of human means to do, we ought not perhaps to desert them as incorrigible. If it shall please the great Saviour of the world to make me instrumental to bring them into the fellowship of the saints, and to the fulness of the stature of perfect men in Christ, I shall esteem myself both honoured and happy.

“As your piety has already moved you to do something for us, I hope in the midst of your other concerns you will still remember this affair, and, as you have opportunity, recommend it to the notice and countenance of gentlemen of fortune and piety.

“I heartily congratulate you, or the world rather, upon the recovery of your health, so as not to be only able to preach, but to prepare and put things to the press, which I hope will be the means, by the blessing of God, to propagate that piety, goodness, and candour, which appear with so amiable a lustre in your writings, from which (I speak it with thankfulness to God, and to you his instrument) I myself and many others have reaped so much benefit. When I hear of any thing of Dr. Watts’s coming abroad, I am impatient till I have read it: nor will you, I hope, account it a flattery that I say with many others, that I never read any thing of yours without being made wiser and I hope better. That candour which shines in your writings is extremely wanted in this day, at least in this part of the world; and, though I compliment myself in saying it, it is what gives me a peculiar relish for your books, that with the strongest sentiments of piety to God there is always joined the most extensive charity to men, and an happy freedom from the bigotry of party opinions, two things I hardly know how to separate from the notion of a truly Christian temper. I earnestly recommend myself to your prayers, and am with great respect

“Your most obliged humble servant,

“JOHN SERGEANT.”

N.B. On the outside of this letter there is the following:

“Sir,

“Two or three days past I wrote to you. This I cover from Mr. Sergeant, and it breathes his pious soul, and will increase your esteem of him, as it does mine.

“Your affectionate brother and servant,

“BENJAMIN COLMAN.”

FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

“Whitehall, Nov. 29, 1745.

“Good Sir,

“I am obliged to you for your favourable acceptance of my Pastoral Letter. The two things that may be fairly pleaded in its favour are, that it was seasonable and well meant.

“If it please God to deliver us once more from the terrible judgment of popery, there will be a necessity of reviewing the laws against it, and removing all appearances of rigour beyond what is apparently necessary to our own future preservation. And when that is done, I think it may be very right to enjoin the publication of them in the way you mention. At the same time, it will be highly fit to oblige papists to renounce all such principles as are destructive of civil society and of the government under which they live.

“I heartily wish you a better state of health; and, considering the great good you are doing out of the pulpit, you may very well excuse yourself from going into it, under a decay of strength, and with evident prejudice to your health. I am with great truth,

“Sir,

“Your faithful friend and servant,

“EDM. LONDON.”

TO THE REV. PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D.D.

"Stoke Newington, Dec. 14, 1745.

"Dear Sir,

"I do not remember that I have yet given you thanks for your Ordination Sermon at Norwich, with the charge given to Mr. Tozer,* both of which are very pleasing to me; and also the guard which you give to Mr. Tozer against pernicious errors, though you express it, perhaps, too tenderly. I am again engaged to thank you for your funeral sermon for the brave Colonel Gardiner; but you give me hopes to see a much larger account of that great and good man's life and conduct.

"I would hope the rebellion is near to its end; and every day we expect some decisive stroke.

"I should be glad if I could inform you of my better health, for I cannot yet read or write but in a very imperfect manner. May God long preserve your great usefulness, though I cannot but fear your accepting too many trusts will too much embarrass you, without a proportionable advantage.

"May the wisdom and grace of God be ever with you, is the hearty prayer of, Sir,

"Your affectionate brother and humble servant,

"I. WATTS."

FROM THE COUNTESS OF HERTFORD.

"Percy Lodge, Nov. 15, 1747.

"Reverend Sir,

"The last time I troubled you with a letter, was to return you thanks for your book on 'The Glory of Christ,' a subject which can never be exhausted, or ever thought of with-

* Ordained co pastor with the Rev. Thos. Scott over a congregational church in Norwich in June, 1745.

out calling for all the praise which our hearts are capable of in our present imperfect state. My gratitude to you is again awakened by the obligation I am under (and, indeed, the whole Christian church) to you for giving Dr. Doddridge the plan, and engaging him to write his excellent book of the ‘Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.’ I have read it with the utmost attention and pleasure, and I would hope with some advantage to myself, unless I should be so unhappy as to find the impression it has made on my heart wear off like the morning dew which passeth away, which God in his mercy avert.

“If you have a correspondence with him, I could wish you would convey my thanks to him, and the assurance that I shall frequently remember him in my humble (though weak) addresses to the throne of Almighty Grace (and which I know myself unworthy to look up to any otherwise than through the merits and sufferings of our blessed Saviour), that he may go on to spread the knowledge and practice of his doctrine, and that he may add numbers to the church, and finally hear those blessed words, ‘Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into thy Master’s joy.’

“I cannot help mentioning to you the manner of this book falling into my hands, as I think there was something providential in it. About four months ago my poor Lord had so totally lost his appetite, that his physician thought it necessary for him to go to Bath. I was not a moment in doubt whether I should attend him there, because I knew it was my duty, and besides I could not have been easy to be absent when I hoped my care might be of some use; yet I undertook the journey with a weight upon my spirits, and a reluctance which is not to be described, though I concealed it from him. Since the *great affliction** with which it pleased

* The Countess appears to have felt severely the death of her son, to which she here refers. When Duchess of Somerset she speaks of him in a letter, dated 1751, as “promising all that the fondest wishes of the fondest parents could hope; an

Almighty God to visit me by the death of a most valuable and only son, I found myself happiest in almost an entire retreat from the world; and being of a sudden called into a place where I remembered to have seen the utmost of its hurry and vanity exerted, terrified my imagination to the last degree, and I shed tears every time I was alone at the thoughts of what I expected to encounter; yet this dreaded change has, by the goodness of God, proved one of the happiest periods in my life, and I can look back upon no part of it with greater thankfulness and satisfaction. I had the comfort to see my Lord Hertford recovering his health by the use of those waters as fast as I could hope for. I found it was no longer necessary (as formerly, to avoid giving offence) to be always or frequently in company; I enjoyed the conversation of two worthy old friends whom I did not expect to meet

honour to his family, an ornament to his country; with a heart early attached to all the duties of religion and society; with the advantage of strong and uninterrupted health joined to a form which, when he came into Italy, made him more generally known by the name of the 'English angel' than by that of his family. I know this account may look like a mother's fondness; perhaps it was too much so once; but, alas! it now only serves to show the uncertainty and frailty of all human dependence. This justly beloved child was snatched from us before we could hear of his illness: that fatal disease, the small-pox, seized him at Bologna, and carried him off the evening of his birth day, Sept. 11, 1744, on which he had completed nineteen years. Two posts before I had a letter from him, written with all the life and innocent cheerfulness inherent to his nature; the next but one came from his afflicted governor, to acquaint his unhappy father that he had lost the most dutiful and best of sons, the pride and hope of his declining age. He bore the stroke like a wise man and a Christian, but never forgot nor ceased to sigh for it. A long series of pain and infirmity, which was daily gaining ground, showed me the sword which appeared suspended over my head by an almost cobweb thread long before it dropped." Alluding to the death of both her husband and son, she observes, writing to Lady Luxborough, Sept. 9, 1750, "You are very obliging in the concern you express for the scenes of sorrow I have passed through. I have indeed suffered deeply; but, when I consider it is the will of God, who never chastises his poor creatures but for their good, and reflect at the same time how unworthy I was of these blessings which I now lament the loss of, I lay my hand upon my mouth, and dare not repine, but hope I can with truth appeal to him in the following words: *Questo affanno ei su che, non si oppone al suo santo voler: ch'io gemo e gli offero tutti i gemiti miei ch'io rango et in tanto benedico il suo nome in mezzo del' pianto.*" "Such sorrow is sent that none may oppose his holy will. Let me sigh, and offer up all my sighs to him! Let me mourn, and in the mean time bless his name in the midst of my sorrow!"

there; and had an opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with Lady Huntingdon, and admiring that truly Christian spirit which seems to animate the whole course of her life; and as I seldom went out I read a great deal, and Frederick, the bookseller, used to send the new books which he received on the wagon nights, of which I kept what I chose, and sent back the rest. One night he sent me an account of some remarkable passages relating to the Life of Colonel Gardiner; as I had known this gentleman in his unconverted state, and often heard with admiration the sudden and thorough change of his conduct for many years, it gave me a curiosity to read a book which seemed to promise me some information upon that subject. I was so touched with the account given of it, that I could not help speaking of it to almost every body I saw; among others, the dowager Lady Hyndford came to make me a visit in the morning, and as I knew she was of his country, and had lived much in it, I began to talk to her of the book, and happened to name the author. Upon which she said she would believe whatever he wrote, for he was a truly good man, and had wrote upon the ‘Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul,’ in a manner which she was sure would please me. She gave me the title in writing, and I bought the book the day before I left Bath. I have now been at home three weeks, and have already had the pleasure to engage several others to read it, who I hope will think of it as I do. I would not wish to trouble you to write to me yourself, but a letter from your amanuensis to let me know how you enjoy your health, and whether you are still carrying on some work of your pen, to the glory of our great Master, would be a very sincere pleasure to me. Let me beg to be remembered in your prayers, for I am every day more sensible of the imperfection of my own, and yet I hope my heart is sincere in its desire that it may be brought to a perfect conformity and submission to the will of my heavenly Father.

“My Lord Hertford always mentions you with regard, and

will be glad of your acceptance of the assurance of his friendship.

“I am, with an affectionate esteem, Sir,

“Your most faithful and obliged humble servant,

“HERTFORD.”

FROM THE SAME.

“Percy Lodge, Dec. 3, 1747.

“Sir,

“I have received the valuable book* you was so good as to send me, and though I have from some necessary interruptions been able to read only about half of it, I am so much pleased with those admirable discourses, that I cannot be easy any longer to defer my sincere thanks for the satisfaction I have already received from them.

“It is much to be lamented that the modern preachers in our church indulge themselves and their hearers with cold, though well-penned, essays of morality, as it were forgetting that the only anchor of our salvation is the merits of Jesus Christ, who laid down his life to redeem us from the slavery of sin and Satan. It is by this fashionable way of preaching that I am afraid many serious people are led into the unhappy mistake of trusting to their own righteousness, and find it a hard lesson to rank themselves with the sinners of this world.

“My Lord desires to assure you of his sincere regards, and I am with the most cordial esteem and gratitude, Sir,

“Your most obliged and faithful humble servant,

“F. HERTFORD.

“Sir Hugh Smithson and Lady Betty have been in town some time, but I will let them know your kind remembrance of them.”

* The “Evangelical Discourses.”

FROM THE REV. JAMES HERVEY.

“ Weston Favell, Dec. 10, 1747.

“ Rev. and dear Sir,

“ Pardon me if I take leave to interrupt your important studies for the good of mankind, or suspend for one moment your delightful communion with the blessed God. I cannot excuse myself without expressing my gratitude for the present by your order lately transmitted from your bookseller,* which I shall always value, not only for its instructive contents, but in a very peculiar manner for the sake of the author and giver.

“ To tell you, worthy Doctor, that your works have long been my delight and study, the favourite pattern by which I would form my conduct and model my style, would be only to echo back in the faintest accents what sounds in the general voice of the nation. Among other of your edifying compositions I have reason to thank you for your Sacred Songs, which I have introduced into the service of my church ; so that in the solemnities of the sabbath, and in a lecture on the week-day, your muse lights up the incense of our praise, and furnishes our devotions with harmony.

“ Our excellent friend, Dr. Doddridge, informs me of the infirm condition of your health, for which reason I humbly beseech the Father of Spirits, and the God of our life, to renew your strength as the eagle’s, and to recruit a lamp that has shone with distinguished lustre in his sanctuary ; or, if this may not consist with the counsels of unerring wisdom, to make all your bed in your languishing, softly to untie the cords of animal existence, and enable your dislodging soul to pass triumphantly through the valley of death, leaning on your beloved Jesus and rejoicing in the greatness of his salvation.

* The Discourses “ On the Glory of Christ, as God-Man.”

“ You have a multitude of names to bear on your breast, and mention with your lips, when you approach the throne of grace in the beneficent exercise of intercession; but none I am sure has more need of such an interest in your supplications, none I believe can more highly esteem it, or more earnestly desire it, than, dear Sir,

“ Your obliged and affectionate humble servant,

“ JAMES HERVEY.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

1748.

DEATH AND CHARACTER.

STATE OF MIND.—REMARKS OF DR. GIBBONS.—CONVERSATION WITH LADY ABNEY, MR. PARKER, AND DR. STENNET.—REPORTED INTERVIEW WITH MR. WHITFIELD FALSE.—THE AUTUMN OF 1748.—MR. PARKER'S LETTER TO DR. DODDRIDGE:—TO MR. ENOCH WATTS.—VARIOUS PARTICULARS.—DEATH OF DR. WATTS:—FUNERAL IN BUNHILL FIELDS:—ORATION BY DR. CHANDLER.—DR. GROSVENOR.—MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION.—FUNERAL SERMON BY DR. JENNINGS.—PERSONAL APPEARANCE:—ANECDOTE.—CHARACTER AS A WRITER:—DR. JOHNSON'S ESTIMATE.—CHARACTER AS A PREACHER:—SUPERIOR TO DR. FOSTER.—USEFUL TO HIS FATHER'S SERVANT.—HIS CONVERSATION.—HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER.—REMARKS OF DR. KNOX:—DR. JOHN MILNER.—LINES BY REV. MOSES BROWNE AND REV. BENJAMIN SOWDEN.

THE closing scene of Dr. Watts's life was worthy of his long and honourable career. While he exhibited the sustaining influence of religion by his patient submission to painful chastisement, he exemplified its sublime and exhilarating hopes by his joyful confidence in the prospect of death. As his day was eminently bright and useful, so the evening was remarkably serene and happy. With a mind perfectly composed he contemplated his approaching dissolution; without the least anxiety he conversed about the event to those around him, and calmly awaited the stroke that might be daily expected. In "full age and hoary holiness" he was ripe for the tomb and ready for the skies.

"I never could discover," says Dr. Gibbons, "though I was frequently with him, the least shadow of a doubt as to his

future everlasting happiness, or any thing that looked like an unwillingness to die. How have I known him recite with a self-application those words in Heb. x. 36; 'Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God ye may receive the promise!' And how have I heard him, upon leaving the family after supper and withdrawing to rest, declare with the sweetest composure, that if his Master were to say to him he had no more work for him to do, he should be glad to be dismissed that night! I once heard him say," he remarks further, "with a kind of impatience, perhaps such as might in some degree trespass upon that submission we ought at all times to pay to the divine will, 'I wonder why the great God should continue me in life, when I am incapable of performing him any further service.'"* The exhaustion of his animal spirits might prompt such an expression of feeling as this; but notwithstanding, Dr. Jennings observes in his funeral sermon, "the active and sprightly powers of his nature failed him for two or three years before his decease, his trust in God through Jesus the Mediator remained unshaken to the last."†

To Lady Abney and the members of the family he would frequently say, "I bless God I can lie down with comfort at night, not being solicitous whether I awake in this world or another." And again, "I should be glad to read more, yet not in order to be confirmed more in the truth of the Christian religion, or in the truth of its promises, for I believe them enough to venture an eternity on them." When he was almost worn out and broken down by his infirmities he observed, in conversation with a friend, that he remembered an aged minister used to say, that the most learned and knowing Christians, when they come to die, have only the same plain promises of the gospel for their support, as the common and unlearned; "and so," said he, "I find it. They are the plain promises of

* Gibbons's Life.

† Jennings's Sermon, p. 33.

the gospel which are my support, and I bless God they are plain promises, which do not require much labour or pains to understand them; for I can do nothing now but look into my bible for some promise to support me, and live upon that." When he found his spirit tending to impatience, and ready to complain, he would thus check himself: "The business of a Christian is to bear the will of God as well as to do it. If I were in health I could only be doing that, and that I may do now. The best thing in obedience is a regard to the will of God, and the way to that is to get our inclinations and aversions as much mortified as we can." The following expressions were minuted down by Mr. Parker from his lips: "I would be waiting to see what God will do with me. It is good to say as Mr. Baxter, 'What, when, and where God pleases.' If God should raise me up again I may finish some more of my papers, or God can make use of me to save a soul, and that will be worth living for. If God has no more service for me to do, through grace, I am ready. It is a great mercy to me that I have no manner of fear or dread of death: I could, if God please, lay my head back and die without terror, this afternoon or night. My chief supports are from my view of eternal things, and the interest I have in them: I trust all my sins are pardoned through the blood of Christ. I have no fear of dying; it would be my greatest comfort to lie down and sleep and wake no more."

Dr. Stennett called upon him a few months before his death, when his discourse was most devout and heavenly, and he particularly spoke of our dependence on Christ, observing, that "if we parted with him what would become of our hopes?" About the same time, or nearer his dissolution, Dr. Gibbons came into his study, found him alone, and sat down for conversation with him. With high pleasure he spoke concerning the scripture method of salvation. Not a word did he say of what he had been or had done in life, but his soul seemed to be swallowed up with gratitude and joy for the redemption of

sinners by Jesus Christ. "I have reason to regret," he states, "that, upon leaving his company, I did not commit to writing the very words in which he expressed himself, but my recollection sufficiently serves me to authenticate this anecdote; and, perhaps, in all his days he was never in a frame of mind in which he more fully answered the description of the apostle Peter, when he says, referring to our Lord Jesus Christ (1 Pet. i. 8), 'Whom, having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.'"

When confined to his room, no more to leave it but for the grave, Dr. Gibbons, who visited him, relates, "I found him exceedingly weak and low, the lamp of life very feebly glimmering in its last decay, but he was still in the perfect possession of his understanding. He told me, in answer to my inquiry whether he had any pain in his body, that he had none, and acknowledged it as a great mercy. To my second question, how it was with his soul, whether all was comfortable there, he replied, it was, and confessed it to be a great mercy."*

The autumn of 1748 found him reduced to a state of great

*There is a relation in Toplady's Narrative, concerning the last hours of Dr. Watts, which Dr. Gibbons pronounces a fabulous story. It is to the effect, that "little more than half an hour before Dr. Watts expired he was visited by his dear friend, Mr. Whitfield. The latter asking him how he found himself, the dying Doctor answered, 'Here am I, one of Christ's waiting servants.' Soon after a medicine was brought in, and Mr. Whitfield assisted in raising him up upon the bed, that he might with more conveniency take the draught. On the Doctor's apologising for the trouble he gave Mr. Whitfield, the latter replied with his usual amiable politeness, 'Surely, my dear brother, I am not too good to wait on a waiting servant of Christ.' Soon after Mr. Whitfield took his leave, and often regretted since that he had not prolonged his visit, which he would certainly have done could he have foreseen that his friend was but within half an hour's distance from the kingdom of glory." "The whole of this story," says Gibbons, "is fictitious; for Mr. Whitfield never visited the Doctor in his last illness or confinement, nor had any conversation or interview with him for some months before his decease. It were to be wished that greater care was practised by the writers of other persons' lives, that illusions might not take place and obtain the regards of truth, and lay historians who come after them under the unpleasant necessity of dissolving their figments, and thereby in consequence evincing to the world how little credit is due to their relations."

feebleness, accompanied with much pain of body. His last illness commenced in the early part of November, and confined him to his chamber for about three weeks. During this period he was able to sit up almost every day three or four hours, but had only strength to express himself at intervals. Lady Abney and Mr. Parker, his amanuensis, assiduously attended his dying bed, in tears on account of their loss, in joy anticipating his gain. On the morning of Monday, November the 21st, he wanted much to get up, but an hour exhausted him, and he lay down again for the last time. His physician, Dr. Clark, was with him the next day, and remarked to the family that he was going off apace.

“Through the goodness of God,” Mr. Parker writes to Dr. Doddridge, Nov. 22nd, “he lay tolerably easy, and fell into a doze, in which he spent the night. He would not receive any cordial, but half a spoonful once or twice; took no notice of any body, yet answered rationally when any question was asked. I fulfilled your request last night at five o’clock; he took notice of it, but in such broken language that I cannot inform you in what manner. I never knew his mind any other than calm and peaceful; and so it will remain, I trust, to the time of his departure, which we think must take place in a few hours, at least before it is possible this can reach your hands. And I doubt not he will have a triumphant entrance into the heavenly kingdom of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, after almost fifty years of painful yet delightful and successful labour for the gospel of Christ, and in the seventy-fifth of his age.

“I can say no more, only I would request a letter from you to my Lady, who cannot but be much affected, as we all are, upon this melancholy occasion. I should be thankful if you would put up one petition for me, who am so soon to be bereaved of the best of masters and kindest of friends, whom I have served upwards of twenty-one years, and have it now to

bewail that I have improved no more by such an uncommon favour of Providence.”

On Thursday the 24th he wrote to Mr. Enoch Watts at Southampton as follows:—“ I wrote to you by the last post that we apprehended my master very near his end, and that we thought it not possible he should be alive when the letter reached your hands ; and it will no doubt greatly surprise you to hear that he still lives. We ourselves are amazed at it. He passed through the last night in the main quiet and easy, but for five hours would receive nothing within his lips. I was down in his chamber early in the morning, and found him quite sensible. I begged he would be pleased to take a little liquid to moisten his mouth, and he received at my hand three tea-spoonfuls, and has done the like several times this day. Upon inquiry he told me he lay easy, and his mind was peaceful and serene. I said to him this morning, that he had taught us how to live, and was now teaching us how to die by his patience and composure, for he has been remarkably in this frame for several days past. He replied, ‘ Yes.’ I told him I hoped he experienced the comfort of these words, ‘ I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.’ He answered, ‘ I do.’ The ease of body and calmness of mind which he enjoys is a great mercy to him and to us. His sick chamber has nothing terrifying in it. He is an upright man, and I doubt not but his end will be peace. We are ready to use the words of Job, and say, ‘ We shall seek him in the morning, but he shall not be.’ But God only knows, by whose power he is upheld in life, and for wise purposes no doubt. He told me he liked I should be with him. All other business is put off, and I am in the house night and day. I would administer all the relief that is in my power. He is worthy of all that can be done for him. I am your very faithful and truly afflicted servant,

“ JOSEPH PARKER.”

The next day, Friday, Nov. 25th, in the afternoon, aged seventy-four years, four months, and eight days, Dr. Watts bid farewell to the abodes of mortality, and peacefully resigned his spirit into the hands of his Creator.* The intelligence was communicated to his brother Enoch by Mr. Parker : — “Nov. 26th. At length the fatal news is come. The spirit of the good man, my dear master, took its flight from the body to worlds unseen and joys unknown, yesterday in the afternoon, without a struggle or a groan. My Lady Abney and Miss Abney are supported as well as we can reasonably expect. It is a house of mourning and tears, for I have told you before now, that we all attended upon him and served him from a principle of love and esteem. May God forgive us all that we have improved no more by him while we enjoyed him!”

Dr. Gibbons remarks, “May I take the liberty of adding, that I saw the corpse of this excellent man in his coffin, and observed nothing more than death in its aspect. The countenance appeared quite placid, like a person fallen into a gentle sleep, or such as the spirit might be supposed to leave behind it upon its willing departure to the celestial happiness.”

Dr. Watts in his will† directed, that his remains should be interred in Bunhill Fields, deep in the earth, among the relics of many of his pious fathers and brethren, whom he had known in the flesh, and with whom he wished to be found in the resurrection. He ordered that the ceremony should be performed with as little show as possible, and expressly enjoined no rings to be given. In order that his grave might read a lecture of that *moderation* which his life had exemplified and his pen had advocated, he desired that his funeral

* The event is thus recorded in the Gent. Mag. “Nov. 25, Isaac Watts, D. D. a truly ingenious and accomplished person, as well in polite literature as divinity and the sciences, of which his writings as well poetical as prosaic abundantly testify, and no less exemplary for candour, piety, and solid virtue. He was a dissenting minister, but honoured by all parties.” *Obit.*

† Appendix J.

should be attended by two Independent ministers, two Presbyterian, and two Baptist.

On Monday, Dec. 5th, the body was laid in its final resting-place, in the presence of an immense number of spectators. The oration at the tomb was delivered by the Rev. Samuel Chandler, D. D. and afterwards printed. "We here commit to the ground," said the speaker, "the venerable remains of one who, being intrusted with many excellent talents by Him who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, cheerfully and unweariedly employed them as a faithful steward of the manifold grace of God in his Master's service, approving himself as a minister of Christ in much patience, in afflictions, and distresses, by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the armour of righteousness, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report; and who, amidst trials from within and from without, was continued by the kind providence of God, and the powerful supports of his grace, to a good old age, honoured and beloved by all parties, retaining his usefulness till he had just finished his course, and being at last favoured, according to his own wishes and prayers, with a release from the labours of life into that peaceful state of good men which commences immediately after death. O, how delightful is that voice from heaven which has thus pronounced, 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works follow them!'"

In returning from the funeral Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor was accosted by a friend as follows: "Well, Doctor, you have seen the end of Dr. Watts, and must soon follow him. What think you of death?" "Think of it?" replied he; "why when death comes I shall smile on him, if God smile on me."

To prevent the laboured panegyric that partial friends might have inscribed upon his tomb-stone, Dr. Watts composed his

own humble epitaph. This appears upon a handsome monument over his grave :

“ Isaac Watts, D. D. pastor of a church of Christ in London, successor to the Rev. Mr. Joseph Caryl, Dr. John Owen, Mr. David Clarkson, and Dr. Isaac Chauncey, after fifty years of feeble labours in the gospel, interrupted by four years of tiresome sickness, was at last dismissed to his rest —

“ In uno IESU omnia.

“ 2 Cor. v. 8. Absent from the body, and present with the Lord.

“ Col. iii. 4. When Christ, who is my life, shall appear, then shall I also appear with him in glory.”

“ This monument, on which the above modest inscription is placed, by order of the deceased, was erected, as a small testimony of regard to his memory, by Sir John Hartopp, Bart., and Dame Mary Abney.” There is also a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

As no directions were given by Dr. Watts with reference to his funeral sermon, Mr. Price, his colleague, was requested to undertake that service, but his feelings would not allow him to venture upon it ; and Dr. David Jennings was, therefore, solicited to improve the event. On Monday, Dec. 11th, he preached to the congregation of the deceased in Bury Street, from Heb. xi. 4: “ By it, he being dead, yet speaketh ” — a discourse which was printed at the request of the bereaved church. “ It is with peculiar propriety,” says the preacher, “ that these words may be applied to the present occasion, and I may say, ‘ This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears ; ’ for he, whose death we are now called to improve, may be considered as yet speaking to you, not only by the example of his life, the instructive remembrance of which will, I hope,

be always dear to you, but also by his many excellent writings; on account of which, if I am not greatly deceived, the same thing will be said of him in far-distant ages that is said of Abel in our text, that ‘he, being dead, yet speaketh.’ While he is now celebrating the honours of God and of the Lamb, in the new songs of heaven, how many thousands of pious worshippers are this day lifting up their hearts to God in the sacred songs that he taught them upon earth! Though his ‘voice’ is not any longer heard by us, yet his ‘words,’ like those of the day and night, are ‘gone out to the end of the world.’ America and Europe still hear him speak, and it is highly probable they may continue to do so till Europe and America shall be no more.”

The personal appearance of Dr. Watts was not such as to command attention; though by no means disagreeable, it was certainly not prepossessing. His stature was beneath the common standard, perhaps not above five feet, or at most five feet two inches, but without any thing like a deformity in his frame. His body was spare and lean, his face oval, his nose aquiline, his complexion fair and pale, his forehead low, his cheek bones rather prominent. The expression of his countenance was heavy in the absence of any exciting cause: an indifferent spectator would never have singled out the man of genius in the crowd. His eyes were small and grey, and, when attentive or eager, piercing and expressive. The anecdote is well known, that being once in a coffee-room with some friends, he over-heard a gentleman remark contemptuously of his appearance, “What! is that the great Dr. Watts?” With admirable presence of mind and great good-humour he turned round and repeated one of his own stanzas:

“Were I so tall to reach the pole,
Or grasp the ocean with a span,
I must be measur’d by my soul —
The mind’s the standard of the man.”

But whatever might be his personal deficiencies, they were

amply compensated by his intellectual acquirements. The natural strength of his genius he cultivated and improved by an extensive range of reading and close application to study. He had all the qualifications which usually insure success in the acquisition of knowledge. His judgment was exact, his taste discriminating, his industry indefatigable, his memory retentive. He once repeated to Dr. Gibbons, when in advanced life, some verses from Juvenal with the readiness of an Etonian — a writer he acknowledged he had not read since his younger days. In fine, the close thinking of the philosopher, was united to the rich fancy of the poet and the sober and devout views of the divine. “Though that which gave him the most remarkable pre-eminence, was the extent and sublimity of his imagination; yet how few have excelled or even equalled him in quickness of apprehension and solidity of judgment!”

As a writer no man has a greater posthumous claim upon the respect of his countrymen and the gratitude of the church. In little more than forty years he produced fifty-two distinct publications, some of them voluminous, and all, with one or two exceptions, the result of great labour. It is not, however, upon any one production of surpassing excellence that Dr. Watts’s fame as an author rests: his name derives its chief distinction from the versatility of his genius, and the variety of his attainments. His soul was too large and noble to be confined within narrow limits. He could not be content to leave any path of learning untried, nor to rest in total ignorance of any science, the knowledge of which might be for his own improvement, or might in any way tend to enlarge his capacity of being useful to others. Hence, he investigated theology in all its branches — he examined nature in all her works — and he pursued philosophy to her profoundest mysteries. He has written for childhood, youth, maturity, and hoary hairs — he has instructed the sage, the Christian, and the “multitude who keep holy day” — he has benefitted all

ages, and been taught to speak in almost all languages. “I question,” says Dr. Jennings, “whether any author before him did ever appear with reputation on such a variety of subjects as he has done, both as a prose writer and as a poet. However, this I may venture to say, that there is no man now living of whose works so many have been dispersed both at home and abroad, that are in such constant use, and translated into such a variety of languages ; many of which, I doubt not, will remain more durable monuments of his great talents, than any representation I can make of them, though it were to be given on pillars of brass.” The estimate of his literary character by Dr. Johnson is, upon the whole, as just as it is beautiful : “ Few men have left behind such purity of character, or such monuments of laborious piety. He has provided instruction for all ages, from those who are lisping their first lessons to the enlightened readers of Malbranche and Locke ; he has left neither corporeal nor spiritual natures unexamined ; he has taught the art of reasoning and the science of the stars. His character, therefore, must be formed from the multiplicity and diversity of his attainments, rather than from any single performance ; for it would not be safe to claim for him the highest rank in any single denomination of literary dignity ; yet perhaps there was nothing in which he would not have excelled, if he had not divided his powers to different pursuits.”

As a preacher he ranked high among his contemporaries ; his printed discourses establish his claim to eminence in this respect. He carefully adapted himself to the meanest capacity, yet never in such a way as to offend the educated and refined. There was always a rich vein of good sense and profitable instruction in his sermons, adorned with occasional gleams of vivid imagination. Though the antinomians raised against him the senseless cry of legality, yet he proclaimed with unabated earnestness the duties as well as the blessings of the gospel, and advanced the threatenings of the

Lord with the free offers of his grace. He ever kept in mind the great object of his office, "to feed the church of God"—not to amuse the idle, to please the curious, or to gratify the learned. "It is no wonder," say Dr. Jennings, "that a man so richly furnished with gifts and graces, was an admired preacher: when he spoke such strains of truly Christian eloquence flowed from his lips, and these so apparently animated with zeal for God and the most tender concern for souls and their everlasting salvation, as one would think could not be easily slighted or resisted." He had a highly respectable and very numerous auditory. The congregation at Bury Street, which was small at the commencement of his ministry, increased considerably under his care, and many additions were made to the church of those who were "his glory and joy."

In the pulpit he had none of the advantages of imposing person, commanding voice, or elegant gesticulation. It might truly be said, that his bodily presence was weak. He made use of little or no action. His voice was rather too fine and slender, but regular, audible, and musical. But in spite of his low stature his appearance when preaching is said to have been remarkably dignified: his manner was unaffectedly grave and solemn. He seldom quoted poetry, a habit generally characteristic of indolence or mental poverty. His enunciation was distinct, accurate, and easy, always pleasing by its cadence, but impressive when the subject required it. "I once," says Dr. Johnson, "mentioned the reputation which Mr. [Dr.] Foster had gained by his proper delivery to my friend Dr. Hawkesworth, who told me that in the art of pronunciation he was far inferior to Dr. Watts." His general mode of sermonising was to prepare an outline of his subject, which he took with him into the pulpit, and trusted to his extemporaneous powers to fill up the sketch. In early life he prepared with greater care, and almost entirely pre-composed his discourses. At the close of his sentences, when

any thing more than ordinarily important was treated of, he frequently paused a little, to give his hearers opportunity for reflection. With a boundless fertility of imagination, and complete command of language, he was never hurried, seldom vehement. He maintained a perpetual control over himself and his subject. In younger life his periods were prolix and involved, his style was too diffuse and luxuriant, but these defects by a little care and attention he at length conquered.

Dr. Gibbons says, "I once asked him whether in his preaching he did not find himself sometimes too much awed by his auditory. He told me, that when such a man, mentioning a gentleman of eminent abilities and learning, has come into the assembly, and taken his eye, that he has felt something like a momentary tremor upon him, but that he recovered himself by remembering what God said to the prophet Jeremiah, chap. i. 17: 'Be not dismayed at their faces, lest I confound thee before them.' In prayer it might perhaps be truly said, that he excelled himself. It was throughout an address to Deity, not in florid expressions, but in easy and unadorned language, and rather short and weighty periods. There was an extent in his addresses to Deity, which comprehended every proper subject, and at the same time such a brevity, though not so as to be disagreeably or affectedly sententious, in the representation of each of them, that at the conclusion of his prayer a hearer might find himself at a loss to conceive what more or less could have been said. The like pauses between sentence and sentence were observed by him in prayer which he observed in preaching, if they were not rather longer."

"To stated and public instruction he added familiar visits and personal application, and was careful to improve the opportunities which conversation offered of diffusing and increasing the influence of religion."* When visiting his people

* Dr. Johnson.

in the discharge of pastoral duty, he usually took with him a number of religious tracts, to present to the younger members of their families. The Rev. Mr. Kingsbury of Southampton related the following to Dr. Gibbons, as he received it from the mouth of the son-in-law of the person: — “Mr. Richard Ellecock was a servant in old Mr. Watts’s family. Dr. Watts going to London after the last time of his visiting his father at Southampton, Richard Ellecock was ordered to go with him a day’s journey. The Doctor entered into serious discourse with him, which made a deep and lasting impression on his heart, and was the means of his sound and saving conversion. After he came to London he wrote to his father, recommending the servant to his particular regard, for that he doubted not he would make an eminent Christian; and so he lived and died, leaving an honourable character for piety and uprightness behind him. This is attested by many.”

Fond of studious retirement, and devoted to his books, in the early part of his career he seldom went much abroad. Affliction afterwards frequently rendered it impossible. But in his seasons of health and vigour, when thrown into company, and drawn out in conversation, his society was always interesting and profitable. His conversation was such as in all respects became the man of wisdom and the man of God. As he never discovered any thing like a high opinion of himself, so neither did he show any disposition to traduce or depreciate others. He had his opponents, and those who endeavoured to represent him in the most disadvantageous light; but it was never observed, however much their treatment might be felt, that it drew from him any unkind reflections, any hostile remarks. In his common conversation he never appeared to be at any loss for thought or expression. “Indeed, no person,” says Dr. Gibbons, “with whom I was ever acquainted, spoke with more ease, readiness, and elegance than he did; and, as his discourse flowed like a clear full stream from an inexhaustible fountain, so it was very instructive and

entertaining. I have collected some proofs of this kind, the much greater part of which are taken from the register of my own memory:—He observed, ‘I could wish young ministers in the country might be allowed by their people to read a part of Mr. Henry’s exposition of the bible, or repeat a sermon from some good author, one part of the Lord’s day, as it is certainly too much for them to compose two sermons a week so early in life.—One of the darkest mysteries in providence is, that God should suffer a worthless and wicked man to have the absolute dominion over nations of mankind.—Never mind spoiling a well-turned period if you may but have the hope of reaching a conscience. Polished and harmonious language is oftentimes like oil flowing smoothly over marble, which leaves no traces behind it.—Poor mankind are like feeble riders set on wild horses. The multitude go in a track, *non quà eundum est, sed quà itur*, not where they should go, but where others go.—I had rather be the author of Mr. Baxter’s Call to the Unconverted, than the author of Milton’s Paradise Lost.—It seems quite reasonable and fit, that there should be a general diffusion and reign of the gospel, and that for some considerable continuance before the end of time, as there has been such a general dominion of sin and misery for so many ages in our world.—It is an excellent observation of Thomas à Kempis, that it does not require much ingenuity to be a Christian.—Should a heathen be convinced of his sins, humbly and penitentially confess them before God, and implore his mercy, he would, in my opinion, be accepted of him, as he was prepared for receiving grace, and only wanted the object of faith to be revealed to him.—I look upon the apostle Paul and Cicero to be the greatest geniuses that ever appeared in our world.—Dr. Owen excelled as an experimental, and Mr. Baxter as a practical divine.’ When speaking of that passage in Job, xli. 18, where it is said of the crocodile, that ‘his eyes are like the eye-lids of the morning,’ ‘In the morning,’ said he, ‘you may sometimes observe, upon the edge of the hori-

zon, a bright opening of the day, and above it a black scowling cloud. The bright opening of the day is not unlike an eye, and the incumbent cloud is not unlike an eye-lid; and, hence, the poetic ground for the expression. — In that cartoon of Raphael's, where St. Paul is represented preaching at Athens, the apostle is drawn stretching out his hands to their utmost length towards heaven, while the people are held in the most devout and deep attention below: I will tell you,' said the Doctor, 'what St. Paul is saying— Behold, he comes!' —Of Young's *Night Thoughts* he pleasantly observed, that they had too much of the darkness of the night in them."

His character displayed numerous and striking excellences. Though his temper was naturally hasty, and rendered him quick of resentment, yet he so far mastered his passions as to be gentle, modest, and inoffensive in his established practice. His great sensibility made it impossible for him not to feel poignantly when maligned and misrepresented, as was frequently the case; but though he might occasionally express himself sharply, he never cherished malevolence or harboured ill-will. To the tale of sorrow he was ever alive; his soul sympathised with the distresses of others, and was attracted by the "still sad music of humanity." During his residence in the Abney family he constantly devoted a fifth (Dr. Johnson says a third) part of his income, which was seldom more than an hundred a year, to charitable purposes. Dr. Jennings, who knew him well, gives the following rapid sketch in his funeral sermon: "It is hard to say, what grace or virtue was most conspicuous in him, and most characteristic of him. Pure and undissembled piety was the settled habit and constant dress of his mind. And though he loved and enjoyed much retirement, yet did he not thereby contract any thing of an affected stiffness or monkish austerity; but, on the contrary, the satisfaction and pleasure that he found in communion with God in solitude, made him more easy and cheerful in his converse with men, and seemed to enlighten his very

countenance. His humility was like a deep shade, if I may so express it, that set off his other graces and virtues, and made them shine with a brighter lustre. Hence, flowed that condescension and goodness, that humanity and kindness, which could not but endear him to all who had the pleasure of conversing with him, and which rendered him venerable in a much higher degree than all the honours he received from the world. In close connexion with this were to be seen his candour and charity, for which he was remarkably eminent. The love that glowed in his heart to his Saviour, constrained him cordially to embrace all whom he esteemed to be his genuine disciples; and no party names, nor variety of sentiments in matters of doubtful disputation, nor of practice in modes of worship, could divide him in affection from such as he had reason to hope loved our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. Accordingly he maintained a free and friendly correspondence with Christians of different parties and denominations. Though he judged the principles of the moderate nonconformists most favourable to Christian liberty and the rights of conscience, and their forms of worship most agreeable to the simplicity of the gospel; yet he had a high veneration for the persons and writings of many in the established church, as many of them, both in higher and lower stations, had for him and his writings. And I speak it to the distinguished honour and praise of some very reverend personages of that communion, as well as to his, that they frequently presented him with their works and accepted of his in return; on which, as well as on other occasions, very serious and affectionate letters have passed between them, for the strengthening of each other's hands in the cause of our common Christianity.”*

The following extracts will serve further to illustrate his character, and show the high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries of every communion.

* Funeral Sermon, 29—31.

Dr. Vicesimus Knox, in his *Christian Philosophy*, has the following remark concerning him: "For my own part," says he, "I cannot but think this good man approached as nearly to Christian perfection as any mortal ever did in this sublunary state; and, therefore, I consider him as a better interpreter of the Christian doctrine than the most learned critics, who, proud of their reason and their learning, despised or neglected the very life and soul of Christianity, the living, everlasting gospel, the supernatural influence of divine grace: and be it ever remembered, that Dr. Watts was a man who studied the abstrusest sciences, and was as well qualified to become a verbal critic, or a logical disputant on the Scriptures, as the most learned among the doctors of the Sorbonne, or the greatest proficient in polemical divinity. I mention this circumstance for the consideration of those who insinuate that the doctrines of grace cannot be entertained but by ignorant, as well as fanatical persons, by persons uninitiated in the mysteries of philosophy."

Dr. John Milner, the author of a sermon entitled "The Rest and Reward of good men at Death, preached at Peckam, Surry, Dec. 11, 1748, being the next Lord's Day after the interment of that eminent, faithful, and useful minister of Jesus Christ, Dr. Isaac Watts," expresses himself thus in a prefatory letter to a friend: "Whilst Dr. Watts lived, he was an honour to the dissenters. His uncommon genius, his polite taste, his pious and useful labours, should endear his memory to those who had the credit and benefit of them. A weak constitution too often confined him from appearing in active life, yet this he compensated by his diligence in the contemplative. He did not retreat to indolence and ease, under the favour of an honourable friendship, but fully employed himself in finishing those plans he designed for the good of mankind. The number of his works just published, and those he left behind him in manuscript, show that he was diligent in his retirement, and animated in his

compositions by generous and social affections. His works generally met with acceptance, as he wrote with ease and elegance, and could, from the richness of his imagination, enliven the most common subjects, and add a lustre to the most interesting. His charity was very extensive to honest men in different sentiments from himself. He firmly adhered to what he took to be truth, and as freely condemned error; but, at the same time, was ready to make allowance for human weakness, and to consider the different sentiments among Christians, if they did not eclipse the distinguishing glories of our holy religion, and destroy its practical power and influence, I say he could consider them as monuments of our imperfection, and trials of our charity to one another."

Towards the close of his letter Dr. Milner adds, "Such was Dr. Watts's Christian temper, that it disposed him to friendship with persons of different denominations. Such were his abilities and labours, that he has acquired to his name a kind of immortality on earth. His name will be mentioned with respect while true vital religion preserves its authority amongst us, while liberty and the gospel shall be the honour of Great Britain. When we come to instruct our young friends at home, or to praise God in our public assemblies, the name of this excellent man will be repeated, who has furnished us with such agreeable helps for both; neither will his name or worth be unknown to the schools of philosophy."*

* Funeral Sermon. Pref. iii. iv. vi. Dr. Doddridge, in a letter to Dr. Samuel Clarke, observes, "I am much better pleased with Mr. Milner's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Watts than with Mr. Jennings's. Mr. Gibbons's Elegiac Poem has undoubtedly some very striking beauties, but I think it had been better had Gabriel spoken less." The poem referred to is dedicated to Lady Abney, and certainly has no claim to attention but as a memorial of friendship. Raphael is the chief spokesman, but the whole angelic host is introduced descending to listen to Watts's "tuneful praises," and wondering

"How a spirit, cramp'd in clay,
Can rival their devotion and their bliss."

To the preceding testimonics, the two following poetical pieces are worthy of being added :

TO THE MEMORY OF THE REV. DR. ISAAC WATTS :

By the Rev. Moses Browne, Vicar of Olney, Buckinghamshire, a name well known by its connexion with those of Cowper, Scott, and Newton.

“THY funeral honours weeping friends have paid :
Peace to thine hallow'd dust, paternal shade !
Our thoughts those mournful images employ,
O lately ours, whom angels now enjoy !

The archangel in his speech addresses, I suppose, Dr. Gibbons, who had seated himself on Parnassus to inhale the breezes of the poetie mount, and catch inspiration for the task of embalming the virtues of his friend in immortal verse. The divine at once concedes the point of precedence to his illustrious visiter, who thus commences his lay :

“ I was the guardian-angel of the saint,
That crowns thy numbers, from his natal day
Till death's o'erwhelming shadow clos'd his sight.
I watch'd him in the various tracks of life,
His public labours, and retiring hours ;
And half-sustain'd him in the dangerous field
Of soothing flatteries and infernal storms ;
And when his fated sands of time were run,
I spread my starry pinion, and convey'd
His spirit, tow'ring from its ruin'd earth,
In glorious triumph through the roads of light,
To take its dwelling in congenial skies :
And now commission'd from the Throne, I come
To unveil the heavenly treasures of his breast,
And kindle thine ambition's strong resolve,
To heir a sacred portion of his soul.
Be all attention to my just applause,
And stamp his living image on thy heart.”

The doctor accordingly remains during this interesting *tete a tete*, all eye and ear to the angel ; and Raphael thus finishes his song :

“ These were his honours ; but should I attempt,
Distinct to count them o'er, their train would rise
Like stars that gild the unclouded arch of heaven,
Or beams that dart from the meridian sun :
And why should I recite what thou hast seen
Refulgent from the life ? and life should leave
Th' eternal stamp on thy receptive mind.”

Still flows the tear, which wisdom bids us blame ;
 Self-love its weakness hides with sorrow's name :
 For thee so blest in life, in death so blest,
 Should ev'ry tear be dry'd, and plaint suppress,
 Faith should her triumph o'er weak sense display :
 Death was, dear saint, thy coronation-day.
 Shall saints above their acclamations show,
 And sadness damp the pomp from saints below?
 Souls of one temper, one fraternal race,
 One in communion, tho' disjoin'd in space ;
 Yet these, so happy now, their toils and fears
 Once knew, bewilder'd in this vale of tears,
 Known too by thee, how late ! while here below,
 O gentle shade, just freed from mortal woe.
 How vast thy transient change !—I see thee now—
 Light robes thy form, and glory wreaths thy brow :
 And hark ! I hear thee. O thy tuneful tongue !
 Round the Lamb's blissful throne thou breath'st his song.
 Rest in thy bliss.—Be ours thy life's essay,
 Thy bright example leading all the way.
 Thy labour'd volumes noblest fame shall give,
 And through each age for its instruction live :
 In ev'ry character thy merits shine,
 Admir'd in each—saint, poet, sage, divine :
 To thee heav'n's largest trust of talents fell,
 So humbly all possess'd, and us'd so well !

“ Adieu—till thy short sleep be past—adieu !
 Hope keeps assur'd thy waking hour in view :
 Our eyes, which sorrowing o'er thy lifeless dust,
 Saw the base earth receive its p'cious trust,
 Again shall view from that dishonouring bed,
 View thee in vernal glories lift thy head,
 Mark thy bright way and see thee radiant rise,
 Fair as a sun, to gild eternal skies.”

ON THE DEATH OF THE REV. DR. WATTS:

By the Rev. Benjamin Sowden, Minister of the English Church at Rotterdam.

“ FROM earth remov'd, in ev'ry virtue warm,
 Adieu ! bright seraph in an human form ;
 Whose noblest lot indulgent heaven assign'd
 Whate'er could charm, or edify mankind :

Whom true poetic talents largely blest,
 Whose tuneful vein not hoary age suppress'd;
 He, like some dying swan, beneath the reeds
 Of rivers gliding through delightful meads,
 In sweetest notes resign'd his parting breath,
 And sunk melodious in th' embrace of death.

"His much-lov'd muse, Urania, heav'nly maid,
 With artless grief bewails her fav'rite dead.
 Her bosom heaving with incessant sighs,
 Stream the big sorrows from her melting eyes,
 Whose graceful orbs, suffus'd their brilliant pow'r,
 Look faint, as sun-beams shining thro' a show'r.
 No more with harmony divine she sings,
 Nor airs celestial warble on her strings:
 Her once enchanting lyre, relax'd and broke,
 Hangs now neglected on the blasted oak,
 While, in the gloom of willows which o'erlook
 The sable waters of yon silent brook,
 Whose leaden stream ne'er mantles to the wind,
 Fix'd in dumb sadness, on her arm reclin'd,
 With cheek all wan, and wild dishevel'd hair,
 She lies a breathing statue of despair.

"Not causeless anguish this—her darling thou,
 Illustrious shade! while resident below:
 While green in youth she prompted thee to raise
 In her exalted numbers virtue's praise,
 To strike with matchless skill the vocal lyre,
 And kindle in thy breast Pindaric fire.
 Oh lost too early, tho' thy life was long?
 Who now shall rise renown'd in Lyric song?
 The harlotries of vice with verse control,
 And pour instruction o'er the raptur'd soul?

"Nor weeps o'er Watts the Lyric Muse alone,
 Fair Science hears her, and returns the groan:
 Beneath yon yew-tree's melancholy shade,
 On the cold ground her form divine is laid:
 Pensive and pale her speaking looks express
 Beyond the force of words a vast distress:
 So the fond mother mourns her infant trust,
 Her blooming offspring mingled with the dust.

"Well might thou weep, Parnassian virgin! well
 Lament to think in Watts what learning fell:

Nurs'd by thy care, and train'd beneath thy wing,
 He drank deep draughts of knowledge from thy spring,
 And, when possess'd of an extensive share,
 Rejoic'd to lead his fellow-mortals there :
 He broke the subtle cobwebs of the schools,
 Freed the young genius from unmeaning rules,
 Led Reason safely thro' th' illusive maze,
 Where wide from truth bewitching Fancy strays.
 Small was his stature, but his manly soul
 Could grasp the globe, and reach the distant pole,
 With ease the vivid planets' course could trace,
 Thro' their wide orbits in the fields of space.
 But not the graces science can impart
 Vied with his moral excellence of heart :
 There unaffected goodness reign'd, and thence
 Rush'd the strong tide of warm benevolence ;
 Easy of access, in the social hour
 Censure grew dumb, and envy ceas'd to lour,
 Surpris'd to hear his copious accents flow,
 Wise without art, and learn'd without the show.

“ Say, ye his flock, his late peculiar care,
 For whom he wrestled oft in fervent pray'r ;
 What transports ran thro' all your mental frame,
 Whene'er he made redeeming love his theme !
 When he proclaim'd deliverance from sin
 How eagerly ye drank the music in !
 But, when he chang'd the tender scene, and show'd
 Th' awaken'd anger of an awful God,
 Full in your ears all Sinai's terrors rung,
 Flash'd from his eye-balls, thundered from his tongue :
 Against himself his conscience rous'd in arms,
 The daring sinner trembles at th' alarms.
 Just are the tears to such a pastor giv'n,
 Who taught at once, and led the way to heav'n,
 Whose life enforc'd the rules he urg'd on you,
 And was himself the great, good man he drew.”

These memoirs cannot close more appropriately than with the words of the Roman historian, the eulogy of the best author upon the best governor of Britain:—“ Whatever we loved in thee, whatever we admired in thee, continues, and will continue, in the memories of men, the revolutions of ages,

and the annals of time. Many, as being inglorious and ignoble, are buried in oblivion; but Watts shall live to all posterity, for, as the Greek poet has it, ‘Virtue is beyond the reach of Fate.’ ”

N.B. Dr. Watts's Sermon on the death of Mr. Pickard, mentioned Page 224, is omitted, on account of this volume having already extended beyond the limits originally intended. It has been forwarded to the Congregational Magazine, and inserted August, 1831.

APPENDIX.

A

Mr. Morton, p. 81.

A list of Mr. Morton's students is given by Dr. Toulmin at the close of his *History of the Protestant Dissenters*. It is much to be regretted that the records of the early dissenting academies have not been more carefully preserved.

B.

The Calves'-head Club, page 86.

The work referred to, entitled "The Secret History," &c., rapidly passed through several editions, with some variations in the title. It consists of improbable stories, dull poetry, low wit, and the common cant of the times, dealt out in very coarse language. It was patronised by Sacheverell, Leslie, and Luke Milbourne, "a clergyman of yearly fame." In all probability it was manufactured by Ned Ward, the author of the "London Spy," who kept a public-house in the skirts of the city, and devoted his powers to the service of the high party.

C.

Dissertation on Self-denial, page 116.

Dr. Gibbons gives this paper at length in his *Memoirs of Watts*. p.p. 49—58.

D.

Excitatio Cordis Calum versus, page 136,

Is translated by Dr. Gibbons, and inserted in the *Memoirs*.

E.

Rev. Samuel Say, page 136.

In the "Letters of John Hughes, Esq. and other eminent Persons," there is one from Mr. Say to Mr. Duncombe, containing a Latin version of the introduction to *Paradise Lost*.

Mr. Say also wrote in the *Gentleman's Magazine* an article, entitled "The Resurrection illustrated by the changes of the Silk-worm," and some remarks upon Auditor Benson's edition of *Johuston's Psalms*. Soon after his death his papers were arranged and published in a quarto volume, under the title of "Poems on Several Occasions: and Two Critical Essays, viz. the first on the Harmony, Variety, and Power of Numbers, whether in prose or verse; the second on the Numbers of *Paradise Lost*: by Samuel Say, Lond. 1745." The editor of this posthumous publication was William Duncombe, Esq.

F.

Pastors of Bury Street, page 199.

Mr. Wilson gives the following plan of the predecessors and successors of Dr. Watts at Bury Street. Those marked with * were ejected ministers.

Names.	As Pastors.		As Assistants.	
	From	To	From	To
* Joseph Caryl, M. A.	1660	1673	—	—
* William Bearman	—	—	16	16
* John Owen, D. D.	1673	1683	—	—
* Robert Ferguson	—	—	16	16
* David Clarkson, B.D.	1682	1687	—	—
* Isaac Loeffs, M. A.	168	1689	—	—
* Isaac Chauncey, M. D. ..	1687	1702	—	—
* Edward Terry, M. A.	—	—	16	1697
Isaac Watts, D. D.	1702	1748	1698	1702
Samuel Price	1713	1756	1703	1713
† Meredith Townshend'....	—	—	1742	1746
† Sam. Morton Savage, D.D.	1753	1787	1747	1753
Thomas Porter	—	—	17	1764
Josiah Thompson	—	—	1765	17
§ Thomas Beck	1788	18	—	—

G.

First version of Psalms in New England, page 421.

Mr. Neal observes in his History, "One of the first books printed (at Harvard College) was 'A New Version of David's Psalms;' the ministers, it seems, were not

+ Mr. Townshend settled afterwards at Hull, and removed finally to Stoke Newington. He was highly esteemed by the church in Bury Street for his talents and piety.

‡ Mr. Savage was the direct lineal descendant of John Savage, the first Earl of Rivers of that family: he never claimed the title, which consequently became extinct. Owing to Dr. Watts's encouragement and assistance, to whom he had introduced himself by a letter, he became a student under Mr. Eames; afterwards a tutor in connexion with Dr. David Jennings, which office he resigned, along with his pastoral charge, to spend the evening of his days in retirement.

‡ Mr. Beck, who is still living, has withdrawn from Bury Street. The chapel having been closed for some time, was enlarged and re-opened, Sept. 29, 1829, by the Rev. Henry Heap, the present minister. It contains now a monument to the memory of Watts, with the following inscription: "This tablet was erected when the chapel was enlarged in Sept. M.D.C.C.X.L.X., by the church and congregation, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Henry Heap, as a tribute of their high veneration and sincere regard for the inestimable character of this eminent man of God and incomparable sweet singer of Israel, whose praise is in all the churches.

"The Righteous shall be in everlasting Remembrance. Psalm, cxii. 6."

satisfied with Sternhold and Hopkins, not so much on account of their poetry, as because they had perverted the text in a great many places; they resolved, therefore, on a new version, and committed the care of it to some of the chief divines in the country, among whom were the Rev. Mr. Eliot of Roxbury, Mr. Mather of Dorchester, and Mr. Wells, who, having compared their several performances together, printed the whole at Cambridge, in the year 1640. When the book was published it did not satisfy the expectations of judicious men, for being composed by persons of a different genius and capacity, it was far from being of a piece; and was, therefore, after some time, committed to one hand to be corrected, and made a little more uniform. Mr. Henry Dunstar, President of the College, was the man chosen to this work, who with the assistance of Mr. Richard Lyon, tutor to Sir Henry Mildmay's son, then boarding in his house, reduced it to the form in which it appears at present." *Hist. of New England*, i. 188. This version and other subsequent attempts, were superseded in that country soon after Mr. Neal wrote by Dr. Watts's Imitations.

H.

Prefaces, page 550.

Besides the Prefaces to the works of others mentioned in this volume, Dr. Watts wrote the following:

To the Life of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Halyburton.

To Ten Sermons preached before and after the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper: to which are added Two Sermons preached upon occasion of the Death of a Friend. By the Rev. T. Halyburton.

To the Rev. Mr. Bourne's volume of Prayers for Families.

To an Abridgment of the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather's Life, by Dr. David Jennings.

To Dr. Samuel Clarke's, of St. Alban's, Collection of Scripture Promises.

To the Remains of the Rev. John Mason of Water Stratford.

To the Rev. Mr. Steele's Religious Tradesman.

An ode was published in the time of Queen Anne, by S. Cobb, M. A., entitled the "Female Reign," alluding to Horace, B. iv. Od. 14, attempted in the style of Pindar, occasioned by the wonderful success of her majesty's arms and her allies. "This poem," says Dr. Watts, (in a note on the title-page of the copy he gave Dr. Gibbons not many years before his death, with his emendations) "in my opinion, is the truest and best Pindaric I ever read, yet I thought some parts of it were capable of improvement; I have, therefore, taken some pains, and much liberty with it, to form it entirely to my taste." The ode with the alterations inserted in it, and the original words of Mr. Cobb placed at the foot of every stanza, the altered lines of which are marked, Dr. Gibbons has printed at length. *Memoirs*, p. 276.

I.

Last Sentiments of Dr. Watts upon the Trinity, page 604.

As much misapprehension has existed upon this subject, it may be proper to examine briefly the evidence upon which his reported change of opinion rests. It will be found that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that his views altered in his latter years; but that the amount of his departure from the sentiments of the orthodox is fully expressed in his printed works. The Rev. S. Merrivale of Exeter writes to Dr. Priestley at Leeds as follows:

“What I mentioned to Mr. Aikin concerning Dr. Watts I had from Dr. Lardner, who told it me as a thing known to few, though without enjoining me to secrecy. Having mentioned in the course of my correspondence with the latter, the difficulty of fixing my sentiments with regard to the person of Christ, though I had formerly thought the doctrine of his pre-existence sufficiently proved by Dr. Clarke, Dr. Watts, and others, he replies:—‘I think Dr. Watts never was an Arian, to his honour be it spoken. When he first wrote of the Trinity, I reckon he believed three equal persons; but in the latter part of his life, for several years before his death, and before he was seized with an imbecility of his faculties, he was an Unitarian. How he came to be so I cannot certainly say, but I think it was the result of his own meditation on the Scriptures. He was very desirous to promote that opinion, and wrote a great deal upon the subject; but his papers fell into good hands, and they did not think them fit for publication!’” According to this statement Dr. Watts became an Unitarian “*several years before his death.*” Now it is an undeniable fact, that his two most voluminous works upon the Trinity and the person of Christ, were published within *one year and a half* of his decease: it is incredible, therefore, that his Unitarianism should not have appeared in these productions, especially as Dr. Lardner states, “*he was very desirous to promote that opinion.*”

Mr. Merrivale writes again to Dr. Priestley, “As there seemed some ambiguity in the word Unitarian, though I knew very well in how strict a sense the Doctor (Lardner) generally used it, and being aware that Dr. Watts in his later publications quite gave up the notion of a three-fold Deity, (though he contended earnestly for the pre-existence of Christ’s human soul originally possessed of powers superangelical, on which, however, he is silent in his ‘Solemn Address to the Deity,’) I begged leave to be informed whether in his unpublished papers he had appeared to have given up that point; in answer to which Dr. Lardner wrote:

“‘I question whether you have any where in print Dr. Watts’s last thoughts upon the Trinity. They were known to very few. My nephew Neal, an understanding gentleman, was intimate with Dr. Watts, and often with the family where he lived. Sometimes in an evening, when they were alone, he would talk to his friends in the family of his new thoughts concerning the person of Christ, and their great

importance; and that if he should be able to recommend them to the world, it would be the most considerable thing that ever he performed. My nephew, therefore, came to me and told me of it, and that the family was greatly concerned to hear him talk so much of the importance of these sentiments. I told my nephew that Dr. Watts was in the right in saying they were important; but I was of opinion that he was unable to recommend them to the public, because he had never been used to a proper way of reasoning on such a subject. So it proved. My nephew being the executor had the papers, and showed me some of them. Dr. Watts had written a good deal, but they were not fit to be published. Dr. Watts's last thoughts were completely Unitarian.' ”

This letter is exceedingly vague and unsatisfactory, and is destitute of that accuracy and precision by which Dr. Lardner's writings are generally characterised. It contains a positive assertion that Dr. Watts was an Unitarian, but no proof of the fact, and not even, as Mr. Merrivale desired, a definition of the term. Had he renounced the idea of Christ's pre-existence, Dr. Lardner would have observed it in the papers to which he had access, and would readily have communicated it to his correspondent. But he shuffles at the question proposed to him, and his silence may safely be regarded as a proof that Dr. Watts had not given up that point, and that, therefore, he could not be justly pronounced an Unitarian in the common acceptation of the term.

“Mr. Merrivale,” as Mr. Palmer remarks, “might properly have asked the Doctor further, whether any thing appeared in Dr. Watts's papers to prove that he had given up his former opinion concerning the *personal union* of Jesus Christ with Deity, so as at last to consider him as being merely one of the human race, who had no more claim to Divinity than Moses or any of the prophets or apostles. I would further ask,” says he, “whether it appeared in these unpublished papers, that he had renounced and approved the doctrine which he had all his days so strenuously maintained, of the *atonement for sin by the death* of Christ. If he had become a ‘complete Unitarian,’ and had he been ‘very desirous to promote that opinion,’ he would have been very explicit in renouncing his former opinions on these points, and very full in stating his objections against them: indeed, as an honest man, he should have given positive orders to his executors to publish what he had written on these his new sentiments; which it is plain from his will he did not. If any thing of this kind had appeared in his manuscripts, certainly Dr. Lardner must have known it, and would have been very ready to have acquainted his inquiring correspondent with it.”

The following is a list of Dr. Watts's MSS. referred to by Dr. Lardner. The papers were disposed of in covers or cases under these titles, viz.

I. *Psalmody*.

II. Of the Trinity: a Modest Defence of Inquirers into Truth.

III. Two Essays on the Lord's prayer.

IV. Essays and Remarks on Texts of Scripture: I. The Words in which we

should confess our Faith. 2. *The Diamond Painted*. 3. Of Catechisms. 4. A Case of Conscience. 5. *Figure of a Cherub*.

V. Essays relating to the Trinity, viz. An Inquiry into the Scriptural Representation of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. 2. Of the proper Athanasian scheme of the Trinity. 3. The Holy Spirit the true God. 4. The ill effects of incorporating the divine doctrine of the Trinity with the human explications of it.

VI. Remnants of Time employed, in prose and verse; or, Short Composures on Various Subjects, viz. 1. Of Human Knowledge, and the various kinds of it. 2. *The Rake reformed in the House of Mourning*. 3. *An Apology for enlarging Dr. Young's description of the Peacock*. 4. *Justice and Grace*. 5. *Bills of Exchange*. 6. *The ever-blessed God*. 7. *Vanity inscribed on all Things*. 8. *The Day of Grace*. 9. *God and Nature unsearchable*. 10. *The Repeal*. 11. *The Saints unknown in this World*. 12. *Complaint and Hope, a Poem*. 13. *Heathen Poesy Christianised*. 14. General Song of Praise to God. 15. To Amyntas, an Ode to Lady Sunderland. 16. To Philanthropus. 17. The Windmills. 18. A Sinner tempted to despair. 19. *Redemption, a Poem*. 20. Of Confinement to set Forms of Worship. 21. Appendix to foregoing essay.

VII. A Faithful Inquiry after the ancient and original Doctrine of the Trinity taught by Christ and his Apostles: in two Parts. The first part inquires so far as is necessary to salvation. The second part so far as may improve our Christian knowledge and establish our faith; and the objections of both are answered in a plain and easy manner, derived only from the word of God.

VIII. *The Improvement of the Mind, Second Part*.

The preceding pieces marked in italics were published in the first edition of Dr. Watts's works, in 1753, under the care of Dr. Jennings: the remaining manuscripts were destroyed. It was not because these papers contained any renunciation of former sentiments that they were suppressed; but because both Dr. Jennings and Mr. Neal, with whom also Dr. Lardner concurred, judged them not worthy of publication. It is much to be regretted that this step was taken; for it gave rise to unfounded rumours as to the contents of the manuscripts, which their preservation would at once have contradicted.

That the destroyed papers expressed the same views of the deity of Christ and the Spirit as the published pieces, and contained nothing further heretical, appears from the following considerations:

1. The time of their composition. This was evidently several years before the decease of the author. In proof of this there is a letter written by Dr. Jennings to Dr. Doddridge, in which he says, "I believe we shall not have near so much trouble in publishing the Doctor's manuscripts as I expected when he acquainted me with the design of committing them in part to my care, which was *three or four years ago*; for since then he has published most of the manuscripts he designed for the press, so that, as I learn from Mr. Parker, there is little if any thing more remaining of that sort than the second part of the '*Improvement of the Mind*.'" The suppressed papers were, then, composed at least *four years* before Dr. Watts's death;

for Dr. Jennings was informed of their being committed to his care "*three or four years ago*," (1748): now, as the "Useful and Important Questions," and the "Glory of Christ as God-Man," were published only *one year and a half* before his decease, it is not to be supposed that the unpublished papers should have contained any thing materially different from, much less contrary to these two treatises, published at least two years after the former were written. It is utterly incredible, that what was printed in 1746, should materially differ from what was written in 1744. If he was, as Dr. Lardner asserts, "a complete Unitarian," and "desirous to promote that opinion" in 1744, he would most certainly have seized the opportunity to propagate his new opinions when he was actually publishing two voluminous works two years afterwards.

2. In the titles of the unpublished papers, in the preceding list, there is no appearance of any design to propose and defend any new sentiments; there is no intimation that any novel dogmas are discussed; the phraseology is exactly such as if he meant only to illustrate and maintain his former opinions.

3. There is the most satisfactory evidence, that it was the design of the suppressed manuscripts to vindicate Dr. Watts's views maintained in his printed works, and not to propose any new tenets.

The manuscript mentioned in the List No. VII, "*A Faithful Inquiry after the ancient and original Doctrine of the Trinity*," &c., was actually printed in 1745, while the author was living, but for certain reasons suppressed: A COPY OF THIS VERY PIECE has, however, been recovered, and a new edition published in 1802. The discoverer and editor of the tract, Mr. Gabriel Watts, (no relation of the Doctor's), gives the following information respecting it:

"The copy from which this is taken, was accidentally found in a collection of old books, in a bookseller's shop in Southampton, in the year 1796. The author's name, &c. with the date 1745, were written at the bottom of the title-page. It is probable that this copy had formed a part of a collection of books belonging to some member of the author's family who resided at Southampton, which had recently been exposed to sale; for in a blank leaf of a small work which was lying by it, was written, apparently in his own hand, '*To my dear Sister Mrs. Mary Watts.*' It appears, from internal evidence and collateral circumstances, to be the work of that eminent and popular author whose name it bears. Its similarity in style and sentiment to his other trinitarian tracts, together with the remarkable caution, diffidence, and perplexity of mind, which are observable in it, and, above all, the unaffected humility and piety which pervade the whole, mark it emphatically as his own."

The editor observes further, "In a blank leaf of the original work was written in a fair hand the following sentence verbatim: 'The Doctor printed off only fifty copies of this work, and showed them to some friends, who all persuaded him that it would ruin his character in his old age, for publishing such dotage, and at length he was prevailed on to burn them; so the whole impression of fifty was destroyed

without publication, except this single copy of it, which by an accident escaped the flames.'"

We have now, then, the means of ascertaining whether Dr. Lardner's representation of Dr. Watts's sentiments from his unpublished papers, was well founded or not. The manuscript of this curious piece, let it be remembered, was among the manuscripts which the executors destroyed. From the following extracts it will be seen, that the suppressed papers assert precisely the *same doctrines* that the author had for years maintained, and that he expresses himself in the same characteristic manner. He here asserts the pre-existence of Jesus Christ — his intimate union with Deity — and his atonement for the sins of men — sentiments decidedly adverse to the Unitarian scheme. He also asserts the doctrine of the Trinity, which Unitarians deny in every form of it.

"Of Jesus Christ the Son of God.

"He was born as a man here on earth, he lived and died as a man, having a human body with a rational soul; yet it must be acknowledged, that there is some part of the constitution of the complete person of our Lord Jesus Christ which existed through all ancient ages, for he had a *glory with the Father before the foundation of the world*. God the Father created the world by Jesus Christ: by him all things were created. He had an existence, therefore, early enough to create this world, and to enter into councils of peace with God the Father for the reconciliation of fallen man to God.

"It is evident, also, that he is often called God in scripture (*John*, i. 1, &c.); and since he is true God as well as man, we have plain directions from scripture to suppose, that this second person, or this man Christ Jesus, has the true Godhead united to him, or dwelling in him, in a peculiar manner; so that they are often represented as one complex person. It may properly be called a personal union, since many personal actions are ascribed to these two Spirits, the human and the divine united. He is said to have *all the fulness of the Godhead dwelling bodily in him*. He is called *God manifest in the flesh*. He is of the race of the *Jews concerning the flesh*, and he is also *God over all blessed for ever*: *Rom.* ix. 5. In the Old Testament, as well as in the New, he is called both God and man. *Isa.* ix. 6: *a child born, a son given, yet called the Mighty God*. And *Jer.* xxiii. 6: *the Lord our righteousness; and Emmanuel, or God with us*.

"The benefits which we are to receive from Jesus Christ, are pardon of sin through his *full atonement*, of satisfaction for which the dignity of his person is sufficient, as he is one with God. The dignity of this union spreads itself over all that Christ did and suffered, and makes it divine and all-sufficient. This union enables him to raise his church out of this world, to change the hearts of men and turn them to himself; to give his presence to his people in their worship; to preserve his church from all their enemies, to rule and govern the nations, to raise the dead, and to judge the world.

"The duties we are required to perform to him are, *to honour him as we honour*

the Father ; to trust in him ; to obey him ; to pray to him as dying Stephen did, ' Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' or as Paul, 2 Cor. xii. 8 ; to give praises to him and doxologies, as Paul often does, and as the whole creation does, Rev. v. 12, 13, ' Every creature in heaven and earth said, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be to him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb, for ever and ever.'

“SECT. III. *Of the Holy Trinity.*

“The doctrine of the blessed Trinity, or of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with their peculiar characters and offices, is a special doctrine of the Christian religion. This sacred Three in the Trinity are plainly represented in scripture, and have been generally represented by Christian writers, like *three persons*, or three distinct personal agents, as acting different parts and sustaining different characters in the affairs of our salvation ; and yet it seems to be abundantly evident also in scripture, that they are all Three represented as having *true and proper Deity* some way belonging to them, and that the names, titles, attributes, and operations of Godhead are ascribed to the Three in the Old Testament and in the New. This is the substance of the doctrine itself, as revealed in the Bible, and the writers on the Trinity have so often proved it, that I need not repeat the proofs here. Yet there are sufficient guards in the New Testament, that the ancient doctrine of the eternal *unity of God* must have no inroad made upon it by Christianity.”

These extracts will sufficiently establish the coincidence between the suppressed manuscripts of Dr. Watts and his printed treatises ; and show how little ground any zealous Unitarians have to triumph in the fond supposition, that they have the
GREAT AND GOOD DR. WATTS ON THEIR SIDE.

See “Dr. Watts no Socinian. A Refutation of the Testimony of Dr. Lardner, as brought forward in the Rev. T. Belsham’s Memoirs of the late Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, ‘That Dr. Watts’s last Sentiments were completely Unitarian,’ in a series of Letters to the Rev. Joseph Smith, of Manchester. By Samuel Palmer. ‘Your glorying is not good :’ 1 Cor. v. 6.”

J.

WILL OF DR. WATTS,

Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

“This is the last will and testament of me, ISAAC WATTS, of Stoke Newington, in the county of Middlesex, doctor in divinity, made this twenty-third day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred, and forty-six. And, First, as becomes a professor and preacher of the Christian faith, I resign my soul to God who gave it, hoping for his mercy through the obedience, death, and intercession of Jesus Christ, his Son, my Lord and Saviour, knowing in whom I have believed ; and my body I leave to be committed to the grave with as little funeral show and pomp as possible, humbly expecting a joyful resurrection, according to the promi-

ses of the blessed gospel. And as for the worldly estate that God hath given me, I direct the disposal of it in the following manner:—I will that all my debts and funeral expenses be, in the first place, fully paid and satisfied; and I desire that Lady Abney, of Newington aforesaid, and Mrs. Elizabeth Abney, her daughter, will accept of twenty guineas a-piece for mourning, with my most grateful acknowledgment of the generous and tender care shown me by her ladyship and her family in my long illness many years ago (when I was capable of no service), and also of her eminent friendship and goodness during my continuance in the family ever since. I also desire Lady Abney and Miss Abney to accept of such books and pamphlets out of my library as they shall think proper for their own use, and of all the paintings, prints, tables, maps, and mathematical instruments of every kind which belong to me; and also of such household goods or furniture which I shall be possessed of at the time of my decease that her Ladyship may think convenient should remain in her house. In the next place I declare it to be my will, that such debts as shall be owing to me at the time of my decease be with all convenient dispatch got in, and received by my executors; and that such of the legatees, hereinafter named, as may be indebted to me, do respectively discharge those debts to my estate before they respectively receive their legacies. And although the providence of God hath blessed my brother Dr. Richard Watts with wealth and plenty above the rest of my relations, yet, to testify my sincere good-will to him and his family, I give to my said brother fifty pounds, and to his wife and daughter the sum of ten guineas a-piece for mourning. Item: I give to my brother Enoch Watts, and my sister Sarah Brackstone, and to the survivor of them, his or her executors and administrators, eight hundred and eighty pounds, being all my share and interest in the capital stock of the Bank of England: and I give the said Enoch Watts the further sum of fifty pounds. I give one thousand pounds, being all my share and interest in the three per cent annuities of the year 1726, to my nephew Joseph Brackstone, and my three nieces Mary, Sarah, and Martha, the children of my sister Sarah Brackstone, to be equally divided between them, share and share alike: provided that if any or either of them my said nieces die in my lifetime without issue, that then the share or shares of him, her, or them so dying, shall go to the survivor or survivors of them; but if any or either of them die in my lifetime leaving issue, that then the share or shares of her or them so dying shall go to her or their respective issue. I give to my executors, hereinafter named, one hundred and fifty pounds' stock, part of my share and interest in the capital stock of the South-Sea Company, in trust, to pay the dividends thereof to, or permit the same to be received by, my niece, Mary Chaldecott, of Lincoln, for and during the term of her natural life, for her separate use; and the receipts of the said Mary Chaldecott only, whether under coverture or not, to be a sufficient discharge to my executors for the same: and from and after the decease of the said Mary Chaldecott, I give the said one hundred and fifty pounds, South-Sea Stock, to my nephew Thomas Watts, of Chichester, his executors and administrators, for his and their own use. I also give to my said nephew Thomas Watts one hundred and fifty

pounds South-Sea Stock, further part of my share and interest in the capital stock of the said company, to and for his own use, to be transferred to him within three months after my decease. And I give to the said Mary Chaldecott the further sum of twenty pounds. Item: I give to my dear and faithful friend, and companion in the labours of the ministry, Mr. Samuel Price, twenty pounds, and the further sum of ten pounds for mourning, as a small testimony of my great affection for him on account of all his services of love during the many harmonious years of our fellowship in the work of the gospel; and if he had wanted it I would have given him ten times as much. I give to my honoured and worthy friend, Sir John Hartopp, Bart. ten guineas for mourning. I give to Mrs Jane Davenport (Lady Abney's own servant), ten pounds, and to her sister Anne five pounds. And I give the further sum of twenty pounds to and amongst the rest of Lady Abney's menial or household servants who shall have lived a year with her ladyship before my decease, to be distributed amongst them in such proportions as Lady Abney shall think fit. I give to my trusty and diligent servant, Joseph Parker, fifty pounds, and all my wearing apparel of every kind. I give to Mr. Samuel Price, Mr. George Streatfield, Mr. Thomas Hart, Mr. Nathaniel Field, Mr. John Woodecock, and Mr. ——— Jacobson, or to such of them as shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of one hundred pounds, in trust, that they or the survivors or survivor of them dispose of fifty pounds, part thereof, within five years after my decease, amongst such poor persons of the congregation meeting in Bury Street, in such proportions as they shall think fit; and the fifty pounds, residue of the said sum of one hundred pounds, I desire may be applied for or towards securing that meeting-house for the use of the said congregation for a further term of years beyond the present lease. But if the said last mentioned fifty pounds is not or cannot be laid out for the purpose afore-mentioned within the space of five years after my decease, then I direct that the same, as soon as conveniently may be after the expiration of such five years, be disposed of and distributed in like manner as I have directed touching the first-mentioned fifty pounds. Item: I give the sum of twenty pounds to poor Protestant dissenting ministers, to be distributed at the discretion of my executors and of Mr. Samuel Price. I give seven pounds to poor Protestant dissenters of the town of Southampton, five pounds, part thereof, to be distributed at the discretion of my afore-named brother and sister, Enoch Watts and Sarah Brackstone, and two pounds, residue thereof, at the discretion of the Rev. Mr. Francis, the dissenting minister there. I also give the like sum of seven pounds to poor persons of the same town, who usually worship God in the Church of England, to be distributed at the discretion of my said brother and sister, Enoch Watts and Sarah Brackstone, and of my good cousin Richard Tanton, Esq.; but I desire no part of the two last-mentioned charitable legacies may be given to such persons as do not stately attend on public worship, unless prevented by bodily indisposition. I give to my executors the sum of fifty pounds, to be laid out by them after the rate of ten pounds a-year, with the approbation of Mr. Samuel Price and Mr. David Jennings, in buying such books as follows, viz. Scripture History, Revival of Religion, The Redeemer and Sanctifier,

The Ruin and Recovery of Man, Orthodoxy and Charity, The Harmony of Religions, Questions for Students, Dr. Mather's Life abridged, with Mr. Jennings's Of Preaching Christ, Dr. Doddridge's Sermon, preached October 15, 1741, his Rise and Progress of Religion and Family Expositor, to be lent or given to youth educating for the ministry of the gospel amongst the Protestant dissenters, at the discretion of my said executors, and of the said Mr. Price and Mr. Jennings; and it is my request, that the said books be at first only lent to read, and not absolutely given to such students till the aforementioned distributors, or some of them, or the tutor who has the care of their education, are or is satisfied that the students have carefully perused the same, and are likely to make good use of them. I give ten pounds to the Orphan House, near Halle in Germany, now or lately under the care of Professor Frank, to be paid to Mr. Michael Ziegenhagan, the German minister at Kensington or near St. James's. And I also give ten pounds to the Society in Scotland for the Propagating of Christian Knowledge in the Islands and Highlands, to be paid to the treasurer or secretary for the time being of the Corresponding Society or members in London. Item: after Lady Abney and Miss Abney have made such choice as is before mentioned, I empower Mr. Samuel Price and Mr. David Jennings to choose any book or books in my library, for their own respective uses, to the value of forty shillings to each person, and also two or three volumes of the pamphlets in blue covers, whether bound or unbound; and all the rest of my library, together with such presses or cases in my study as belong to me, I give, together with my books, to my three nieces, daughters of my sister Sarah Brackstone, to be equally divided between them share and share alike. And as to all the copies of books that have been printed by me in my lifetime (not having sold or disposed of any of them, except my book of Hymns and Spiritual Songs), I have, by a deed or writing executed by me or which I intend to execute, directed the disposition of them, which disposition I hereby ratify and confirm. Item: as to all my household goods and furniture that Lady Abney or Miss Abney shall not choose to keep (if any such there be), I give the same to my brother Enoch Watts for his own use. And as to all my manuscripts of every kind, I give the same to the afore-named Mr. Jennings and the Reverend Dr. Philip Doddridge, in order that they may publish such of them as I shall by any paper or memorandum signify my desire should be published; and as to the remainder, either to publish or suppress them, as they shall judge best. But I desire that such as shall be published may have the attestation of their names prefixed, to satisfy the world they are genuine: and I empower my executors to make them such acknowledgment and recompense out of my estate for their trouble in revising and publishing such manuscripts as they shall think proper. And all the rest and residue of my estate, of what nature or kind soever, not hereinbefore or by the deed or writing last mentioned disposed of, I give to my afore-named nephew Joseph Brackstone, and my three nieces, Mary, Sarah, and Martha, the daughters of my said sister Sarah Brackstone, and over and above what I have before given them, to be equally divided between them share and share alike. Provided, nevertheless, that if any or either of my said nieces die in my lifetime without issue,

that then the share or shares of her or them so dying, shall go to the survivors or survivor of them my said nieces; but if any or either of them my said nieces die in my lifetime leaving issue, that then the share or shares of her or them so dying, shall go to his, her, or their issue respectively. And I appoint my brother Enoch Watts, and Mr. Nathaniel Neal, executors of this my last will and testament; and I desire Mr. Neal will accept of twenty guineas as an acknowledgment for his trouble as one of my executors.—IN WITNESS whereof, I, the said Isaac Watts, have to this my last will and testament, contained in three sheets of paper, set my hand and seal, viz. my hand at the bottom of each of the two preceding sheets, and my hand and seal to this last sheet, the day and year first above written.

“ISAAC WATTS.

“Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the above-named testator, Isaac Watts, as and for his last will and testament, in the presence of us, who, at his request and in his presence, have subscribed our names as witnesses thereto.

“GEORGE GRAY,

“JNO. WRIGHT,

“THOMAS HEACOCK.

“I, ISAAC WATTS, give and bequeath to my brother Enoch Watts and sister Sarah Brackstone, and to the survivor of them, the additional twenty pounds capital Bank Stock, by me purchased since the signing and sealing of my last will and testament, as above. Witness my hand this second day of April, one thousand, seven hundred, and forty-seven.

“ISAAC WATTS.

“I hereby revoke and annul the legacy of fifty pounds by me given to my brother Richard Watts, in my last will, dated 27th July, 1746, and instead thereof I give him ten pounds; and also I give unto my sister Sarah Brackstone the sum of forty pounds, besides what is above given her, because she most needs it. And I confirm and ratify all and every other part of my said will and testament. Dated at Stoke Newington, the third day of April, 1747.

“ISAAC WATTS.

“Witnessed by “ELIS NEAL,

“H. NEAL.

“I give all my capital Stock in the Bank of England, at the time of my decease, to my brother Enoch Watts and sister Sarah Brackstone, and the survivor of them; and I appoint this a codicil to my last will. November 17th, 1747.

“ISAAC WATTS.

“Witness

“THOMAS HEACOCK,

“JOSEPH DRAKE.

“Proved at London with three codicils, sixth day of December, one thousand, seven hundred, and forty-eight, before the Worshipful Robert Chapman, Doctor of Laws and Surrogate, by the oaths of Enoch Watts and Nathaniel Neal, the executors named in the said will, to whom administration was granted, having been first sworn duly to administer.

“CHARLES DYNELEY,	} Deputy Registers.”
“JOHN IGGULDEN,	
“CHARLES BEDFORD,	

FINIS.

